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ZOROASTER AND HIS WORLD

ZOROASTER
AND HIS WORLD

BY ERNST HERZFELD

VOLUME II

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XXVII. FRAVARĀNI: 411

The "creed" of Yasna 12 is an archaic oath taken by the client when admitted into a clan. The true Zoroastrian creed is Y.49,3: "In our profession of faith is embodied (the tenet): Rtam, Right, shall be strengthened, Druχš, Evil, shall be destroyed! I desire the union with Vahumano, Good-Will, I renounce every communion with the drugvant, evildoer." Definition of terms, "dēvayasna, zāraθuštri, mazdayasna."

XXVIII. MITHRA: 422

Pre-Zoroastrian god of social order. Several old songs collected in his yasht can be dated in the time of immigration, about 700 B.C., or of the Median empire between 612 and 550 B.C.—Zoroaster derived some fundamental notions of his doctrine from the cult of Mithra, transferring them to AhuraMazdāh.

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IE. notion of the spirits of the deceased, living in silence and acting invisibly for the benefit of their clans; incompatible with Zoroaster's doctrine of resurrection and award. Their old epithet "rtāvan, the just ones."

XXX. ARDVĪSŪRĀ ANĀHITĀ: 516

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ADDENDUM 847

ZOROASTER AND HIS WORLD

Y.30, the "Gatha of Good and Evil," ends in st.11:

yat tā rvatā sišaθā — yā mazdā dadāt martiyāho
huvitīča anitī — hyātča drgam drugvadbyo rašo
savāča rtāvabyo — āt api tāiš ahati uštā

"O would, you men would grasp the laws which Mazdāh has established, bliss and torment, for ever perdition to the drugvant, salvation to the rtāvan! Thus it shall be at the end, according to His will!"

> Bartholomae: "Wenn ihr euch die Bestimmungen merkt, die M. geschaffen hat, ihr Menschen—das Wohlbehagen (einerseits) und (andrerseits) die Qual, den langen (i.e. ewigen) Schaden für die Drugvant und den Nutzen für die rtāvan: dann wird es künftig wohl werden!"
>
> Lommel-Andreas: "Wenn ihr Menschen die Satzungen lehrt, die der Weise gegeben hat, einerseits den richtigen und falschen Wandel, andrerseits die lange Pein für die Ungerechten, und das Heil für die Gerechten, dann wird es hernach dadurch nach Wunsch sein."

Both translations fail entirely to grasp the purport of the verses. The entire gatha speaks of the foundation of ethics, and this last stanza resumes. It ends with an amen, uštā! cf. uštā stoi! half inshallāh, half amen, in Y.46,16 (under 'Hospitium') and uštā ahmāi hiyāt! in the *Rtamvahu*. uštā, like OP. vašnā, is always the will of God. The prayer that opens the *Gāthā Uštavatī*, Y.43,1, expresses it clearly:

uštā ahmāi — yahmāi uštā kahmāičit
vaso.χšayans — mazdå dayāt ahuro

"According to (Thy) will give us, (give) everybody—whom freely-ruling as He wills the Lord will give it—(give) me . . . award of riches and life in paradise!" Cf. Y.29,4: aθā ahat yaθā ho vasat, thus be it as He wills! and *Mark* 14,31: *ἀλλ' οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ τί σύ*![1]

hiyāt drgam, with hiyāt = siēt, is syn. of Gath. hyāt frašatamam and OP. hiyā duvēštam, for all eternity!, and the optative continues in āt . . . ahati, which corresponds to yaθa ahat apamam in st.4 of the same

[1] Late Aw. uštā.hrti is "congratulation," as also the n.abstr. uštatāt, cf. 'Tištriya.'

gatha. api tāiš is "at the very end" of the world, not "hernach dadurch." huvitī is "welfare, salvation" in paradise; anitī or initī? replaces the exact antonym dušiti (in Y.1,8), n.abstr. of Aw. dužita, Ved. duritá, (not = duš.šiti "bad dwelling"), torment in hell.

rvatā is the fundamental Law, OI. vratá, "the Law of Varuṇa," which AhuraMazdāh dadāt, has given as *νομοθέτης* at the creation, in Y.43,5; predetermined by the two primordial principles in Y.30,4, see under 'Yamā.' And this fundamental law is:

drugvadbyo rašo, savāča rtāvabyo!

Y.51,9, text under 'Last Judgment': "The hearing which Thou ordainest for the two parties by Thy red fire, by molten metal to impress into the minds as brand:

rāšayahē drugvantam, savayo rtāvanam!

The drugvant shall be destroyed, the rtāvan shall be saved!" Those are the "two savā," perdition and salvation, gods and men receive at the last judgment.

Y.49 begins with the two stanzas (under 'Bandva') on Zoroaster's brother-in-law and his "tkēšo drugvå dbitā rtāt rārišo, the drug-ish judge who in two ways injures Rtam," and does not confirm the tenet "spantām ahmāi stoi ārmatim!, Holy Ārmatiš, be mine!" So says Y. 32,1 (under 'Ārmatiš'): "If the gods and men would strive to obtain Mazdāh's grace, offering their obedience, the god would reply: 'We love your holy Ārmatiš, she be Ours!' " Thus the god returns the oath of fidelity of his adherents. Y.49 goes on, in st.3:

ātca ahmāi	varnāi mazdā nidātam
rtam sūdyāi	tkēšāi rāšayahē druχš
tā vahoš	saro izyā manaho
antar vispān	drugvato haχmān mruvē

"But in our profession of faith (the article) is embodied (lit. laid down): Rtam shall be strengthened!, in our law (the article): the Druχš shall be destroyed! I desire the union with Vahumano, I renounce (Lat. interdico) every communion with the drugvant!"

This is the true credo, the profession of faith of Zoroaster, and has remained unrecognized.

Bartholomae: "Und in diesem unsren Glauben ist das rta niedergelegt um den Nutzen—in die Afterlehre die drug um den Schaden zu schaffen. Darum verlange ich, dass man sich an Vohumanah anschliesse. Jegliche Gemeinschaft mit dem drugvant ist aufzukündigen!"

Lommel: "Uns ist zur Wahl hingestellt das Wahrsein zum Heil, der Irrlehre zum Verderben die Lüge. Deshalb strebe ich nach enger (Familien-)Verbindung mit dem Guten-Denken, ich sage mich los von allen Freundschaften mit dem Lügner!"

tkêša, "law," are the rvatā which Mazdāh dadāt in 40,11; the two infinitives (Benveniste pp. 70 and 77), sūdyāi and rāšayahē, are the commandments: rtam esse augendum, druχš esse delendam! As Benveniste observes, rta is "une notion purement passive" which needs to be increased. The rtāt rārišo or žīta.rta who "decreases" rtam has forfeited his life. The Zoroastrian thought is the origin of Mani's doctrine of Light.

varna is here as elsewhere the "creed, profession," Aw. fravarāni, in which the two fundamental articles are "laid down, nidātam"; √sar- and √hak- are the terms for the social bonds in vis and zantu.

The so-called "fravarāni" of Y.12—see under 'Dēva'—generally believed to be the Zoroastrian creed, has taken over some of the original articles. cf. Y.32,2 "You gods all . . . are the brood of the Evil Spirit" or Y.34,6: "We have severed ourselves from the whole brood of snakes, whether gods or men!" It says, Y.12,1: "I challenge, nāismi, the gods, dēvo (sic), I swear as a Mazdayasnian, Zoroastrian, vidēvo enemy-of-the-gods, as ahura.tkēšo abiding-in-the-law: I acknowledge that all good that is is AhuraMazdāh's! 12,2: I love the holy Ārmatiš, she be mine! 12,4: "I renounce communion with the dēva, as Zoroaster did." But originally this fravarāni was something entirely different.

nāismi, to √nid-, IE. √*neid-, MHG. nit "hatred," Gr. ὄνειδος; dēva plus √nid- is here opposed to mazdāh plus √yad-, as elsewhere nista to stōta (= vow). The original meaning is "to defy," namely the invectives with which the heroes challenge each other before a single combat, e.g. Ātar and the

three-mouthed dragon in *Yt.*19,47 or Snāviδka in *Yt.*19,43. dēvo is not an "unthem. acc. pl." (*Wb.*) but ungrammatical, and reveals from the start the decay of the language: the fravarāni is under no condition older than 400 B.C. and probably post-Achaemenian.

ahura.tkēša is the adherent of the tkēša, the "law" of the ahura, lord justiciary, as part of the Zoroastrian dēnā, not "Anhänger der Lehre, doctrine."

St. 2 and 3 explain ārmatiš as "obedience to law" by speaking about this subject:

2: "us gauš stuvē tayātča hazahātča, I swear off theft and robbing of cattle; zyāni, damage (Lat. noxa) and vivāpa, injury done to the fields of the vis, the clans, of the Mazdayasnians." 3: "I acknowledge (the right of) the mānya, men of the nmāna, familia, that live on this earth by cattle-breeding, gaubiš šayanti, to rove freely (as nomads) vaso.yātim, and to settle freely, vaso.šitim; with prosternation I vow: henceforth, I will not commit any noxa, any injury to the fields against the vis of Mazdayasnians, I will not devise bodily injury and homicide!"

Six crimes are sworn off: The first two, theft and robbing, against live property; gauš—as also in the Cod.Hammurapi—enters as one for all kinds of cattle. The second two crimes, zyāni and vivāpa, again, are only examples for every possible delict against immobile property. "Grazing" is the main cause of trouble in all extensive cattle-breeding. The old Slavic law says: "one župa (=vis) shall not let graze their cattle on land of another župa." The third pair, finally, are crimes against the men themselves. The words "I will not devise" limit the vow to crimes "with malice prepense," delicta dolosa.

The short sentences are paralleled by the laws which, in *Deuter.* 20-23, follow upon the Ten Commandments. There, the law on serfdom —not represented in the fravarāni—comes first, in 21; homicide, bodily injury, theft and robbing, aimed at live stock, follow in 21,16; 22,3; delicts against immobile property in 20,4-7.

Bartholomae's old translation was about right; hard to understand, how Hertel could go back to "nicht wenn ich an Gebein, wenn ich an der Lebenskraft geschädigt, d.i. durch Folterung oder Tötung (sic) dazu gezwungen würde," and Nyberg "im Streben für meinen Leib oder meinen Lebensgeist."

The oath contains the all-important restriction: "against the vis of Mazdayasnians, māzdayasnānām visām." All crimes are crimina publica, and the vis is, since the IE. epoch—just as with the Semites—the social group bound to revenge such crimes. The notion of the "crimen" does not extend beyond the limit of the vis. Caesar reports the same restriction as valid with the Germans. That is a very archaic phase of legal and moral notions, whereas the fravarāni as such is considerably younger than Zoroaster's time. Zoroaster replaced the notion of crimes against the social group by that of sins against a moral principle. Therefore, obviously, the restriction by "visām" is pre-Zoroastrian and genuine; "māzdayasnānām" on the contrary is interpolated, at the post-Zoroastrian period of Mazdaism. Thereby a primeval formula was adapted to the religious purpose, by the same redactors who combined it with quotations from the gathas. But the original purpose was not religious at all. The vow had no relation to the profession of Zoroastrism, but was the traditional oath, an "aryaman, client" had to swear when admitted into the "vis."

The "Tables of Numa" say: "Si quis hominem liberum dolo sciens duit paricidas esto." The premeditated crime against the class of liberi, ἐλεύθεροι, māniya, the murder of a free member of the "gens," is considered like next-of-kin murder, as sacrilege. That is a more advanced phase of legal interpretation, but throws light upon the passage of the fravarāni: the murder of a free man, mānya,[2] is sworn off, the murder of a slave or serf, is subsumed under theft and robbing of gauš, cattle.

§§6 and 7 of the fravarāni are discussed under 'Dēva.' §8 says only: "I profess my being a Mazdayasnian, a Zoroastrian, by credo and oath, āstutasča fravartašca." §9: "I take the oath, āstuvē, upon the mazdayasnian religion, dēnā māzdayasnī, which is fraspa.yōχδrā nida.snaθiš."[3] The thought of the relative clause, that the mazdayasnian religion

[2] Bartholomae misunderstood mānya everywhere, *Wb.*1896: "autoritativ," even in *Yt.*17,10, where the ladies of the house, nmāna, expect "authoritatively" their husbands in the bedroom. Nyberg translates "begütert," to the effect that people without estate were allowed to be killed. *Y.*47.4 says: "Though he may have little [kasəčit, belongs to rtāvan], towards an rtāvan one shall be friendly; but, even being in need, isvāčit hams [see under 'Hospitium'] one shall be bad, aka, towards a drugvant, however rich." The mānya are Akk. mār awēlim, Arab. ahl al-bait, abnā al-nās.

[3] "fraspā.yōχδra, wiping out witchcraft" Pahl. transl. frāčawgand-ayōzilnīh; yōχšti is magic "binding," to √yug- iungere. Cf. "spayaθra" under 'Astronomy.'

breaks magic, resembles the tale of how Moses outdoes the Egyptian sorcerers in *Exod.* 7-9. The mazdayasnian religion has also the power of wiping out all misdeeds committed before it was espoused; but although the words are part of the late credo, Zoroaster's spirit is not in them.

*Vid.*3,39: "The sin of burying dogs or men cannot be wiped out, spayate, by any punishment, by any purification." §40 admits one exception, showing a changed conception of law: "if the culprit embraces the mazdayasnian religion." §41 gives the reason: "spayate dēnā māzdayasnīš narš āstavanahya vispē šyōθnā yāčiča vrzati, for the mazdayasnian religion wipes out all actions, whatever he has committed, of the man who embraces it, rubs off every evil thought, like a high wind blowing from the south sweeps the atmosphere clean, framrzati vispam dušmatam . . . mānayan yaθa vāto brzi.takaθro θwartam dašināt pari framrzoit." spayati, here, is syn. of fra.mrz- "rub off," with the connotation of purgation, purification.[4]

mazdayasna, the noun, in the fravarāni self-appellation of the neophyte, and the adj. visām māzdayasnānām—also in dēnā māzdayasnīš for the religion itself in the introductory paragraph of *Y.Haft.* 35,1—is a term totally absent from the gathas, the Yasna haftahāti, the OP. inscriptions, and, of course, from the genuinely old parts of the yashts.

As a nom. propr. mazdayasna appears in the memorial document of *Yt.*13 and on a tablet from Nippur, dated "a° 3 of Darius II," i.e. 421 B.C.: ma.az.da.is/z.na. In the Pap.El. Sachau 11,6=Cowley 37, we find: "The peqīd of our town is mzdyzn . . . we are afraid. . . ." Ršāma, addressee of the letter, was satrap in 435 and left Egypt in 410; the

[4] √spī-, spā- is not sufficiently treated in *Wb.*—*Vid.*3,35: "Who does not pay the salary a pious man has earned by his labor, avi tam spayāt spantayā ārmatoiš tanō āča . . . ačištam āča ahum, shall be cast out from the earth into darkness and hell." Cf. *Ōgm.*28: "nā mām ahrāi varīm fra.spayoiš, do not cast me out into the pit of hell!"; cf. scum, offscum, Ir. spāma=kafa. Ibsen, in Kaiser und Galiläer says: "Sei verflucht, Gott hat dich aus seinem Munde ausgespien!" *Yt.*14,13: "uštro kafam api.spayati": kafa "foam, froth," syn. of spāmā—Lat. spūtum, spūma. Hence: "the male camel spits, spayati, itself full of spittle." And *Vid.*6,26: "A corpse has been discovered in water; prescription: as much as one can seize with the hands shall be dragged out and laid on dry soil, noit astām noit vanāmn noit spāmān noit mūθrām noit vanhutātum pari.spāti āpum āstryāote," a sentence giving the reason: "for one must not, by pari.spāti of bones, hair, spāmā 'spittle,' mūθra 'urine,' vanhutāt 'drops of blood' (Pahl. χun tačīnih, not 'sanguinitas' *Wb.*) etc, sin against the water." pari.spāti spāmām is a fig. etym., "by spitting spittle around." This √ spi-, spā-, evidently belongs to Lat. spuo, Got. speiwan. And the basic signification is not "iacere, abicere" (*wb.*), but at the best "eicere," towards "excretion, excrement."

personal names in the fragment recur on papyri dated 420-410, and Cowley puts the date of this fragment in "about 410 B.C."

One must distinguish between the use of the word as a n.pr., entirely inoffensive as a theophoric name of people with a polytheistic religion, and its use as designation of the post-Zoroastrian religion. In the papyrus, mzdyzn is not a n.pr., because "we are afraid" implies: a mazdayasnian is unfriendly towards our religion. 410 B.C. is the very time in which this term appears first in the Awesta. There it is restricted to those parts that have a claim to the—wrongly used—designation "Younger Awesta," namely parts not older than the syncretistic redaction under Artaxerxes II, or possibly the end of the reign of Darius II.

At that very period dēvayasna, too, appears for the first time, namely in quotations from the cycles of legends that grew round Zoroaster and Vištāspa and had been attached to the older cycles of the epics and introduced in the yashts. The two antonyms originated together and refer to each other, see under 'Dēva.'

In *Yt.*14,54, the Indian soldiers, mockingly called Vyambura.dīva martiyāka, are not designated as dēvayasna, but as dēvayazo imitating Skr. devayáj, and these verses belong to the same period, the very end of the fifth century, see under 'Kršvar.'

Artaxerxes II, by again permitting the old cults, sanctioned conditions actually existing at his accession: the old gods had come back into Zoroastrism under Artaxerxes I and Darius II. Therefore, the neophytes of the fravarāni call themselves not only mazdayasna but also zāraθuštriš. The first word cannot mean the real Zoroastrism, but the syncretism of that period. The mazdayasna curse the dēva, but pray to the yazata, the same dēva under their new generic name. Thus, dēvayasna is the right term for the pre-Zoroastrian polytheism, zāraθuštriš for Zoroaster's own monotheism, and mazdayasna the term for the post-Zoroastrian syncretism. One must speak of these three phases of the religion as dēvayasnian, zoroastrian and mazdayasnian, and can also say Dēvaïsm, Zoroastrism and Mazdaïsm.

Pap.El. 10,6 is the only place where the form mzdyzn, with -zn-, appears. Nyberg 342: "Ein mazdāh-Verehrer hiess im Westen mazdayazna mit medischer Lautform, deutlich unterschie-

den von dem Aw. mazdayasna" (with -sn-).[8] zn:sn, voiced and breathed sibilant as two correspondents of pre-Aryan pre-palatal before nasal, are thus represented as proof that Awestic cannot be a Median dialect; zn:sn would imply the solution of one of the great problems of Iranian history, the "East Iranian home of the Awesta." The attitude is utterly naïve, and the reason totally insufficient.

H. Hartmann, to whose elaboration of the subject Nyberg refers, says: "Arm. mazdezn ist aus dem Parthischen entlehnt" and later "damit haben wir den Beweis, dass mazdayazna—kein altpersisches Wort [who would ever have thought so?]—nicht aus der Sprache des Awesta, sondern aus dem Medischen übernommen wurde." This is extremely confusing and confused: most misunderstandings come from inaccurate terminology. "Parthian" is a geographic and ethnic term opposed to Median; Hartmann uses it as a chronologic term for a certain period of Median. He wants to say that Arm. mazdezn was borrowed from Median during the Arsacid period.

The Iranian loanwords in the Aram. papyri, in Daniel and Ezra, furthermore some loanwords and more proper names in the Akk. versions of the OP. inscriptions follow the usage of writing and language taught in the school of Babylon, which is also the source of the system of ideograms in Arsacid pahlavīk. The loanwords which belong to the spheres of religion and administration are, where the difference is clear, almost all Median, not Old Persian. These Aramaic scribes of Babylon had close relations to those of Agbatana, but they did not speak any vulgar dialect, but a literary language. All is erudition.

The form mzdyzn, used about 410 B.C. in the papyrus, reappears about 650 years later in the Pahlavīk versions of the Sasanian inscriptions, in the Parthian (as opp. to Median) title

[8] Hartmann's thesis in OLZ 40, 1937, Sp. 157 is: "Prepalatal before n is as a rule assimilated to the preponderant final sound of the stem, Aw. yasna < *yazna; the forms of the stem yaz-, ending regularly in -z, are so numerous that š of *yašna, according to phonetic law, is not maintained, but replaced by z." "In Median it must have been the same, as proved by Arm. mazdezn which is a loanword from Parthian." "But in OP. these presumptions are lacking, because there the stem yaš- always ends in dental; therefore *yašn-, according to phon. law, is maintained." The distinction between OP. yaš-, NP. yašn and Aw. yaz-, yasna is clear without that; apart from it, the presentation, which does not consider the possible identity of Awestic and Median, does only prove that -sn- : -zn- is a secondary difference of small significance.

"mazdēzn bag, the mazdāh-worshipper, the god"—an idea similar to the "most-catholic Majesty"—and in the name of the religion "dēn māzdēzn" (with zn as opp. to dēnā māzdayasniš of the Awesta). The official Pahlavīk, to which the terms belong, must have been established—it is indifferent from which dialects it was derived—during the first hundred years of the Arsacid empire in Parthia; the conquest of Media did certainly *not* cause a change in the protocol. Titles are constant: the old Persians did not even assimilate χšāyaθya vazraka, borrowed from Median, to their own dialect; all the less reason to assume that the Parthians would have assimilated a title of their own to a foreign dialect. Arm. mazdezn is indeed a loanword from Parthian, however not in the sense Hartmann uses it, viz. a vulgar dialect of Media, but from official Pahlavīk.

Since the time of Ardashīr I, the Pārsīk inscriptions offer mzdysn = mazdēsn, which comes neither from an OP. *mazdayašna (to be expected according to NP. yašn), nor from a Med. *mazdayazna. The assertion "Im Westen hiess ein Mazdāh-Verehrer mazdayazna mit medischer Lautform" is wrong. MP. mazdēsn, at the same time, disproves the assumption that a Med. *mazdayazna had ever been borrowed by Old Persian.

In order to explain the etymology of younger forms, we use to construct older forms, but that does not always mean that these existed in the older language. Already at the end of the 6th century B.C. OP. -aya- was contracted to ē, as the contemporary transliterations of the names of Darius and Xerxes—besides many others—show. The inscriptions of Artaxerxes II and III—besides Akk. and Aram. transcriptions of Iran. names—show that as early as 400 B.C. the terminations of the inflection were dropped. The attempt made in these inscriptions to maintain the forms of the older language is a complete failure; the contemporary attempts of the "Younger Awesta" to write in "hizvo danhahā, learned language" are better, but not good. In 421 B.C. the Babylonian scribes render the n.pr. mazdayasna by a trisyllabic mazdai*/ₛna [Akk. cuneiform does not distinguish s or z at the end of a syllable], and shortly after, under Artaxerxes II when the word became a very common term, the

pronunciation was mazdēsn or mazdēzn, a form to be described as Middle Iranian. For this word, the written text of the Arsacid Awesta noted mzdysn, a spelling which in the 4th century A.D. again was transposed into Awestic script as mazdayasna. As a religious term the word did not exist at an antiquity where it was pronounced with four syllables, viz. before or about 600 B.C. The old Persians did not form it at all in their own dialect, nor did they borrow an old Median form, they simply used it in the form it had accepted in about 400 B.C. in "middle Awestic": mazdēsn. Nothing can be said against mazdēsn or the Aw. n.pr. mazdayasna belonging to a Median dialect. The word cannot appear in the gatha, but there its form would be mazdayazna; mazdezn, borrowed by the Armenians, is a middle Parthian form.

Mazdayasna does not at all designate the religion of Zoroaster, propagated by "missionaries from the East," but the syncretism since the time of Artaxerxes II. No Persians and no missionaries ever said mazdayazna with z.

Nyberg 367: "Das Schlüsselwort des Kultes des Xerxes ist 'anbeten,' yaδ- mit δ statt z, beim barzman und mit rta, eine uralte Formel, deren Konstruktion so altertümlich ist, dass man bis zur Sprache der Gatha hinaufgehen muss, um Parallelen zu finden. Die Formel ist medischen Ursprungs, denn barzman ist eine medische Form."

"yaδ-" is an ordinary padlock that every key opens. "Kult des Xerxes" sounds as if it was different from that of other Achaemenids. "Going back to the language of the Gathas" presumes a great interval as a given fact: if it was only 40–50 years, one would not have far to go. Indeed, "rtāča," i.e. "as Rtam," not "with" Rtam, is a personal idiom of Zoroaster, see under 'Dēva.'

Instead of barzman, the Akk. and El. transcriptions bi.ra.za.am.man.-ni and p'r.ra.c.man.ni.ja demand the reading brazman. The OP. formula is: Ōramazdām ayadē (1.p. sg. praet.) or yadēša (imper.) or yadatē (3.sg. pres.) rtāča brazmani, "I worshipped (you shall, he worshipped) Ōramazdā as Rtam at the brazman," if one takes brazmani as loc. The original meaning and even the IE. connection of brazman is obscure. If it was simply Aw. barsman, it would be all the better.

It does not appear in the gatha, but the Gath. form would have -zm-. Meillet, *Introd.*, compared OI. "brahmán, prêtre" with Rom. flāmen; Hertel equates OI. bráhman, Aw. barsman with φλέγμα, hence Lat. flāmma; in IIQF VII, 62 n.1, he remarks: "In Ved. ist bráhman = Aw. rtam, im Aw. ist es nur noch 'Opferstreu,' d.i. der Sitz, der beim Opfer für die yazata [aus Zweigen] bereitet wird, und auf dem die Opferspeisen und -tränke vorgesetzt werden; die Götter werden durch den Rufer, zotar, zum yasna und barsman eingeladen." We do not know enough and etymology alone is unfit to determine the purport of the old words at a certain period with a special religious group.

mzdyzn and brzmdn, brazman-case, forms used by the Aramaic scribes of Elephantine, the n.pr. hvārazmiš in OP. inscriptions, and OP. uz.maya-, which may be a techn. term of Median criminal law, prove nothing for Old Persian phonetics. As a matter of fact, z od s before nasal is no criterion at all for separating Awestic from other Median dialects. All reasons adduced are fictitious, and Meillet's words of 1924, *Trois Conf.* 26f., retain their full value: "Peu importent les indications—toutes empruntées du reste à l'Avesta récent—d'après lesquelles l'Avesta se serait constitué dans l'Iran Oriental. Même exactes elles ne prouveraient rien."

Before this sentence he said: "La tradition enseigne que Zoroaster était originaire du Nord-Ouest de l'Iran. . . . Or, si l'on examine la langue de l'Avesta en général, des gâthâs en particulier, on reconnaît immédiatement, d'abord qu'elle diffère du perse, ce qui exclut le Sud-Ouest, puis qu'elle diffère aussi du sogdien et du parler du Khotan. . . . La langue de l'Avesta repose donc sur les parlers du Nord-Ouest. En conclusion d'un mémoire rigoureux . . . *Dialektologie der westiran. Turfantexte* (MO XV, 1921, 184-258), M. Paul Tedesco montre que la langue avestique appartient au groupe des parlers du Nord-Ouest. La démonstration est obtenue par des procédés purement linguistiques, indépendante de la tradition qu'elle vient ainsi confirmer." Tedesco has further confirmed this result of his researches in *Ostiran. Nominalflexion*, ZII IV,1925, 94-166, see especially §58.

Northwest means Media. Awestic is a Median dialect.

XXVIII. MITHRA

"Es tauchten tausend Theologen
in deines Namens alte Nacht!"
—R. M. Rilke

MITHRA is an Aryan, pre-Iranian god. As early as in 1400 B.C. he is invoked, in the dvandva formula mitrassil-urunassil,[1] i.e. Mitra and Varuna, as witness in the political treaties of the Mitanni Aryans. This small group of Aryans split from the main body of the tribes on their way towards India, in about 1500, and founded a short-lived empire, which they called Maiteni, in Mesopotamia. Their own language was still a dialect of Aryan; in Maiteni, they accepted, as a minority over an autochthonous population, the language of their subjects.

With the Indo-Aryans the pair of gods lived on; in the Rgveda it is often invoked as mitrā-varuṇā, whereas to Mitrá alone one hymn only is dedicated, III,59. Other gods supplanted his cult.

Hertel, *Siegesf.* 144f., discusses the Ved. expression "mitrámasas, as great as Mitra," i.e. his equal, and translates *RV.*x,22: "Hier hört man von Indra; bei uns, noch heute, wird er gepriesen, der mit der Keule bewehrte, der sich ebenso wie Mitra unter den Stämmen einen Ruhm erworben hat, der nicht halb ist," and remarks: "Hier wird Indra dem *awestischen* Mithra als ebenbürtiger Gegner (im Kriege) gegenübergestellt." Instead of Awestic, one must say Old Iranian. Since the "tribes" are those of the singers, these would say that their enemy had acquired with them "not half a fame." Similarly *RV.*VII,5-6: "Dir (Agni) haben die vásavaḥ [=deva] das Herrscheramt, asuryám, auferlegt, denn sie fanden Gefallen an deiner Geisteskraft, o Du, der du mitrámasas bist," explained: "Bezöge man hier mitrámasas auf den vedischen Mitra, so würde man dem Dichter . . . Gedankenlosigkeit zutrauen; denn das Beiwort würde besagen, dass Mitra die Herrschaft über die deva ebenso gut verdient hätte. Will der Dichter aber sagen: der du dem awestischen Mithra gewachsen bist, so ist alles in Ordnung." I am not convinced, for, Indra would deserve the asuryám only when "greater than," not as his enemy's "equal." If other gods are measured by Mitra, he must once have been one of the greatest, and what one actually observes is his gradual recess in India.

[1] uruna for varuna, as Ass. uruka.zaḫarna for *vṛka.zḫarna; and uššukani beside waluggani, Aryan name of the capital of the Mitanni country.

With the Aryans who stayed on in their original home his worship went on; for at Herodotus' time the Scolotian Scyths in the north-west still adored him under the name Γοιτόσυρος. The second element of this name is Ir. sūra, κύριος. The fault of the usual interpretation[2] of the first element as "gēθā, in sg. immobile property, in pl. world" is, that Gr. oi and t would represent Ir. ē and θ. Gr. oi is Ir. oi < avyu, and goito- is gavyūti; the name is a syn. of the standing epithet vurugavyūtiš of the Ir. Mithra: gavyūtisūra.

The Iranians brought him with them to Iran, where he survived Zoroastrism and the old empire, and whence he set out, in Hellenism and under the Roman empire, on his triumphal march through Europe, where he finally succumbed to Christianity.

Instead of the Aryan dvandva mitrā-varuṇā, the Awesta has miθrā-ahurā, the meaning of which Duchesne has explained in "Mélanges Cumont":[3]

*Yt.*10,113:

taδā no ǰamyāt avahē	que viennent à notre secours
miθrā ahurā brzantā	Mithra et Ahura les sublimes!

and *Yt.*10,145:

Miθrā ahurā brzantā	Mithra et Ahura les sublimes,
aθyaǰahā rtāvanā	non-menacées, justes,
strščа māhamča huvarča	et les étoiles, la lune, le soleil,
urvarâ pati barsmanyâ	par les plantes du barsman,
miθram vispānām dahyūnām	Mithra, de toutes les provinces
dahyupatim yazamade	le maître-de-province nous le vénérons!

Bartholomae (1904, in *Wb.*) had not overlooked this dvandva nor the form ahurā-miθrā which it has assumed in Y.1,11 and 2,11; p.1185: "Zweifellos eine aus arischer Zeit stammende Verbindung," and 293: "altüberkommene feste Verbindungen." These remarks are not quite accurate: the formula of *Yt.*10 is not older than O.Iranian, that of the Yasna is not old. Hertel, 1931, in *Siegesf.* 144: "Die Dual-Gottheit

[2] Thus Markwart, UGE 11,90, endorsed, still in 1933, by G. Hüsing.
[3] Annales de l'Inst. de philologie et d'histoire orientales, Bruxelles, t.IV, 683ff.

mitrā-varuṇā . . . schon in den Boghazköi texten bezeugt . . . , im *RV.* häufig . . . , fehlt gänzlich im Awesta," and 132: "Mithra gewann . . . so viel Anhänger, dass die Ortodoxie ihn Mazdāh *neben*ordnete, was in dem Dual-komp. mi*θ*rā-ahurā, im Yasna ahurā-mi*θ*rā, zum sprachlichen Ausdruck kommt." Thus, the real discovery, the observation that the formula in *Yt.*10 is correct, while the formula in the two yasna runs counter to Pāṇiṇi's dvandva rule,[4] was left to Duchesne to make. It changes the picture entirely and is fundamental for the obscure prehistory of the religion of these nations.

*Y.*1,11 and 2,11, both, quote *Yt.*10,145 in toto. *Y.*2 introduces it with "we invite to the yasna," not involving any formal change; *Y.*1 with "we put down (this yasna) to the account of . . ." which entails the transposition—not quite successful—of the dvandva into the instr.-dat. dual. The interpolations "the creatures of Spanta manyu" to the stars, and "eye of AhuraMazdāh" to the sun, disclose the reason why the redactors transformed the old mi*θ*rā-ahurā: the mazdayasnian orthodoxy took no offence at the god Mithra himself, but at the placing—linguistically necessary—of Mi*θ*ra in front of Ahura. This had become a question of rank, and impossible after the period of Zoroaster.

The two yasna passages prove that the idea embodied in the dvandva was as dead at their time as the linguistic feeling; they are mere quotations, made worse instead of better, from old literature. The necessary conclusion is: *the genuine dvandva is pre-Zoroastrian and with it the verses in which it appears.*

Duchesne's observation confirms at the same time the identity, long since surmised, but contested by A. Hillebrandt still in 1925 (211), of Varuna and AhuraMazdāh: mi*θ*rā-ahurā is the OIr. form of Ar. and Ved. mitrā-varuṇā (see under 'Dēva').

It disproves furthermore Nyberg's assertion, 59: "die alten echten Stücke des *Yt.*10 lassen keinen Zweifel daran, dass Ahura Mazdāh ursprünglich nichts in Mithras Umgebung zu schaffen hatte." At the beginning of a hymn addressed to Mithra alone, the dvandva, which unites the two and with them sun, moon and stars, proves the contrary: Hymns to single gods started, in the Old Iranian and already in the Aryan epoch, with an invocation of all the gods. The heroes of the old epics, too, which were not members of different sects, pray—as *Yt.*5, 9,

[4] Duchesne applies Benveniste's theory BSOS VIII,405f., 1936: *Sur quelques dvandvas avestiques.*

15 and 17 amply show—equally to Anāhitā, Rtiš, Druvāspā and Vāyuš. The axiom, 24f.—"Es reicht nicht aus, von vorzarathustrischer Religion zu sprechen, man muss mit mehreren ausserzarathustrischen Religionsformen rechnen, die allesamt im Lauf der Zeit von der Gemeinde des Gatha-Propheten aufgesogen wurden, aber früher einmal selbständig zu denken sind"—is faulty. Polytheism is not a multitude of religions, but one, and its gods were, as Herodotus says, the heaven, Mithra, sun, moon, stars—all in *Yt.*10,145—and others, that are the old IE. "heavenly ones" or dēva.

"Pre-Zoroastrian" is a relative date. If one admits the fixing of the "traditional date" of Zoroaster in 570-500 B.C., it would mean "before 540 B.C." But without any reference to other lines of argument, the relative date can be converted into an absolute one from the verses of *Yt.*10 alone.

St.113, with miθrā-ahurā, belongs to a song, to which one must attribute the st. 28, 38, 42, 80, 85-86 and 112, and to which one may give the title "Theft of the Herd." Of these stanzas, 42 is evidently the first, for it describes the general situation, leading in medias res. It would however be too abrupt an opening for a song, and one must assume that a general invocation of Mithra, after the model of 145, and a special call for help, e.g. st.23, prefaced it:

23: apa no hača anzahāt	deliver us from calamity,
apa no hača θyaǰahāt	deliver us from menace,
miθra baroiš anādruχto	Mithra against whom we did not sin!
42: āi miθra vurugavyūti	O Miθra with the wide pastures!
imē no arvantā aspā	§ They carry away from the yard
parā *mēθanāt nayanti	these here our speedy horses,
imē no uγrā bāzū	with daggers, Mithra, they smash
kārtē miθra sčindayanti	these here our strong arms.
38: χrumå šitayo frazyantē	To earth the dwellings are destroyed,
an.āšitā mēθaniyā	without shelter are the people of the yard.
χrumiyam gauš yā čahrahaχš	The cattle used to follow the pasture

varaθyām pantām azatē — is driven the stony way of captivity,
yā drnāhu miθradrujām — to the pens (hovels?) of the miθradruχš,
frazrštā ēšām raθayā — dragged on at their chariot.
asrū *[z]azāno hištantē — § Shedding tears they stand there
anu zafāno takahē — which run down their mouth,
85: gauščit yā (86) vartā azyamnā — the cow, too, driven off as captive,
bāδa zbayati avahē — verily cries for help,
gavaθyam patišmaramnā — counting the herd:
kaδā no aršā gavaθyam — When will the bull overtake
apayāt paskāt vazyamno — the herd, who comes running after us,
miθro yo vurugavyūtiš — Mithra with the wide pastures,
kaδā no fra.rvēsayati — when will he make us turn
[gām] vēsmanda azyamnām — [the cattle] that is driven home again?
113: taδā no jamyāt avahe — Then he shall come to our help!
miθrā ahurā brzantā — Mithra-Ahura you high ones!
brzam barāt aštrā vāčam — The whip shall call with high voice,
aspānāmča srifat χšufsān — and the horses' nostrils shall snort,
aštrā kanhvān jiyå nōθyān — the whips shall crack, the bowstrings whiz,
tigråho aštavo? taδā — the arrows [verb corrupt] then
hunavo *zuru.gōθrānām — the *zuru.gōθra-sons shall
jatā paθyånte fravrsā — lie there, slain, their hair up,
80: yahmi soirē miθradrujo — where the miθradruχš are lying
*a.bōδayo jatā purva — powerless, slain, in heaps.
tuvam mēθanahya pati — § Thou, lord of the farmyard,
nipātā ahi adružām — art the guardian of the innocent,
tuvam vrzānahya pati — Thou, lord of the village,
nišhartā ahi adružām — art the keeper of the innocent,
28: yo stūnå viδārayati — who props the pillars
brzimitahya nmānahya — of the high-built house,
stawrå ānθyå krnavati — who timbers the strong antae,

āt ahmāi nmānāi daδāti — To that house he gives
gaušča vanθwa vīrānāmča — herds of cattle and men,
yāhuvā χšnūto bavati — in which he is obeyed;
upa anyå sčindayati — the alien ones he destroys,
yāhuvā tbišto bavati — in which he is offended.
112: čiθrå miθrahya ˚friyānå — § The signs of Mithra are friendly
yas.tām dahyūm āčarati — who visits that country
yaθa hubrto baratē — where he is well worshipped;
paθnā ǰafrå gavyūtaye — The paths of its pastures are deep,
āt havā pasū vīrā — its cattle and its men
vaso.χšaθrā fračaratē — walk around of their own free will!

Sequence of verses:

As we have the yasht, none of the stanzas of this song any longer joins another, and the original order is not preserved. However, the joints between them and their younger surroundings have not been effaced.

Some interpolations are unmistakable, e.g. in 38: "(the dwellings) in which live the miθradruχš and drugvant, the killers of the true believers," and yet the very miθradruχš are those who destroy those houses. Or 85b, where the cow stands "ustāna.zasta, hands outstretched" in the attitude of Zoroastrian prayer. Elimination makes the verses metrical. In 86h one may insert gām before vēsmanda, instead of the meaningless drujo, because the fem. azyamnām follows and the verse stands in parallel with gauš pantām azatē in 38d, and gauš vrtā azyamnā in 85a. rtahya pati pantām between fra.rvēsayati and vēsmanda must be omitted, as mazdayasnian misinterpretation of that pantām azatē: religious problems are out of question in these verses.

The thought of st.23 is transposed into a relative clause in 22, and there, instead of anzahibyo, an infantile repetition of anzahāt in plural, stand the words apa θyaǰahāt barati. In the archaic invocation of 145, miθrā-ahurā are called aθyaǰahā. Therefore, anzahibyo in 23 is unauthentic, θyaǰahāt in 22 is genuine, and the line in 23 must be corrected accordingly.

St.42 must be placed before, not after 38, because 85 joins 38. That they followed one another is confirmed by the fact that only then

MYTR'(Y)T in 42c—incomprehensible as the stanzas appear in the yasht—finds an explanation: mē*θ*ana, "farmyards" of the mē*θ*aniya in 38b, see below.

The two words gauščit yā are reckoned to st.85, all the rest to 86, an indication that the old song has been torn apart: (85) 86 followed immediately upon 42-38. The contact between 85 and 103 is without objection as to the contents, is recommended by the formal responsion of kaδā no apayāt in 85 and taδā no ǰamyāt in 113, further by the two avahe, and is proved by the fact that the verb ǰamyāt stands in singular. Tedesco drew my attention to the point that Duchesne's translation "que viennent" would require the dual ǰamyātām. But if 113 joined 85, the singular is right: the foregoing verses speak of Mithra alone, but are followed by an invocation of the pair, mi*θ*rā-ahurā, as in 145 the invocation of the same pair precedes the singular mi*θ*ram yazamade.

In 113c, when the stanzas were severed, a "yat" had to be inserted before "brzam vāčam" which impairs sense and meter: the gods do not bring help "when, after" the battle was in full swing, but the battle is hoped for as effect of their arrival. The optative mood is abandoned only in soirē, 3.p.ind. perf.med., in st.80. This sentence follows, meaningless, upon the equally meaningless "Mit Dir als Herrn erwerbe ich mir ja die beste Gemeinschaft!" (Bartholomae). Originally, st.113 joined, for only then the words ǰatā pa*θ*yåntē fravrsā in 80 and soire ‚apivi*θ*iši' ǰatā in 80, otherwise wholly enigmatical, explain each other mutually.

Therewith the position of st.80 is fixed. It expresses thanks for the help of the gods. It fits the peculiar situation that Mithra is invoked, not as usual as dahyupatiš, but as "mē*θ*anapatiš, vrzanahartar, lord of the farmyard, guardian of the village." In 42, the horses are carried away from the mē*θ*ana, in 38 the inhabitants of the mē*θ*ana are without shelter. Therefore, st.28 belongs behind 80, because it describes Mithra's activity as mē*θ*anapātar, and says that Mithra gives "herds of cattle and men" to the house, the family—nmāna—where he is obeyed.

St.112, again, must follow 8, because āčarati describes Mithra's labor as a metic, abičariš, at the mē*θ*ana. The paths of the pastures, there, are called "deep, ǰafra" in contrast to the "stony, χrumiya, way" which the stolen cattle is forced to go; and in opposition to the theft of the

horses in 42 and the robbing of the cattle in 38 and 86, the last words say: "cattle and men travel according to their own will." This puts friyāna in 112a close to χšnūt in 28f., and the two words appear together at all other places.

Vocabulary:

Bartholomae and Lommel wanted to abstract a vocative miθra from MYTR'T in 42,[5] although the god is already twice and sufficiently invoked in the short stanza. On the contrary, an ablative "from where" the cattle is driven "to the drnāhu" of the robbers is lacking. In 86 the aim is called vēsmanda, an archaic form, Gr. οἶκαδε. So one expects here οἴκοθεν, and since the whole song speaks of a mēθana, MYTR'T must be regarded as misspelling of MYTN'T, mēθanāt.

χrumå, χrumiya appears only once more, *Yt.*13,38 as χrumå asōbiš frazyanta, that is in the same phrase. I. Ghershewitz, in JRAS 1942, 101, derived, with Henning's assent, Sogd. γwrm, Man.Mir. χvrm, var.lect. χrvm, i.e. "earth" as material, from Aw. *χruma in paχruma < *upaχruma, *Vid.*2,23; same meaning as "upa.sma, on the earth," see under 'Ardvīsūrā.' He could have chosen χruma itself in *Yt.*10,38, which does not belong to "χrū, blood" (*Wb.*). χrumiya, as quality of the way is the contrast to the "deep, ǰafra, grassy" pasture, the cattle is used to follow, čahrahaχš; hence, χrumiya means "earthy" in the sense of "sandy" or "stony." χrumå is loc. or instr. of the noun, "in or to earth" meaning "to the ground," NP. "ba zamīn rāst kardan." The houses were built of mud-bricks or stamped earth.

mēθaniya:mēθana = nmāniya:nmāna, they are "the people of the farm." The other passages in which the word occurs, *Y.*2, 16=6,15, are not in contradiction. an.āšita, then, is "without shelter," not "uninhabitable," cf. dužita, ahvarta and other participles of the same class.

drna: something in which the robbers either dwell or keep their cattle. "dāuru.upa.darna" in *Vid.*8,1 is made of wood and called a "house"; *Vid.*3,31 quotes, out of context, a fragment: satam patištānānām, hazahram pati.darānām, where the syn.

[5] Codd. F1, E miθrāδa, others miθrāiδa, miθrāiṭa; K15 miθrāt, J10 miθrāide; leading to archet. MYTR'T.

patištāna means "stand," place or basis. The correspondence of the names Uši.dam "house of dawn" and Uši.darna shows that the word was not a contemptible one; it designates a primitive form, for instance "hut," else "pen, corral."

asrū azāno is probably to be read, with Lommel, *Yäst* 71,n., *zazāno; anu zafāno is hardly a compound; with exception of anu.piθwa, all compounds with the prep. anu are late abstr. nouns formed from verbs. anu belongs to takahe, the form of which remains obscure—*Wb.*: "gen.absol."—but the meaning is clear.

fra.rvēsayati in 85 relates to the herd in stampede, and the cow is "patišmaramnā, counting" the herd, as the animals in *Yt.*8 "count by Tištriya."

The line with hunavo guru.zōθrānām is not so sure as it looks; for the preceding line is corrupt and its last word taδā might be the first of the next one. Bartholomae: "die Söhne derer, deren Weihgüsse zähflüssig sind, scil. weil sie aus Blut bestehen" attaching guru to *garu, fem.γrū "heavy," Gr. barýs, Lat. gravis. It is clearly an invective, like "ibn al-kalb, son-of-a-bitch" etc., cf. spāčiθra, hūčiθra, Akk. zēr.mandu, zēr ḫalgati. The second element, therefore, is surely gōθra, Ved. gotrá, "kind, kin," MP.NP. gōhr. In guru I can recognize neither the word for an animal nor for whore. Gr. barýs and Lat. can have the connotation "difficult, onerous," even "adverse," but it is much more probable that the two initials, g and z have changed place: *zuru.gōθra, cf. OP. zurakara, Aw. zuraǰata etc.

fravrsā: *Wb.* "skalpiert?" must describe the position of the slain enemies, ǰatā paθyāntē. If it belongs to "vrsa, hair" it would be "the hair up," i.e. lying on their face. It is useless to try to explain ‚api viθiši' from the context in which it appears today. Of the two words which precede, miθradruǰo martiyākāho, the second is dispensable. Whether one makes the caesura before or —eliminating miθradruǰo—after ‚api viθiši', the word cannot have had more than four syllables, and was probably only one word. It stands between "soirē, they lie" and "ǰatā, slain," and can only describe—like fravrsā, close to it in 113—the position of the dead. In analogous descriptions MP. uses often the words

"akār, incapable of acting" or "abōδ, unconscious, powerless." The archetype *ᵖ.v.ᵀʸš(ʸ) may be resolved (with ᵀ for δ, normal, and ᵖ for w < ʙ) in *abōδi- to √bōd-.[6]

pati: Bartholomae saw in the two pati an ellipsis for pati[š.-hartar] niš.hartar and pati[.pātar] ni.pātar, a clumsy construction resulting in an unpleasant double genitive. Lommel takes pati as vocative, avoiding these disadvantages. mēθanahya patiš and vrzanahya patiš are dissected compounds *mēθanapatiš and *vrzanapatiš, like χšaθrahya patiš in Y.44,9 and šoiθrahya patiš in Y.2,16.

brzi.mita "high-built," to √māy-, mi-, OP. framāy "to construct" viz. with the framānā, the measuring rod. viδārayati, lit. "to hold asunder, prop"; in *Yt.*1,26 the fravarti are compared to propped wood-constructions, see under 'Architecture.'

krnavati, to √kart-, to cut, stone or wood; the antae are of wood, in the large scale of Achaemenian buildings of stone. OP. krnvaka is the Median term.techn. for "mason"; in the charter of Susa they akunavanta, cut the stones.

čiθrā in 112, are "mien" or "gesture," Ind. mudra, such as uzbāzu in *Yt.*10,124 or ustāna.zasta; cf. Benveniste, *Inf.av.*, to Y.44,16: "čiθrā moi dām, que des signes me soient données!" FRYN, is not a hapax *fra.ayana "way" (*Wb.*) but friyāna, the well known adj. and n.pr., inscr. Φλίανος. Bartholomae divides čiθra in two words, (1) "Anblick, Antlitz, Gesamtheit der äusseren Merkmale usf." and (2) "Same, Ursprung, Geschlecht usf." with the note: "die angenommene Gleichheit (of 1 and 2) gilt mir für unwahrscheinlich." The Greek versions of the Sasanian inscriptions render the phrase of the protocol "kē čihr ač yazdān" by ἐκ γένους θεῶν, but Menander, in the protocol of Xusrau I by ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτερίζεται. Therewith he hits the point from which all significations depart: character. The word is one.

The picture of the civilization disclosed in this song is very archaic. The people live by cattle-breeding, dwell in houses, nmāna, with columns and ā(n)θya, "antae," the IE. domus in antis, on farms and in

[6] Cod. H4 viθīš, M12 viθīš, J10 viθāiš, leads to archet. *ᵖ.v.ᵀʸᵢʸ, with indistinct number and position of ʸ's.

villages. In st.80 some titles are poetically transformed (like sāstar in st.108 etc.): the mē*θ*anahya patiš is nipātā, hence *mē*θ*anapati or *mē*θ*anapātar;[7] the vrzānahya patiš is nišhartar, hence *vrzanapati or *vrzanahartar (in Y.46,1, see under 'Social Structure'). Mithra āčarati, works like an abičariš, he timbers and cuts, krnavati, the antae like a Median krnvaka. Aliens, anya and mi*θ*radruχš, who do not worship Mithra, come on chariots, raid and destroy the village, wound and slay the men, drive off the cattle and horses. It is difficult to make a stampeding herd turn: fra.rvēsaya. But at the end it says: "Cattle and men travel vaso.χša*θ*ra, in freedom!"

The same picture of civilization is the background of the oath the aryaman, client, swears when entering a vis, in Y.12,2-3, see under 'Fravarāni': the new member forswears cattle-stealing, grazing of pastures, destruction of immobile property, bodily injury and manslaughter of the members of the vis; he allows the right of the māniya, mē*θ*aniya of Yt.10, who live by cattle-breeding, to rove freely as nomads or to settle freely, vaso.yātim, vaso.šitim, words that at once recall the šitayo frazyånte and pasū vīrā vaso.χša*θ*rā fračaratē of our song. Both lead back to the seventh century, when the immigration of the Aryans gradually came to a standstill.

The figure of the "lamenting cow" connects the song with Zoroaster's "Cow-gatha" Y.29. This subject must have been one of pre-Zoroastrian poetry. But the difference is apparent: here all is a condensed, epic description of an event; in Zoroaster's gatha the cow philosophizes. The time interval is hardly more than a century, short for the degree of change. This is the effect of a great personality: the song is naïve, the gatha over-refined.

The character of the language accords with the high antiquity of the song. About one fifth of all occurring words are hapax legomena, or a fourth part if one includes words that recur only once more in late passages. Moreover, the song must have been well known, for some of its verses were imitated already at an early period.

The verse with χrumā šitayo frazyantē appears again in Yt.13,38 in the epic fragment about the Dānavo, in the shape

χrumā asōbiš frazyanta dānūnām bēvar.patīnām

[7] Cf. MP. n.pr. patrō^{k}mēhan < *pā*θ*ra.mē*θ*ana, under 'Last Judgment.'

with asah for šiti, and in the instr. pl. as "general plural case" according to the late date: the Dānavo are a historical family of Vištāspa's time, and their legend must have been formed and embodied into the epics in the fifth century B.C., whence it was taken over into *Yt.*13 by the redactors of the Awesta.

Also *Yt.*10,30 is formed after st.28 of the old song:

tuvam srōganā srōra*θ*ā	Thou, fair? women, fair? chariots,
ništrta.spayā niδāta.barzišā	out-spread carpets, laid-down mattresses,
nmānā masitā daδāhi	thou givest to the grand houses,
tuvam srōganam srōra*θ*am	thou, . . . women, . . . chariots,
ništrta.spayam niδāta.barzišam	. . . carpets, . . . mattresses,
nmānam daδāhi brzimitam	thou givest to the high-built house,
yas.*θ*wa ōχta.nāmana yasna	of him who worships thee with yasna with-mention-of-thy-name
ra*θ*wiya vāča yazate	and with prayer at the fixed hour!

The poor poet started from the second half, with singularic nmāna and adj. brzimita, borrowed from st.28; for the first half he put nmāna in plural, with adj. masita, deriv. of "mas, great." A more detailed description of a house with carpets, mattresses and other furniture, in *Yt.*14—see under 'Hospitium'—belongs in the high Achaemenian epoch, the fifth century. This one is of the fourth century: the words ōχtanāman (see under 'Return of the Gods') and ra*θ*wiya vāča are as good as a dated signature of the poet. Instead of "herds of cattle and men" he wants only women, rugs and mattresses.

The verses 10,145, with the dvandva mi*θ*rā-ahurā are placed near the end of the yasht, cut off from all original connections by a number of inferior stanzas, but are the beginning of an old hymn. Upon the invocation of Mithra, Ahura, stars, moon and sun, a hymn addressed to Mithra alone followed. The same invocation, therefore, is an introduction adequate for a hymn to each of these gods, the pre-Zoroastrian Ahura, Tištriya, Hvar χšēta and Māh. Here it opens a hymn to Mithra dahyupatiš, of which much, if not all, is preserved.

145: mi*θ*rā ahurā brzantā	To Mithra-Ahura, the two high,
a*θ*yaǰahā rtāvanā	unthreatened, just ones
strsča māhamča huvarča	and to the stars, the moon, the sun

urvarå pati barsmanyå	at the plants of the barsman,
miθram vispānām dahyūnām	to Mithra, the dahyupatiš
dahyupatim yazamade.	of all provinces, we present our offerings!
25: ahuram gufram brzantam	To the ahura, the deep, the high,
bāzuš.ōjaham raθēštām	the raθēštā with the strong arm,
102: arušāspam tiži.rštyam	the one with the white horses, the pointed lance,
χšviwi.išavam raθēštām	the archer, the raθēštā,
112: aštra.hāδam amavantam	the puncher with the goad, the powerful,
taχmam vispatim raθēštām	the swift vispatiš, raθēštā!
8: yim yazante dahyupatayo	To whom the dahyupati sacrifice
arzahi ava.ǰasanto	when they set out towards the west
avi hēnayå χrūšyatīš	against the hostile hosts that are eager to fight,
avi hām.yantā rasmawyo	against their closed phalanxes,
antar dahyū pāprtanē	between the two war-making countries.
11: yim yazante raθēštāro	To whom the raθēštar sacrifice
baršēšu pati aspānām	(standing) at the neck of their horses,
zāvar ǰaδyanto hitēbyo	asking for strength of their two-horse teams,
drvatātam-tanūbyo	for health of their bodies.
47: yim frasrutam zaranimnam	The praised in song, the furious, whom
prθu.safâho vazanti	the broad-hoofed (horses) pull
avi hēnayå χrūšyatīš	against the hostile hosts etc.
avi hām.yantā rasmawyo	
antar dahyū pāprtanē	
68: yahya vārtam hangrwnāti	with whom drives in his chariot
rtiš vahvī yā brzatī	the good Rtiš, the high one,
yim arvanto manyavâho	which is drawn by heavenly racers,
arušā rōχšnā fradrsrā	white, bright, far-visible ones,
spantā vidvâho asayo	holy, trained, shadowless,
manyuvasâho vazanti	ethereal ones,

yat dim dāmoiš upamano
huriχtam bāδa rinaχti
128: hištantē vārtē hazahram
θanvartīnām hukrtānām
129: išūnām *krka.prnānām
*zari.zafrām srvi.stāyām
130: rštīnām broiθra.tēžānām
čakušānām bitēyānām
*čakušām *hōspinēnānām
bitēyānām
131: kārtānām waya.dārānām
gaδānām ayahēnānām
48a: āt yat miθro fravazati

avi hēnayå χrūšyatiš
avi hām.yantā rasmawyo
antar dahyū pāprtanē
96: vazram zastaya dražimno
sata.fštānam sata.dāram

fravēyam vīra.niyåńčim

zaroiš ayaho frahiχtam
101: para.ǰasati vazamno
ho prvyo gaδam nīǰati
aspēča pati vīrēča
avi hamaθa barati
išavo rzifya.prnā
haθra.tarštā θråhayati
uvayā aspā vīrāča
20: aspā vazyanstrā bavati
tačinto noit apayanti
baranto noit frastanvanti
vazanto noit framanyante
39: išvasčit rzifya.prnā
huθaχtāt hača θanvanāt
ǰiya.ǰatåho vazamnā

when Dāmoiš Upamano
sets it going with good start.
On the chariot are lying a thousand
of well manufactured bows,
of cock-feathered arrows,
gold-mouthed, steadied with lead,
of lances sharp-bladed,
of axes double-headed
of axes of Spanish (steel),
double-headed,
of daggers two-edged,
of brazen mace-heads.
Thereupon, when Mithra drives out
against the hostile hosts etc.

gripping the vazra in his hand,
the one with a hundred bosses, hundred edges,
the one swung down, falling upon the warriors,
cast of yellow metal,
he arrives, adriving,
he first brandishes the club
down on horse and man,
then at once he shoots
the eagle-feathered arrows,
with sudden fright he frightens
both, horse and man.
The horses get restive,
when racing they do not . . .
under the rider they do not . . .
before the chariot they do not . . .
The eagle-feathered arrows, too,
that from the well-bent bow
fly, flicked by the string,

ašamna.vido bavati — miss the target,
rštayasčit tiγrā daryā — the lances, too, the sharp, long ones,

ašamna.vido bavati — miss the target,
zarštavāčit fradaχšanyā — the slingstones of earthenware, too,

vazamnā hača bāzubyo — propelled by the arm,
ašamna.vido bavati — miss the target,
yaθa granto upa.tbišto — because wrathful, offended,
apatizanto miθnati — disdained, he repulses them,
miθro yo vurugavyūtiš — he Mithra with the wide pastures.

48b: apāš gavo drzayati — On their back he binds their hands
parā dēmā vārayati — he makes their eyes blind,
apa gōšā tōšayati — he makes their ears deaf,
noit pāδā viδārayati — they cannot hold straight their legs,

noit pati.tavå bavati — they can no longer resist.

36: frā rasmāno sčindayati — He breaks the phalanges to pieces,
yōzanti vispē karāno — all the wings are in turmoil,
rasmano arza.šutahya — of the phalanx that set out for battle.

frā maδyānam χrâhayati — the middle becomes astir
spāδahya χrūšyantahya — of the army that was eager to fight.

69-98: 'mā miθrahya ahurahya — May we never run against
grantahya vēγāi ǰasēma — Mithra's, the wrathful one's assault!

mā no granto api.ǰanyā — Do not slay us in thy wrath,
[-] miθra vurugavyūti! — [thou] Mithra with the wide pastures!

Connection of stanzas:

yim yazante dahyupatayo in 8a resumes dahyupatim yazamade in 145f., and is resumed by yim yazante raθēštāro in 11a. Between the invocation of 145 and st.8 a number of epithets are required: st.25, 103 and 112 contain epithets only. Ignoring the trivial and unmetrical, they give 6 verses, among them ahura, vispatiš and thrice raθēštar, and the sequence "dahyupatiš, 145—raθēštar, epithets—dahyupatayo, 8—raθēštāro, 11" confirms the arrangement.

St.8 describes the situation: the army, gone west, faces the enemy, lined up in phalanges. St.47a and 48 repeat this description word by word, hence belong to the same poem. St.47a "yim frasrutam"—not "den berühmten" (Bartholomae and Lommel) but "praised in song" by the dayupatayo and raθēštāro of 8 and 11 at their yasna, with causative connotation: the songs of these worshippers arouse the gods' wrath towards the enemy. frasrutam connects 47 inseparably with the foregoing 8 and 11.

prθu.safâho in 47b "with broad hooves," since no horses are mentioned before, must have had support in the following stanzas; it introduced the description of the chariot, preserved in st.68, which is to be discussed in full later on. This again was joined by the description of the weapons on the chariot, st.128-131.

Though full of tiresome repetitions and interpolations, two old glosses admitted into the text prove the still higher antiquity of this description. Bartholomae, *Wb.*875, recognized that the words, six times repeated "ethereal they (the weapons) travel, ethereal they fall on the skulls of the dēva," do not fit a bow, where they appear first. They fit nowhere, and their interpolation, breaking the continuity of the simple sentence, entails seven repetitions of the introductory formula. Also "hukrta, well-fabricated," repeated behind every single weapon, makes sense only in the first place, only as epithet of the bow, which was a composite one. The old gloss, there, says: "asti yo gavasnahya snāvya jiya, there are such with strings of stag's tendons."

The introductory formula "hištatē aom vārtahe hazahram . . ." is prosaic and ungrammatical; an "aom with genitive" does not exist. "On the chariot lie a thousand" would be "hištatē vārtē hazahram," which is metrical. Thereupon the weapons were enumerated in the gen.pl., correct in grammar and correct or easily corrected in meter. The never-ending verses in the yasht reduce themselves to the eight lines admitted in our text. For all details of the weapons see under 'Industries.'

St.48 is a modern single number for two old stanzas. In the first Mithra drives out, in the second the enemies break bodily down. This is not the effect of Mithra's starting, but of terror. Therefore, the place of st.101, with "para-ǰasati, he arrives" and "θrâhayati, he causes terror" is between 48, a and b. Meter and sequence of the verses of st.101 are

disturbed. As we have it, the shooting of the arrows—with "hamaθa, *Wb.*: gleichmässig verteilt er"—precedes the brandishing of the club, which the god "prvyo nĭjati, swings down first (masc.)." The gaδā (fem.) is Mithra's vazra; the two are not distinguished (*Wb.*) as club for throwing and for striking. The comparative prvyo, m., does not mean "he is the first to wield a club," but "he uses first his specific weapon," and right after it, hamaθa, the arrows. It follows that the description of the club in the hand of the god, in st.96, must have had its place before st.101, in which it is used. Indeed, 96 fits perfectly to 48a, and there is no other description of the vazra and nowhere else does the Awesta speak of its use. In st.132 the whole description is literally repeated, introduced by "on the chariot lies . . ."; but the vazra was not a piece of the arsenal on the chariot: when angry, Mithra carries it in his hand, when peaceful, he comes "uzbāzuš, with hands high," st.124, and the club does not lie ready to hand that he might disappoint his worshippers at any moment.

St.48b is part of the description of the terror, which begins in 101, and since 48a ends with "he frightens both, horse and man," the verses describing the fright of the horses came first.[8] At that place verses are inserted coming from a soldier's incantation, parts of which are preserved elsewhere:

apaši vazati rštiš	backwards flies the lance
yām ahyati avi.miθriš	which Mithra's enemy throws,
yatčit huvastām ahyati	however well-thrown,
vāto tām rštim barati	the wind carries it away!

with the gloss:

yatčit tanum apayati	though it may hit the body,
ātčit dim noit rāšayante	they do not wound him!

St.20 begins, in the yasht, with (aspā)čit, a conjunction disturbing the meter, and which was added in order to fit the stanza into its secondary

[8] The "Letter of franchise," granted to RittiMarduk by Nebuchadnezzar I (1146-1123), L. W. King, Kudurru n° vi, col.i.l.20f. says, describing the battle with the Elamites: "ni.iš.qu ša rabûtiᵖˡ šiᵉᵖˡ it.ta.li.iz.zu u ša ed.li qar.di pu.ri.da.šu it.tu.ru, the splendor of the great horses stood still, and the legs of the strong man turned aside." "Splendor" is no true translation of nišqu, and puridašu ituru may be a strong vulgar expression. NarāmSīn says something to the contrary: "faisant tourner en arrière la poitrine."

context. When 20 is placed behind 101, this -čit is unnecessary, and the meter is right.

Upon the terror of the horses, first st.39 followed, describing the weapons becoming inefficient. There (išvas)čit is metrically correct and connects 39 adequately with 20. The present surroundings led astray Bartholomae, who attached the verb miθnati to √mit- "bleiben," translating: "sofern Mithra beleidigt bleibt, nicht willkommen geheissen"; Lommel: "wenn M. (es) vereitelt"; it belongs to √miθ-, not "mittere" (*Wb.*) but "repousser" (Benveniste). yaθā is causative, "because." "a.patizanto not-recognized," with a- reversing the sense, "despised," full syn. of "offended."

St.40 possibly contains something old, but if so, not in the good condition as st.39:

kārtačit hufrayuχta	the knives, too, the well-suspended,
vazrāčit huniviχta	the vazra, the well-tossed ones,
yoi niγrārē/sarahi martiyākānām	that are brought down upon the heads of the men,
ašamno.ǰano bavati	miss their target.

St.48b: the terror, θrāhayati, of the god "veils the eyes," i.e. blinds, "makes blunt the ears," deafens the enemies, who become unable to hold their legs straight, Homer's *τὰ γούνατα λύειν*. St.36 pictures the effect: the phalanxes, called "hām.yantā, closed" in 8, 47 and 48, are shaken and break. The hapax χrāhayati in 36d—Ir. √χrāh-, AS. hrōrjan, Germ. rühren, to be stirred, raked (*ZAirWb.*164)—rhymes with θrāhayati. Thus st.36, the end of the tale, is closely linked to its beginning in st.8.

In the yasht, st.37 follows, a very bad stanza, but containing two correct verses:

parā kamrδā spayati	he s the skulls,
parā kamrδā vazanta	off fly the skulls

If old, these verses can hardly have had another place than in this poem, and very inferior stanzas may always preserve small fragments, splints of old songs.

Finally the conclusion which is preserved in two versions:

10,69: moi.tu iθra ahurahya
grantahya vēγāi ǰasēma
yahya hazahram vēγānām
pati hamrθāi ǰasati

10,98: mā miθrahya vurugavyūtoiš
grantahya vēγāi ǰasēma
mā no granto api.ǰanyå
miθro yo vurugavyūtiš

Both deficient stanzas reflect the same original. In 69a the first words are corrupt; no use trying to interpret them. But the designation "ahura" of Mithra is too archaic for the time of the redaction, would be veritably offensive. In 98, on the other hand, the epithet vurugavyūtoiš is unmetrical, hence a mazdayasnian substitute for genuine ahurahya, and one must combine "mā miθrahya ahurahya," which agrees with the invocation miθrā-ahurā in st.25; the use of the archaic epithet ahura for Mithra in the Awesta is therewith limited to this song. The idea of st.69 "who has a thousand vēγa" is a cliché, unfit for vēγa, which is a movement, see under 'Ērānvēž'; the corresponding line in 98 is good. The phrase is optative, therefore the very last line must be the obligatory vocative. That gives a convincing end: "The fate of our enemies may never strike ourselves!" The inscription *Dar.Pers.f* (only Elamite) ends similarly: "hupe anni sisne hupe appo Ruh.irra harikki lammamanra, Never may hit us what the enemy devises!"

Vocabulary:

St.145: rtāvan, as epithet of Mithra and Ahura, is used in its pre-Zoroastrian meaning—as also when epithet of the fravarti—with rtam as "mores, law."

raθēštā and raθēštar appear here side by side; considering the high age of the song, raθēštar cannot be a late neologism. In st.11 the raθēštā are driving hitēbyo, a two-horse team, biga.

To aštra.had, see under 'Yama χšēta.'

For the meter of 8,a cf. *Yt.*10,13: yahmiyā garayo brzanto: both verses have an odd syllable and both a plural in -ayo. In 10,13 one could save one syllable by reading *yahmī or *brzo, but our knowledge of the meter is not enough to solve even such simple problems.

To 8b: The codd. have arzahe, or -hi, which *Wb.* separates from arzah "Abend," arzahi (dual) "west," connecting it with m. "arza, battle" as a n. arzah-. *Yt.*19,42, where the word recurs, is inconclusive: an adversary of Krsāspa called arza.šamana "sets

out for battle, gato arzahe." Whether "battle" or "west," this is an etiological play with the name. 'rzšmn may be a patron. of *arzašma, like mrzišmya in *Yt.*13,126 of *mrzišma, cf. frā.šma etc. But the ambiguous gato arzahe may also be directly influenced by arzahe jasanto in *Yt.*10,8.

χrūšyatīš in st.8, 47 and 48 is trisyllabic, χrūšyantahya in 36 counts for five syllables, but the them. gen. arouses suspicion: the original text may have had χrūšyato and a lost word of two syllables. The verse gives the impression of being authentic; if an interpolation, the two preceding lines must be reversed. χrūšyant appears still in *Yt.*15,49, quotation from 10,8; in *Yt.* 19,54 similarly; in *Y.*9,30 entirely bad; all to be discounted for determining the meaning. If it were genuine as epithet of the fravarti in *Yt.*13,33, it could not mean "bloodthirsty." *Wb.*, doubting: "denom. part. of *χrviš-?", i.e. IE. krewəs, Gr. κρέϝας, OE. hrēaw > raw (meat). The form recalls a part.fut. like sōšyant, or a denom. like ranχšyant, ranχšayant. Future tense would make it an apt epithet for the fravarti and would fit here: "who set about for bloodshed, battle." Or χrōsyant, χrusyant to √χrus-?

To 20: vazyanstrā, said of horses, corresponds to ašamna.vid in 39, of the weapons that become inefficient; the next three verbs with negation detail the notion. It must mean "restive, störrisch," similar to Bartholomae's translation. The three verbs have so far not been satisfactorily determined;[9] I assume they indicate the three gaits of the horses.

Just as the Dānavo verses in *Yt.*13,38 are composed on the model of *Yt.*10,38, thus *Yt.*10,11 served as model for *Yt.*5,58, verses dating from the Achaemenian period, see under 'Nōtarya.' The offering and prayer of the raθēštā "at the necks" of their horses shows them dismounted, standing in ranks, holding the bridles of their team with their right hand near the horses' head.

[9] I believe there is an explanation, unknown to me, by Geiger. Etymology alone can hardly reveal the very specific significations. A similar case is Sargon's description of the remounting in Urarṭu, on the Urmiya Lake, 8th Camp. l.173: "aṣû siḫru ù tāru, ūmat taḫāzi," Thureau-Dangin translates "sortie, volte et demi-tour, ce qui convient au combat"; Luckenbill: "going forward, turning to one side, or turning around, as the (tactics of) battle require."

The description of the weapons in 129-131—see under 'Industries'—agrees with others in 39-40, and in *Yt.*13,7. But it agrees also with the armament of the Persians at the review of Doriscus, 480 B.C., which, as Herodotus remarks, was "properly speaking the Median equipment." arzahi in st.8 shows that the poet imagined the enemy to be in the west. This concept was natural for Iranians from the time of their immigration to the fall of Nineveh and Babylon, hence for 400 years, and we shall find verses that define time and place more accurately.

I intercalate here a passage from the Tištriya *Yt.*8, because it contained once, like the old songs of the Mihr-yasht, an invocation of Mithrā-Ahurā in dvandva form. It is an epic fragment of the Rχša myth, twice interpolated into st.6-7 and 37-38 of the Tištriya yasht. "rχša, to √ark-, to shine," is Tištriya transformed into a hero, like Apavrta into Frahrasyā, Vrthragna into Krsāspa; thereby background and interpretation of the story are determined.

"We bring offerings to Tištriya . . ."

āsu.χšēwam χšviwi.vāzam	who hurriedly rushes along, flies speedily,
avāvat χšēwo vazate	he flies as hurriedly
ya*θ*ā tiγriš manyuvasā	as the arrow traveling through air which Rχša shot. . . .

Because it serves as comparison for the speed of the star, this fragment of the Rχša myth has been preserved:[10]

tiγrim ahyat χšviwi.išuš	The archer shot the arrow,
χšviwīšvatamo āryānām	the best archer among the Aryans,
'ubā dim mi*θ*rā ahurā	the two, Mithra and Ahura,
parī' pantām fračēšētām	prepared for it the course,
vispām ā ahmāt yat ayam	the entire, from there to
pati.āpayat vazamno	where it lands flying,
ārya.χšu*θ*āt hača garoit	from mount Ārya.χšu*θ*a
huvanvatām avi garīm	to mount Huvanvant.
huvanvata pati nīrat	On the Huvanvant it fell down.

The small variants of the two versions permit us to recognize, more

[10] In the cosmology of the *Gr.Bdh.* this thought is built up into a system: "The speed of the sun is that of an arrow shot by a strong man etc." and similar measurings of speed.

clearly than elsewhere, what has been changed of the original text and what is a parasitical growth. The greatest divergence is in the lines:

7: taδā dim ahuro mazdå	38: avi dim ahuro mazdå
avąn dāta tat āpā urvarāsča	avąn amәša spәnta
pari šē vurugavyūtiš miθro	vurugavyūtiš (hē) miθro
frādyat pantām	pouru pantām fračēšētām.

In 38 the archaic dual fračēšētām is outstanding, which must have had a dual subject. Therefore, translators have suppressed the Amrta Spanta; but one must equally suppress the āpā urvarā in st.7. The attributes mazdå to ahuro and vurugavyūtiš to miθro are likewise too much. avąn, which *Wb.* takes as a 3.sg. pret. act., ava + √an- "to blow at," ought to be a dual, and is hardly a verb at all. Since a pair is helping, it is probably ava= ubā "both," often used with a dvandva. If in the fragment of an old myth ahura and miθra are the subject of a dual verb, the grammatical form must have been the dvandva miθrā-ahurā. pouru pantām is in *Wb.*855 put under "paru, much" with the peculiar sense "weithin"; but in st.7 it is pari, adv. used for intensifying the sense of verbs with fra-, which one must prefer to the improbable "pouru." What remains is the metrical verse put in our text.

ā ahmāt yat ayam . . . corresponds to OP. ā a m t (i.e. ahmāt) yatā ā on the gold tablets of Darius, see *Altp.Inschr.* s.v.

Instead of ārya.χšuθāt cod. J10 has -χšu-, K15 -χšao-, K12 -χšoi-, the only variant containing an i; the archetype would be -χšvt('t), which has no etymological connection. Formerly, I surmised -χvšt, which can be linked to MP.NP. "χōst, track, trail, highway." Hertel reads šitāt, to ši-, "to dwell," which would make ārya.šitam similar to ārya.šayanam, believing that the shot went from "Iran" to heaven. The Huvanvant, Xvanvant mountain is the Onoadas of the *Tab. Peutinger.*, near Agbatana. This identification is assured by the correspondence of "χunvād" (in Aw. script) in the *Gr.Bdh.* and "alvand" with Pāz. "hunavand" in the *Ind.Bdh.* in the story of the "Three-legged ass."[11]

[11] The Arab. spelling is, in ibn Khurdādhbih خَنداذ حرذان خُنداذ حدّاد, Qudāma has خراذ حداد حدار . ibn Rustah *Yāqūt* II,476: χundād, village between Hamadān

At the same time of these verses, the hero Rχša was long since separated from the star Tištriya, and though in the original myth the shot may have been aimed at the heaven, in this form of the legend the places were already located on earth. The movement ought to be—like that of the star—from east to west, and if the huvanvant is an Alwand pass, ārya.χšuθa ought to be a corresponding point farther east, e.g. the Āwah pass or the Caspian Gates.

*Yt.*10,145 contains a second formula of great interest, namely vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš, lit. ruler-of-the-country of all countries, i.e. sovereign.

This title in pre-Zoroastrian verses disproves the reason adduced by Meillet, *Trois Conf.* 22, against the identification of the historical and the Awestic Vištāspa: "L'établissement d'un vast empire, gouverné par un roi absolu, a été dans le monde indo-iranien un fait d'un type nouveau; il est sans doute résulté de ces mêmes mouvements auxquels est dûe la secte zoroastrienne," and 24: "Le trait caractéristique de l'époque achéménide, c'est le chef suprême, le χšāyaθya χšāyaθyānām des inscriptions, le *βασιλεὺς* par excellence des Grecs. Les gathas ne savent rien d'un pareil chef qui est, en effet, un personnage tout nouveau parmi les Aryens. . . . Il n'y a, dès lors, aucune raison de croire que le Vištāspa qui a protégé Zoroastre ait rien de commun avec Vištāspa, père de Darius."

When Meillet wrote these sentences, the gathas were generally acknowledged to be older than any other parts of the Awesta, although he himself had more than once established Awestic idioms more archaic than in the Gathic dialect. Meillet's argument stands and falls with this assumption. If the gathas are not older than the really old hymns, the argument does not disprove, but proves the contrary thesis.

This other conception was first discussed, with detail, by A. Christensen, who wrote:[12] "Les remarques critiques de M. Herzfeld (AMI 1, 126ff.) m'ont engagé à réexaminer la question de la composition des yashts. . . . Les 'grands' yashts . . . sont des restes d'une poésie religieuse [great parts are not religious] qui était peut-être pré-zoroastrienne. . . .

and Nihāwand. The editors of the SGA chose خندآذ, but in view of the Pahl. forms and حراذ in ibn Rustah, خنواذ < *hvanvatī is preferable.

[12] *Les Kayanides*, 1931, 10-17: Coup d'oeil sur la composition des Yashts.

Les hymnes sont empruntés à une poésie . . . qui existait auparavant. . . . Il ne s'ensuit pas que les parties originales des yashts soient prégathiques, mais je crois pas qu'on puisse en nier la possibilité. . . . Les yashts originaux . . . n'étaient guère destinés à l'origine, à servir de textes liturgiques." Christensen, at that time, could not yet make up his mind to accept my perception, still entirely immature: All really old parts of the yashts, songs like those studied so far and many more, are pre-Zoroastrian. There is scarcely any problem not touched and changed by this recognition. Yasht and Yasna have three, if one wants four strata: pre-Zoroastrian songs, the gathas of Zoroaster, the Y. Haftahāti and the late-Awestic liturgical chapters.

But apart from all this, if one calls—as Meillet does—the traditional date of Zoroaster "précis et plausible," and if one accepts the fact that he lived at the close of the Median epoch, then, at any rate, dahyu contains the notion of satrapy of the Median and later the Persian empire. [The two stems in the inflection of OP. dahyu indicate that the word was taken over from the Median official language.] In Meillet's conception of the chronology, too, the title vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš contains the "fait d'un type nouveau," the union of many satrapies in one empire, not as a hope, but as a projection of worldly facts into myth.

In a fragment of the Husravah legend, preserved in *Yt.*5,49 (= *Yt.*15, 31-33) we read:

,arša' āryānām dahyūnām χšaθrāi hankrmo husravå

a simple looking, difficult passage.

Darmesteter translated doubtingly: "the hero who united the Aryan nations into one kingdom"; Bartholomae: "Held der arischen Länder, Befestiger des Reichs"; Lommel: "der mannhafte unter den arischen Völkern, der Einiger der Herrschaft."

han.krmo is a hapax, and as verb ham + kar- appears only in the very late *Y.*1: han.kārayāmi, governing a dative. Bartholomae makes light of the dative "for genitive." hankāraya means "put down to somebody's account," cf. under 'Arithmetics.' The same way of expression is familiar to Assyrian,[18] where "manū, to count among," is the term for "to make

[18] Also in Hittite, e.g. treaty between Suppiluliuma of Khatti and Tette, KBo. I,4, I.43: "from mount Niblani (Lebanon) and from the western banks of the Euphrates I have counted the countries to my domain."

one's own, to give as possession, to make subject to," applied to conquered countries, peoples, prisoners of war, booty etc. "ana nišē mātiia amnūšunūti I counted them among the people of my country," or "I counted for the service of the god Assur" is the term for "I made the country a province." The same is valid for "χšaθrāi hankrmo, who has counted it for the χšaθram, made it a province of the χšaθram." The gen. āryānām dahyūnām, hence, can only be gen.obj. to χšaθram: "the empire of the Aryan provinces." ham.kāraya is used without acc.obj., which is yasna, to be supplied from the context; likewise, hankrmo is used with dative obj. only, to which the acc. dahyūš must be borrowed from dahyūnām.[14] Thus, the verse says: "he who counted (the provinces) among the empire of the Aryan provinces," i.e. made them subject.

At the parallel passage in *Yt.*15,31-32 we read: "To him (Vāyu) the dahyupatiš Arvasāra brought offerings at the White Forest, praying: Grant me this success: that Husravah shall not slay us two (? nā, dual), he who subjected (the provinces) to the provinces of the Aryan empire, (and) that I (sg.) may overwhelm him! (But) Kavi Husravah killed him in the All-Aryan-Forest." This is a very poor imitation of older genuine verses of the epics, and yet it cannot be younger than the fifth century B.C.[15] The remark on "Husravah hankrmo" anticipates what was achieved only by his victory over Arvasāra. There ought to be verses in which Husravah's prayer to the contrary is granted by the god, while he rejects Arvasāra's prayer. Husravah represents the historical Cyrus. Xenophon is the first to mention these popular songs. Cyrus was a Persian, but the localities of his legend, the various "forests, arzurā, rzura > lur" are all to be looked for in Luristān and Shahrazur, in Media, because there are no "lur," i.e. the term for the typical "karst-vegetation," in eastern Iran. The legend remembers the fact that it was Cyrus who conquered Media. It is most striking that the adversary of

[14] arša loses its importance; it possibly is the lacking acc. object, acc.n.sg. or pl., scarcely masc. n.sg. of "aršan, male" in the sexual meaning. Even when accepting "hero," *Wb.*, for this place and *Yt.*19,52, 10,86, one could not say "hero among the countries," only "among men," but it nowhere means "hero." In *Yt.*10.86 the lamenting cow invokes the god Mithra as "the bull"; in 19,52, ApāmNapāt is aršan as the "sire of *nar*, men." The main support for this theory, χšaya.aršan- "stallion among rulers" is totally wrong, it is -aršah-. Possibly, this aršah, and n.pr. (vahmayat)arša- belong to the adv. rš, arš.

[15] What follows is worse: "Thereupon he granted to him that success, he, . . . Vāyu, in order that he, the creator AhuraMazdāh, should partake of the success."

the hero bears a title like dahyupatiš; it is the historical title of the Median great-kings, faithfully preserved.[16]

One more expression, in a fragment without relation, *Yt.*10,4, is intimately connected with these titles:

miθram . . . rāmašayanam . . . āryābyo dahyūbyo

rāmašayana is also epithet of Tištriya. In *Vid.*1 the role is transferred to AhuraMazdāh. Applied to a king it designates him as the "ideal ruler who brings an era of bliss," see *Y.*53,8 under 'Bandva.' Whether rāmšahr (ē kaivištāspšāh) in *Ayāt.Zar.* §63 is the title of Vištāspa or a place-name is not quite clear.[17] But the Sasanids Yazdegird I and Varhrān V called themselves, on their coins—as here Mithra—"bag ē rāmšahr, the god, the one who gives the land peace," and Xusrau I bears the title εἰρηνοπάτριος i.e. rāmšahr in his protocol in Menander, *de Leg.* II, §3; Theophylakt says εἰρηνάρχης.[18] Cyrus says, as do Assyrian kings before him, "I made the countries live in peace." The epithet of Mithra is a great-royal honorific, that of a "ktistes." The χšaθram āryānām dahyūnām in *Yt.*5,49 and with addition of upamam applied to kavi Usan and Husravah—cf. under 'Dēva'—is the oldest form preserved of the Achaemenian term āryānām χšaθram > Ērānšahr.

Since the title vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš in *Yt.*10,145 is older than Zoroaster, the only reason for its absence from the gathas is that these odes do not speak of such political concepts. Without the word of the "tribute-money" no words of Christ would allude to Caesar and Rome.

Thus, the title contains an immediate date: the song "Mithra as warrior," one of the oldest parts of the Mithra yasht, is composed at the time of the Median empire, 678-550 B.C. The "Theft of the Herd" belongs to the early part of that epoch or even to the very beginning of the seventh century. vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš is the sovereign Median title, and Mithra, thereby, is saluted—not as "Kreishauptmann" —but as sovereign ruler of Ērānšahr.

The immense expansion of that empire under the Achaemenids

[16] The existence of legendary beside historical names may be the reason for Ctesias' doubling Herodotus' four Median kings.

[17] Rāmšahr was the name of the old capital of Sīstān. Ḥamza mentions a town RāmVištāspān in Fārs; *Wais u Rāmin* 394: "today though they call it Ahwāz, in the daftar it is still called Rāmšahr." Cf. Rāmuz < *RāmHormizdArdashīr in Khuzistan.

[18] Cf. *Alip.Inschr.* 319 and 322.

caused a new title to be derived from it, χšāyaθya χšāyaθyānām, χšāyaθya dahyūnām; but the notion of sovereignty persisted, down to the Sasanian period, to the word dahyupatiš, even after dahyu had descended to mean "village." The protocols of the Būyids, Seljuks, Ortoqids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks, the details of which are mainly of Persian origin and the wealth of which allows us to follow the developments closely, contain many perfect analogies.[19]

A determination yet more exact of the date is furnished by *Yt.*10,104, a stanza belonging to the song of the "Sacrilegus," which will be studied below:

104:	yatčit ušastarē hindōu	Whether in the east on the Indus,
	yatčit dōšatarē ˙tiγrē	or in the west on the Tigris,
	yatčit sanakē ranhayå	or at the sanakē of the Iaxartes,
	yatčit ˙vimaδyē ahyå zmo	or here in the middle of this earth,
105:	tamčit miθro hangrfšamno	wherever he be, Mithra seizes him
	˙pari.apayāt bāzuwyā	clasping him with his arms.

The power of the avenger has no limits, an idea also expressed by his epithet "zam.fraθah, as broad as the earth." The verses want to express the notion "everywhere," and therefore reveal how far the horizon of the poet actually reached.

In st.19, belonging to the same song, Mithra turns in a similar way towards the two nēmā, "halves of the earth," where the miθradruχš expects him the least. The "middle of the earth" is part of the kršvar-notion. In 15 it is called hvaniraθa, in 13 ārya.šayanam, Ērānšahr. But the figure of the "seven kršvar" cannot be applied in st.104, because Mithra can drive beyond the edge of the earth, but no criminal can escape thereto. For the same reason the fourth point, usual in such determinations, is lacking: it is the south, the Indian Ocean, beyond which no one can go, the "Uttermost Sea" encircling the earth. Instead of the kršvar, therefore, the poet describes the world he knows by the historic-geographical boundaries of the land of the middle, Ērānšahr.

The eastern limit is the Indus River, hinduš. The initial fault of earlier translations is "India" for hindou. India, as name for the subcon-

[19] Cf. my *Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep*, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.

tinent, is a Greek term. Ir. hinduš is only the river and the satrapy at its bank. On the other hand, it is only this name, and not, as Markwart assumed, in *Vēhrōt,* at the same time appellative "river," as in Indian. The OP. lists of satrapies confirm Herodotus who says IV,44, that Sind was a new conquest of Darius: the name is not yet mentioned in Behistūn, 521 B.C., whereas Gandāra, the Kophen area, and Θataguš, the Panǰāb, are mentioned, being inherited satrapies. This again is confirmed by the names Kūruš and Kanbūžya of the elder branch of the Achaemenids, which are honorifics, received in wars against the Kuru and Kamboja in Gandāra, see under 'Throne-names.' The Indus and, in the north, one of the Panǰāb rivers, remained the frontier between Iran and India down to Alexander's time. Strabo, XV,1,10, quoting Eratosthenes B.III, says: "Between the land reckoned as India, when Alexander arrived there, and Arianē, which lies next to it towards the west and was owned by the Persians, the Indus formed the boundary; later on, the Indians owned much of Arianē, having obtained it from the Macedonians." And Isidorus, at the turning of our era, puts the frontier closely behind Qandahar, above the Bolan pass.

The northern limit is equally a river, the sanaka of the Ranhā.

sanakē, loc., is opposed, in *Yt.*12,18-19, to "upa uδēšu ranhayā, at the waters of the Ranhā," cf. under 'Vidēvdād'; it is a term for a region situated on a river, not "mouth" as Bartholomae inferred from his assumption that ‚aoδa' meant "source." One may think of names, usual in that very region, like para-Sugdam = Transoxiana, Mā-warā-l-nahr, and cis and trans Iaxartem. Today, the land beyond the river is called Farghāna, a medieval Arab.-NP. name revived, MP. prk/g'n. an OIr. deriv. from paraka, either a "parapotamía" or "beyond the river," cf. "Sakā paradarya, beyond the (Black) Sea." In the tribute list, Herodotus III,92 (source: Hecataeus) Παρικάνιοι appear at the side of Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι i.e. Sakā tigraχōδā, and to them belong the Ἀμύργιοι, Sakā Hōmavrgā of VII,64. sanaka seems to be formed like paraka.

This northern boundary, too, was an old one. Cyrus was killed in battle in the far east. Berossus locates the war in the "plains of the Dahae"; Herodotus places the Tomyris legend in the land "beyond the Iaxartes," which is perhaps the meaning of sanakē Ranhayā; according to Ctesias it would have been the country of the Derbikes, actually identical with Dahae, though he believes it to be towards India; but

he makes the king Amorges, i.e. the hōmavrga from beyond the Iaxartes, fight on Cyrus' side. Bartholomae remarks upon sanakē ranhayā "nach *Yt.*10,104 am Ende der Erde," which should be "at the frontier of ārya.šayanam." One may have believed that the earth ended not far behind it, cf. Aristides, *ad Rom.* xxvi,15, who records as a Persian notion: *Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας ἐν πέρασι γῆς εἶναι τῆς ἐκείνου (τοῦ βασιλέως).*

The western frontier is the Tigris.

The text has niγnē, at first rightly regarded as a n.pr., but wrongly identified with Nineveh. niγnē is a verbal form, but the structure of the verses and their sense forbid, from the beginning, the translation "he strikes down," which results in an impossible opposition of "East- and West-Indies." The word can be nothing but the name of a river that formed—as the Indus in the east, the Iaxartes in the north—the western boundary of vimaδyē ahyā zmo, the Iranian horizon of the period. One must read *tigrē.[20]

To indicate the extreme boundaries by four—here the fourth point would be the Indian Ocean—points axially opposed, is a well known scheme, already in Assyrian. On the gold tablets of Darius one reads: "from (inclus.) the Sakā [on the Iaxartes] unto Kūš, from Hinduš unto Sardis." Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, gives this Iranian idiom a better Greek shape: "from the Indian Ocean to the Black Sea, from Cyprus to Aethiopia." Aristotle, *de mundo*: *τὴν δὲ συμπάσαν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας περατουμένην Ἑλλησπόντου μὲν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἑσπέραν μερῶν, Ἰνδῷ δὲ ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἕω.* The book of Esther uses a similar abbreviation, "from Sind to Kūsh."

The verses of *Yt.*10,104 mean the same and say it in the same form, even with the same names. The south is omitted for good reasons. In east and north, *Yt.*10 and the Darius inscriptions are conform: Hinduš and Ranhā. In the west, Darius' empire reaches far beyond the condition described in *Yt.*10.

[20] Y.57,29 repeats the first two lines literally and without variants of spelling. niγnē is lacking in one cod., four write ni-, one na-: the i had no notation in the archetype, cf. ניגא = tigrā in the Papyrus. Early Sasanian uncial and late cursive script distinguish hardly or not at all between N and R, and often disconnect T in Y-N. Here, moreover, the preceding word ends in -y. Therefore, Aw. niγnē is ניגא misread into (y)nγnt. The names tigrā and hufrātu are Median transformations of indigenous diqlat [Pliny *NH* vi,127 Diglito, abl., from Juba or Isidorus] and purāt; Beh. writes tigrām, acc.fem., assimilated to Ir. tigrā, arrow, Gr. tigrēs. The Old Med. form became regularly *tir, Theophanes' *Θῆρ ποταμός.*

From the destruction of Nineveh by Cyaxares and Nabopolassar in 612, to the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus in 550 B.C., the Tigris formed the western boundary of the Median empire.[22] In the Achaemenian empire it remained the frontier of the satrapy Media. That is why Hecataeus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and still Eratosthenes agree in describing the Tigris from the Armenian mountains (Kentrites, Gordyaea) to the mouth of the Diyāla (Physkos, Gyndes) as the western boundary of the satrapy "Media and Paraitakene." Arbela is, in Behistūn, a town of Media; the oil sources of Bābā Gurgur near Kirkūk, which Alexander admired on his way from Arbela to Opis and Babylon, were situated, according to Plutarch, *Alex.* 35, "in the province of Ecbatana." Only by misunderstanding, one has imputed to Ctesias the statement that Euphrates and Tigris flow towards Isfahan-Paraitakene, and has eliminated in Plutarch "in the province of Ecbatana"; both remarks are right.

*Yt.*10,104 describes the extent of the Median empire after the fall of Nineveh and before the conquest of Babylon. Therewith, the song of the "Sacrilegus" to which the stanza belongs, is dated between 612 and 539 B.C. In "Mithra as warrior," a song which, for the pre-Zoroastrian mi*θ*rā-ahurā formula and the Median title vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš, must be dated in the time of the Median empire, 678-550, the dahyupatayo "set out towards the west, arzahi." The contemporary stanza 104 defines this western boundary as the Tigris. Therefore, the song to "Mithra as warrior" reflects the historical events which we know, seen from the west, by the Šamaš Omina of Esarhaddon and by the Chronicle of the Fall of Nineveh. The old, wrong translation "niγnē =Nineveh" came nearer to the truth than the more recent "he strikes down."

539 B.C., the lower limit of these songs with their sovereign Median title and the pre-Zoroastrian dvandva, is at the same time a terminus ad or post quem for Zoroaster. This deduction has not a single point in common with the "traditional date," but is in keeping with our interpretation of it to the very year: born 258 years before 311=569 B.C., appeared 30 years of age in 539 B.C., the year of the conquest of Babylon.

By dating the songs of *Yt.*10 we extend also our limited knowledge of the events in the east of the empire: before the Medes, who created

[22] Cf. AMI VII,11f. and IX,86ff.

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these songs, dared to attack Nineveh successfully, they had already pushed their eastern boundaries as far as to the Indus (Gandāra and Thataguš) and to the Iaxartes.

Another old part of the Mithra yasht is a song which contains the best known and best stanzas of the whole yasht, viz. 13-15. It is a song to "Mithra in peace." It describes the same horizon, reveals pre-Zoroastrian notions still unimpaired, and must be attributed at any rate to no younger date than the sixth century. Originally it seems to have formed one hymn with the song to "Mithra as warrior." One needs only to repeat the invocation of st.145 with epithets different from those of 25-102-112 after 36 and 69-98, the last stanzas of "Mithra as warrior," in order to obtain a perfect junction. The warlike and the peaceful picture are antithetic, and we shall find enough confirmations for this assumption of an original unit, to make it convincing.

[145: miθram vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatim yazamade]

44: yahya zam. fraθo mēθanam — whose farmyard is as broad as the earth,
mazat an.ānzo bāmiyam — large, unconfined, radiant,
prθu.api vuru.aštam — to-far-distances, with-wide-shelter,
45: yahya ašta rātayo — whose eight helpers
vispāhu pati brzāhu — sit on all mountain summits,
vispāhu vidayanāhu — on all towers,
spaso āhare miθrahya — as look-out men of Mithra,
miθradruǰam hišpasamnā — looking out for the miθradruχš,
avē api hišmaranto — and also counting those
avēšāmča paθo pānto — and protecting their path
yim isānti ˚miθraǰano — for whom the miθra-slayer lie in wait,

99: fravazati dahyupatiš — The dahyupatiš drives out,
miθro yo vurugavyūtiš — Mithra with the wide pastures,
dašinam upa karānam — on the right border
ahyā zmo yat paθanayā — of this broad round earth,
124: uzbāzauš pati amrχtīm — his arms high, for-not-destruction,
hača rōχšnāt gara.nmānāt — from the bright house of heaven
vārtam srīram vavazānam — driving on the beautiful chariot,
hāma.taχmam vispā.pisam — the smooth-rolling, all-colored one.

143: yahya vārtam hangrwnātē
rtiš pārandiča [vahvī]
123: ahmiyā vārtē vazante
čaθwāro arvanto - -
spētitā hāma.gōnåho
manyushvarθā an.ōšåho

whose chariot mount with him
Rtiš and Parandī [the good].
At his chariot pull
four racers - -
white, of one color,
feeding heavenly fodder, immortal.

13: prvyo manyavo yazato
taro harām *āšnavati
prva.nēmāt amrtahya
huno yat arvat.aspahya
*ho prvyo zaranya.piso
srīrå baršnavā grwnāti
aδāt vispam ādiδāti

As the first the heavenly yazata
arrives over the Harā
in front of the immortal
sun with the swift horses,
he the first ascends the
gold-tinted, beautiful summits.
(14) From there he looks upon the whole

ārya.šayanam savišto
14: yahmiyā sāstāro arvā
purviš īrå rāzayantē
yahmiyā garayo brzanto
puru.vāstråho *āfvanto
[aspā] gavē frāδayantē
yahmiyā ǰafrā varayo
*ruva.āpåho hištantē
yahmiyā āpo nāviyå
prθwiš χšōdahā θwaχšantē
ā *čakātam parutamča
maryum harēvam gavamča
15: avi arzahī savahī
[avi fradatfšū vidatfšū
vurubrštī vuruǰrštī]
avi hvaniraθam bāmyam
gava.šitimča bēšazyam
miθro sūro ādiδāti
95: *yat zam.fraθå awiyāti
pasča huna frāšmadātīm
mrzati uvā karanā
ahyå zmo yat paθanayå

Ērānšahr, the most-powerful one,
where valiant commanders
dress the ranks of many columns,
where high mountains
rich in pasture, rich in water,
give food to [horses and] cattle,
where deep lakes
with saltwater lie stagnant,
where the waters in canals,
broad ones, work foaming,
(15) as far as čakāta and parvata,
Marw, Harēv and Gay,
over west and east,
[over Fr. and Vi.,
Vb. and Vj.]
over hvaniraθa the radiant,
the cow-country, the wholesome,
Mithra looks, the strong one!
When he goes broad-as-the-earth
after the twilight of the sun,
he embraces both the borders
of this earth, the broad,

skarnayå dūrē.parayå	round, with the far-away boundaries.
vispam imat ādiδāti	Upon all these things he looks
yat antar zām asmānamča	that are between earth and heaven.[22]

Sequence of verses:

The metrical fault in 13a can either be in the rel. yo or in manyavo yazato. One could think that yazato might be a mazdayasnian substitute for a word of two syllables like bago, dēvo, offensive to later feeling; but in the pre-Zoroastrian verses on ApāmNapāt as creator—see under 'ApāmNapāt'—he, too, is called yazato, and in the beginning of "Mithra's Questions" (see below), the god speaks of himself as yazata, adorandus, he who is entitled to offerings, and there the context proves beyond doubt that yazata is a pre-Zoroastrian predicate of gods and must not be touched. Then, "yo" must be wrong, introduced when the invocation "we worship Mithra who . . ." was put before this stanza instead of others which preceded it. The first of these is the one counted today as 99: Mithra the dahyupatiš—his old Median predicate—fravazati, drives out, dašinam upa karanam, on the right border (south) of the earth, where also the sun drives. The Veda speaks of the "two nēmā," the bright and the dark one.

This stanza was joined by 13: prvyo āšnavati,[23] he arrives before the sun. It follows that also in 13e "yo" was substituted for an original "ho," for the same reason, fitting the song into the yasht. Now, st.99 is the beginning of a new thread of thought, but not the beginning of a hymn; other stanzas once preceded it, and, of the stanzas preserved, 145 fits just as well here as before st.8, in "Mithra the warrior": dahyupatim yazamade, there, before yim yazantē dahyupatayo, here before fravazati dahyupatiš. We may forthwith expect a number of epithets, which bear upon the contents of the following verses, between the invocation (145) and the beginning of the narrative part, for instance "rāma.šayana, who makes live in peace," "hartar pātar awiyaχštar, guardian, protector, keeper," "krša.rāzah, he who makes straight furrows." Like-

[22] āfaŋt is Ar. *āp.γant > āfvant, āfant, cf. B. Geiger in *Andreas-Festschr.* 95. For ruva.āpa and ruvya.āpa "with salt-water" and for "hiitantē, to stand, stagnate" see under 'Sea.' In 142b there was probably a dvandva, e.g. aspā or pasū with gavē.

[23] Text: āsnavati, s for š is a frequent misreading of Sasanian script.

wise, one can insert—after eliminating some disfiguring interpolations—st.44-45 between the invocation and st.99. The words fraθo.mēθanam, cf. zam.fraθo in 95—the whole earth as Mithra's domicile—and his appearing on mountains, cf. st.13, make the connection particularly close. St.99 is a counterpart to 48a, in "Mithra the warrior": āt yat miθro fravazati. In both cases the description of the situation follows first; there, of the two armies facing each other, here of the broad round earth. This responsion between the two songs continues.

Decisive for their antithetic composition is that the description of the chariot in the first song, where the warrior-god holds the vazra in his hand, has its exact counterpart in the second song, where the peaceable god comes "uzbāzauš pati amrχtīm, the hands high for-not-destruction," words that place st.124-125 solidly into this part of the song between 99 and 12. This expresses the antithesis unmistakably. The eight helpers in 45, nowhere else mentioned, are a counterpart to the figures on the chariot, which are less conspicuous in the second part.

The many verses of st.13-15 have not been dissected when arranging the song for the yasht. Omissions cannot be detected, but the contrary, an undue elaboration—here silently omitted—e.g. of st.14. This verse, from ā čakātam to gavamča, is in reality the beginning of a new stanza; the relative clauses of the preceding stanza end with the intrans. "θwaχšantē, where . . . work." The ā before čakātam belongs to ādiδāti at the end of 15f. The wrong numbering has caused wrong interpretations.

The five—or, since the first two may be appellatives, three—placenames all belong to the east of Iran, where Mithra rises; they are mere examples, names of parts of ārya.šayanam, the middle kršvar. Instead of the full enumeration of the six kršvar which follows, arzahi-savahi, west and east, with hvaniraθa as middle would be enough, and the other names may have been added by the redactors to display their erudition. The last sentence of 15 resumes, with hvaniraθam ādiδāti, the last line of 13 (which ought to be the first of 14) ādiδāti ārya.-šayanam.

This was joined by st.95, a perfect counterpart to 13: St.13 describes Mithra appearing before the sun, climbing the gold-tinted summits; 95 describes him after sunset, expanding over the whole earth (cf. st.44), until he "embraces the two borders, mrzati uvā karanā." In st.99 he was

driving on the "right border." St.95 begins with a rel. yo which does not connect the verbs awiyāti and mrzati; with "yat" for "yo," not only these verbs would be connected "when he expands . . . he embraces," but the existing antithesis to st.13 would be clearly expressed: "before sunrise" he does this, "after sunset" that. One exchange between yat and yo is attested in *Yt.*5,50 and 19,17; verses on Husravah's racing, quoted in *Yt.*5 in first person, with "yat," in *Yt.*19 in third person, with "yo." Such slight changes have been made everywhere in order to patch together the fragments of songs to an Awestic yasht. The end of 95 first repeats the last words of 99, then paraphrases those of 13 in a more general sense, with the same "ādiδāti" which links also 13 to 15. Therewith the song is complete in itself, though 99 is not of necessity its beginning, nor 95 the end of the whole hymn.

This part of the hymn is a song to "Mithra in peace." The god drives over the whole known world and sees all happenings between heaven and earth. In Herodotus VII,8 Xerxes says in the same spirit: *εἰ τού τους τε* (Athens) *καὶ τοὺς τούτοισι πλησιοχώρους* (Peloponnesians) *καταστρεψόμεθα γῆν τὴν Περσίδα ἀποδέξομεν τῷ Διὸς αἰθέρι ὁμορέουσαν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χώρην γε οὐδεμίαν κατόψεται ἥλιος ὁμουραν ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ· ἀλλά σφεας πάσας ἐγὼ ἅμα ὑμῖν μίαν χώρην θήσω* κτλ.

Marguš and Gava, the "heart of Sughd"—see under 'Vidēvdād'—are situated in the original homeland, but here, united with Harēva, they are, like this, not a mythical notion, but political names of three representative satrapies of the Median and later the Achaemenian empire. It is the same representative style as Darius uses in *Pers.g.*: "This wide earth on which are many countries, Pārsa, Māda and the other lands of other language, of the mountains and of the plains, on this side of the sea and on that side, on this side of the desert and on that side."

Harā brzatī, Mithra's place at sunrise, is a mythical notion, but this notion of the rim of the earth wandered with the people wherever they went. Here, we clearly observe it transferred, as in *Yt.*10,10 where mount uparisēna as home of Hōma replaces the Harā. *Yt.*19,3 mentions "'čakāta uparisēna, the summit too high for the sēna," the biggest and therefore highest flying bird.[24] Aristotle had heard of the uparisēna

[24] In *Gr.Bdh.* 121 the sēna has the epithet "θriangura, with three toes." The Assyrians speak in a similar way, e.g. Sargon, 8th Camp. l.98, of mount Uauš in Armenia: "išsur samē mupparšu

which he calls Parnasós, in *Meteor.*1,xiii,14-16: "so high that from its summit one can see the eastern ocean." Behind this range the Gandāra live, called, in the Akk. versions of the inscriptions paruparaesanna < OP. *pāraupārisaina, Gr. Paropamisadai. The Paropamisos is the Hindūkush. When one sees it the first time, from the Kābul side, one believes one sees the unreal double reflection of an improbably high mountain chain. The OIr. shape of Gr. Ariobarzanes for the mod. Alburz < harā brzatī, north of Teheran, shows that already before Alexander's time the concept of the mountain around the earth and its name had been transferred to the Iranian ranges. When the Greeks heard of it, they transformed it into their concept of the Caucasus stretching in a straight line from the Black Sea to Farther India.

Kūh i Parūh is not a rare name; the best known is near Kirmānshāhān. In this context, paruta or parvata and *cakāta (uparisēna) are no longer mere appellatives, "mountain" and "summit," but already fixed as names of parts of the Hindūkush.

Mythical placenames, imagined as outside of Iran, do not appear in the entire *Yt.*10. The description of the historical horizon in st.104 is something entirely different from the placenames in the epic fragments quoted in other yashts. And this horizon is the same in all songs which are collected in *Yt.*10.

To st.13-15 Nyberg remarks: "Wir können . . . den Mithra yasht genau lokalisieren. . . . Vor unsren Augen breitet sich hier das arische Land von Herat und dem Paropamisos-Gebirge bis . . . Marw . . . aus, Amu Darya-Becken, Aral-See, . . . verliert sich in der turkmenischen Steppe bis zum Iaxartes [Aral and Iaxartes are thrown in]. Wir befinden uns entschieden in Osten," for the only reason that the sun rises there. If the poet had added examples to the "two borders of the earth" or the sunset in 95, we would find ourselves just as "decidedly" in the north, south and west. But he was a poet, content to illustrate the sunrise by the names of three eastern countries of the 127 countries of the empire. One can hardly believe that without contradiction these

'p'lsyn or 'pvlsyn, irrespectively, cf. *Gr.Bdh.* 76 and 78, 80, 122. Only after the change to pārsēn, the name became connected with Pārs. Instead of the old etymology of sēna: "ἱκτῖνος, falcon," J. Charpentier, Monde Or. XXVI-VII, proposed OI. śyena, Aw. sēna. OSlav. sin' "dark blue" for "eagle, lammergeyer," originally a color.

śiruš lā ibā'uma, not even the winged bird of heaven can fly over it." Also in NP., Hamdallāh, *nuzhat* 99 and 301: "Kūh i kargas, near Natanz, quite isolated, 10 fars. in circumference, very high, so high that only vultures, kargas, can fly over it, hence its name." The Pahl. spelling is

verses have always been and are still misconstrued as proving that the Mithra yasht and the Awesta were created in the East. The Awesta as a whole has no "home." It is a compilation; where its redaction took place is indifferent; it was done in studies. The Mihr-yasht, too, has no "home" —it took at least 700 years before it assumed its present shape. Nor was there an "eastern Mithra" different from others. What alone matters is to recognize where and when the separate pieces originated that are preserved in the Awesta.

In the present condition of *Yt.*10, st.99, the "driving out" is followed, in 100, by a stanza on the figures on the god's chariot. This order, driving out and description of the chariot, is apparently original, even if shape and order of the verses were no longer intact. Describing the chariot is essential for hymns to Mithra, and every song offered an occasion. Thus I have inserted one description into "Mithra as warrior" and one into "Mithra in peace." We have in *Yt.*10 remainders of at least three such descriptions which cannot be combined but must come from different songs. The one stretches over st.66-70, the other is in 98-100, the third in 124-132. Besides, there are small fragments in 136 and 142-143. The fact that the second is found at present between st. 96 and 99, both belonging to "Mithra in peace," does not prove that the description belonged to that song. A criterion for separating the various descriptions and attributing them to a special song is the following: the songs discussed so far, and more so some still to be discussed, show Mithra in two roles: being ako vahištasča, the bad and the best, he can come as rāmašayana, he who brings peace, or as ačētar, avenger. Now one reads in st.124-125:

uzbāzauš pati amrχtīm ⟨fravazate⟩	with arms raised for-not-destroying
⟨miθro yo vurugavyūtiš⟩	Mithra drives out in his chariot.

etc. as in the text above.

amrχtī—also in the sōšyant verses of *Yt.*19,89—"not-destruction, not-killing," with the "a" that inverts the notion, means "the opposite of destruction." pati amrχtīm explains the gesture uzbāzauš, arms raised. To raise the open palms is a gesture of salute all over the world and means one has no weapons and no bad intentions. But in 96 he carries the vazra in his hand, the attribute of the avenger. Therefore, the de-

scription of the vazra in 96, though being placed close to st.95 and 99, does not belong to them, but to st.101, part of "Mithra the warrior," whereas 124-125, like 95 and 99, belong to "Mithra in peace." And the second description of the chariot, in 68, is part of the war-song. No need to say that the line interpolated after b, "for whom the māzdayasnian religion prepares the paths for good-going" must be deleted.

The translation of hangrwnāti "whose chariot (Rtiš) drives, lenkt" is wrong,[25] and Bartholomae's explanation of fravazatē vavazānam, "herangefahren kommt beim fahren, sva. den Wagen lenkend"[26] is impossible, because the god comes "uzbāzauš, with arms raised." Lommel's translation of raθēštar by "Wagenlenker" is equally wrong: the gods and raθēštar do not drive themselves, but had their heníochos: Mithra's driver is Dāmoiš Upamano; the name of Vištāspa's driver was Visataruš, client of the nōtarya; Xerxes' driver was Patipamphes, son of Otanes-Hutāna, Herodotus 7,40.

*Yt.*10,125 contains an important gloss, difficult to understand, on the harnessing of the horses: "tē vispa frāyuχta hām ivāmča simāmča simoiθrāmča drta hukrta uparispātā aka bastām χšaθram varyam."

simā simoiθrā seems to be an original dvandva like yuyō.səmi (with variants) in *Vid.*14,10, i.e. yugāu.samī, Ved. yuga.śamyám "yoke and plug?" It is to be compared with Arm. samik' sametik'.[27] The wide distribution of the words shows that something extremely old is in question. The Sanskrit and Armenian words seem to refer originally to oxen, *Yt.*10,125 to horses. By chance, two chariots of Mitanni-Aryan origin are preserved, the one in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, the other in Cairo, moreover a few Egyptian wall-paintings and sculptures, all of the 15th century B.C. (cf. AMI IX, p.195).

[25] *Wb.*528: "ham + V grab-, in seiner Gewalt haben, halten, sva. lenken, *Yt.*10,68 and 145." In st.13 Mithra grwnāti, i.e. takes, climbs the High Harā, hence ham-grwnāti "he mounts together with, mitbesteigen." One "takes" a mountain like a mountain-climber, and "takes" a carriage.

[26] The fact that the med. fravazate, apparently forming fig. etymol. with vavazānam, overlaps the verse, causes no embarrassment as soon as one has recognized that st.124 belongs behind 99: it merely resumes "fravazati" of 99, as necessary after the stanzas had been separated. For the same reason, at the line with miθro, the subject had to be repeated. This separating and dismembering of the verses produced also the overlapping āgrwnayate in st.104. All these words do not belong to the original text. The rest joins st.99 perfectly.

[27] Hübschmann, *Arm.Gramm.*48: "sami-k' (io-Stamm) zwei Hölzer, die durch die beiden Löcher des Joches gesteckt und unten durch einen Strick, sametik', zusammengehalten werden. Skr. śámya 'pin of a yoke,' NP. sīm, in ligna in utraque parte iugi bovis allegata; sametik', aus sami Jochholz und ti, 'Band bindend' von Vdē-, Skr. dā, di, Gr. δη, δε 'binden,' einem Skr. *śamyā.di entsprechend."

The horses pull by means of two thongs, (1) the neck-thong[28] laid horizontally around the neck (throat) at the height of the withers, and (2) the chest-thong which runs vertically from the withers downwards, behind the elbow. These thongs are fastened, at the withers, to the ends of the yoke which rests on the withers, perhaps they are knotted to the wither-forks that are suspended by short straps from the ends of the yoke. The bent yoke runs across the end of the chariot-pole to which it is fastened by a peg and straps. The pole connects the yoke directly with the axle under the body of the chariot. The bridles consist of a snaffle with its lines; they are loose, nowhere fastened, but probably passed through a pair of bridle-rings ∞ shaped, which were fixed to the ends of the yoke.

Since simā simoiθrā must designate the yoke and what belongs to it, ivā is probably the word for the pole, with drta hukrta as descriptive adjectives. uparispātā may mean "with ends upbent" or, as subst.dual, the "wither-forks." One compares aka with "anku(-pisimna), (adorning themselves with) clasps?", Skr. aṅká, Gr. ὄγκος and ἀγκύλη "loop, strap" (perhaps also Aw. akavo, which is certainly not "scissors"). The sense "peg, Zapfen" is doubtful; "leather straps" is not impossible.

Shortly before the description of the chariot in st.68, a good fragment is preserved in bad surroundings:

66: yim hačātē[29] rtiš vahvī	(Mithra) to whom belong (dual)
pārandīča ravaraθā	the good Rtiš and Parandī with the fast chariot.

To the same original context evidently belonged a fragment attached to *Yt.*8,38, quotation of the Rχša myth, discussed above:

ā dim paskāt anu.mrzatām	They (both) embraced him from the back,
rtišča vahvī brzatī	the good Rtiš, the high one,
pārandīča ravaraθā	and Pārandī with the fast chariot.

The language is good, the epithet of Pārandī archaic. Both fragments are genuine, both are in wrong surroundings. The goddesses, of course, embrace or kiss their husband Mithra, not Rχša's arrow, to which the pronoun refers in its present position.

[28] Not to be confounded with a second, merely ornamental strap below it.
[29] Text: hačatē, for the dual hačātē, as e.g. vrnavatē in Y.31,17.

Also in st.142-143 a similar verse appears. Wolff-Bartholomae's and Lommel's attempts at translating these verses as they stand in strange surroundings, are love's labor's lost, and it is not worth while to make known the apparatus that leads to their reduction. They have gaps and interpolations, are written in an orthography omitting terminations, and are, as a whole, what Meillet called "refondu," that means the form is bad, but the thought genuine. As residue we obtain, 142-143:

----purviš vĕδiš	the many forms (Mithra)
sūram fraδāti mazišto	brings forth at dawn, the very-great,
yaθa tanum rōčayati	when he makes flash up his body
yaθa māho hvārōχšano	like (that) of the self-shining moon;
yahyā aniko brāzati	whose face shines forth
yaθa tištriya.stārahya	like (that) of the Tištriya star;
[sraya] yaθa dāmān srēštāiš	[in beauty] like (that) of the most beautiful of creatures,
*huno bāmiyo χšētahya	radiant, of Hvar χšēto [the Sun].

The threefold comparison with moon, Sirius and sun is interrupted, between the words stārahya and yaθa, by the interpolation

yahya vārtam hangrwnāti	whose chariot likewise mounts
‚aδaviš paoiriš spitama'	a. p. , o Spitāma!

The vocative spitāma equals an exclamation Jesus! in a hymn addressed to Apollo. The sentence is but a damaged splinter, which one must not try to interpret from the present context. A comparison with the beginning of st.68 (see above) almost literally identical, and with the Rtiš-Pārandī fragments furnishes at once a graphic explanation: there we have aṣiš, with ṣ for rt, here aδaviš; there pārandiča, here ‚paoiriš'. In a script like that of the Awramān parchment, first century B.C., RT looks like DVY, and VYR like RND, hence aδaviš = rtiš, paoiriš = pārandiča.[30] The

[30] The Aw. character for which we note ṣ is a ligature of Sasan. VXR for old RT. It was invented in the middle of the fourth century A.D. and can go back to an older ligature of the time of Ardashīr I, but once the writing was RT. If such an RT occasionally was not replaced by the later style, misinterpretations were bound to arise. In the Ars. script of the Awramān parchment R is still = D [only uncial Pahlavīk of the Sasan. period introduced a diacritical hook under the letter] and T = VY. *DVYŠ there equals *RTŠ. paoiriš does not stand for normal PRVYŠ but is PRNDYŠ, i.e. pārandiča, misread as PVYRYŠ.

goddesses on Mithra's chariot are the same as elsewhere, Rtiš and Pārandī. The verb which ends in -āti (with long ā) was a dual in -ātē:

yahya vārtam hangrwnātē rtiš pārandiča [vahvī].

These fragments are older than *Y.Haft.* 38,3—see under 'Dēva'—where, in a long series of abstract nouns, Pārandī appears with the standing epithet of Rtiš, vahvī, no more with ravara*θ*ā, the epithet she bore as Mithra's wife. Therewith she disappears entirely. The name means something like "luxuria" and stands beside striyo mayâ in the *Āfrīn.*3,4, in a theological-religious context where it is comprehensible only as a misinterpretation of an old fragmentary sentence.

These verses recall a strange "wagon-scene" in the *Rtiš Yt.*17,17-22. Rtiš stops her chariot at the call of Zoroaster, who introduces himself: "First man to pray the Rtam vahištam!" and the goddess answers, 21:

nazdyo mām upa.hišta upa mē srayahva vārtahe[31]
"step up closer to me, squat down on my chariot."

The loose trousers, which Zoroaster wears as a Mede, then, ride up[32]

ā dim usča pari.mrzat thereupon she embraced him from above
havyā bāzū dašināča with the left forearm and the right one,
dašinā bāzū havyāča with the right forearm and the left one

"and spoke the words: You have such handsome calves, huvasčuva, and such long arms, drga.bāzauš, to your body hvarnah is given, as true as I tell you!"

According to Hertel "überträgt die Göttin *natürlich* durch das 'Umstreicheln' das Himmelslicht auf Zarathustra." Lommel: "Die Beteuerung (as true as . . .) lässt das Lob der Schönheit als Segensspruch erkennen . . . das Streicheln, pari.mrzat, ist die Geste des Segnens." Such sentimental interpretations are to no purpose. One does not "stroke around" with the forearms, and √mrz- means "to rub, wipe, embrace,

[31] Bartholomae and Lommel: "lehne dich an meinen Wagen," which has only two wheels and would tip over. Rtiš stops to give Zoroaster "a lift"; upa is "upon," √sri-, Gr. «λίνω is the crossing of the legs: in *Vid.*3,29 the beggar squats before the door, srayano.

[32] Cf. Ṭabarī III,1469: "al-Ma'mūn said to abū Hashīaha—a prophecy of which only the last part comes true: The caliph after myself will have a 'ayyin in his name, the one after him a hā, and the one after that will have yellow calves! And thus was al-Mutawakkil, I have seen it myself, when he sat down on the throne, and his calves were uncovered: they were as yellow as if painted with safran."

kiss."[33] It is not even a "praise of beauty." huvasčuva is "having good hollows of the knee" namely for running, a mere variant of Mithra's epithet "rδva.zanga, with straightened knees," and drγa.bāzauš, Skr. dirghabāhuḥ is "a mark of royalty," cf. Hertel, IIQF,VII,50. Artaxerxes makrocheir, longimanus (NP. transl. dirāzdast) has this epithet, the meaning of which a sarcastic remark of al-Bundārī, historian of the Seljuks, reveals, who says of the vezier abū l-maḥāsin 'Abdaldjalīl b. 'Alī al-Dahistānī:[34] "in injustice he had an outstretched hand and a long arm." It is the long arm of justice, law—opposite to the "short wings, Germ. kurze Beine" of lies—another epithet of Mithra. As epithets of Zoroaster the words are as unfit as would be *πόδας ὠκὺς* and *εὐρὺς ὤμοισι* for Plato. Obviously there were old verses describing Rtiš embracing Mithra, which served as model for this miscarried product of a late poetaster.

The descriptions of the chariot all follow a pattern: "Mithra comes in the chariot—with him on the chariot is the goddess . . .—the chariot is drawn by horses." And since in the neighborhood of this splinter (130) there is another one (136) with yahmāi θānǰayante, which cannot be connected with any other description, one must combine the two:

136: yahmāi aruša arvanto	For whom white racers
yuχtam vārtam θānǰayante	pull the harnessed chariot,
čvo čaχro zaranēno	the one wheel is of gold,
asānašca vispā.bāmā	and the jewels are "containing-all-light."[35]

These verses add an entirely new feature to the description of the chariot itself, which is otherwise characterized only by the two adj. in 124, "hāma.taχma and vispā.pis, smoothly running and of all colors," like a rainbow.[36] The one wheel does not indicate a one-wheeled chariot,

[33] *Ayātk.Zām.* ed. Messina, ch. 12,5, speaking of the Māzandarī: u pa marziln e žanān ruždn, and of the Turks: u.šān žanān . . . marzišn vas kunēnd. To √marz- belongs numarzišta in *Yt.*16,1. Cf. Benveniste, *Vrtra*, 58,3: Sogd. nm'rz, Sak. namalyz, only "frotter, caresser," as NP. mālīdan.

[34] Was chief of police, 'amīd al-a'ẓẓ, of Baghdad in 482 H., in 494 vizier of Barkiyaroq in Isfahan, 495 murdered by Assassins, one of the builders of Imām Dōr near Samarra, acc. to its inscription.

[35] Text: yuχta varta, without terminations; θanǰasanti with wrong ǰ = yy. The nom. pl. asānasča forces to regard the preceding words equally as nominatives (Tedesco).

[36] No need to put down for vispa.paēšəm (with variants) a third form beside vispā.pēsah, Ol. viśvāpeśas and vispā.pis, Ol. viśvapiś. OP. has the same formation, zaranya.piθ and rzata.piθ in *Ōgmad*. Meaning: "of all colors." hāma.taχma, "running in uniform motion" indicates the perfect construction of the wheels.

and one cannot adduce as an analogy the Vedic moon-chariot with seven wheels—certainly not "vielleicht in irdischen Verhältnissen begründet" (Hertel, *Siegesf.* 157), on earth it is enough to be the fifth wheel. The one wheel is a symbol; it is what *Daniel* 7,13 in the description of God's throne, and *Ezek.* 1,15 in the description of the Cherubim, call "galgal," the great nimbus behind the throne and in the back of the Cherubs, pictured "like a beryl" and "with eye-stones."[127] asā means, in OP. and in Aw., as designation of material, "ore, metal," NP. sā, and "jewel"; placed beside gold, "vispā.bāma, (containing) all-light" defines the material asā. It is the diamond, unless it be the ruby even higher valued. The great nimbus before which the god is standing on his chariot—see under 'Sculpture'—is made of gold and diamonds.

In st.68, the charioteer Dāmoiš Upamano appears in a strange harem of abstract notions, all "belonging" to Mithra like Rtiš and Pārandī. And in 125, where the Zoroastrian Čistā has replaced another figure, an "Upamano of the māzdayasnian religion, dēnayå māzdayasnoiš upamano," nowhere else mentioned, stands on Mithra's chariot, while in the next stanza the genuine Dāmoiš upamano, who according to st. 52 ought to come arunning when Mithra orders a start, "comes driving in the shape of a wild boar etc." The magnificent description of the boar is a plagiate from *Yt.*14,15. In st.70 Vrthragna himself drives, equally wrong, in front of Mithra, in the shape of a boar (borrowed from 14,15). As a god of light, Mithra can arrive on the Harā preceding the immortal sun, but Vrthragna is no luminary deity and is not Mithra's, his equal's, forerunner.

For the understanding of the striking name Dāmoiš upamano one must ignore these passages. upamana means "anathema"; for dāmi the best way is the one indicated by Bartholomae who connects dāmiš and *θέμις*, a view strongly supported by the epithet dāmidāta of Rtiš, Díkē, wife of Mithra. In a similar way, Srōšo is linked to Rtiš by his epithet rtiyo. In many cases, the mazdayasnian redaction of the Awesta seems to have replaced an original dāmidāta by mazdadāta.

Beside the goddess and the charioteer, two helpers are on Mithra's chariot, comparable to his eight rātayo, retainers and outlook men in st.44, namely (100):

[127] Likewise: year date 13 of Ammiditana, see Ungnad *Datenlisten* in Reall.Assyr. II,187ff., first dyn. of Babylon: "alme gal.gal.la ^{na_4}du.sa.a-ké šu.nir.ra i.mah.e.ša é.babbar.ra.še in.ne.en.tu.ra, great sundisks of agate, magnificent as an emblem, he brought into Ebabbara."

dašinam hē upa arδam	On his right side drives
vazate yo vahuš srōšo rtiyo	the good Srōšo rtiyo
varyastaram hē upa arδam vazate	on his left drives
rašnuš brzo yo amavā	the high Rašnuš the powerful.

This is a genuine old verse in a prosaic form—but easy to make metrical—which one could imagine after st.68 in "Mithra the Warrior," or after the fragment st.143. The lines exemplify that unmetrical passages may be good, and metrically unobjectionable ones false.

Zoroaster has deprived Mithra of these helpers and of his wife Rtiš and has given them to his AhuraMazdāh. Personified, the word srōša does not signify "obedience"—see *Y.*43,12 under 'Hospitium'—but "hearing," as Hertel emphasizes in *Siegesf.* 67. Srōšo holds with Mithra the office which is called "gōšaka" as OP. title of an officer of the king, whose activity is that of a policeman. Cf. Aristotle, *de mundo,* fol.398ª: *πυλωροί τε καὶ ὠτακουσταὶ λεγόμενοι ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸς δεσπότης καὶ θεὸς ὀνομαζόμενος πάντα μὲν βλέποι πάντα δ'ἀκούοι.* Srōša is Mithra's "ear."

Rašnu is usually explained as "just," personification of justice; but Hertel says "Altp. Schreibung für *raχšnu, zu Ved. √rakṣ- 'schützend.'" His epithet rtiya is the masc. of the name Rtiš, meaning Dike. Rašnuš is in the "Ordeal-yasht," the overseer of the ordeals, because he is a helper of Mithra, the god of social law. Whether he "protects" the innocent or reveals guilt and innocence in "justice" through the ordeal, his role in both cases is a forensic one, and together Srōšo and Rašnuš embody a criminal and protective police, Arab. šurṭa and ḥaras. As Mithra's helper they reveal another side of the god, not touched in the songs we have so far studied.

The horses are always described, in the manner of the Awesta, by epithets. They are a team of four white horses, called spētita or aruša, and Mithra is therefore called "arušāspa, with the white horses" in *Yt.* 10,102. hāma.gōna sounds as if the color of the four horses was exactly alike; but in *Yt.*8,58 "a white and a black or an animal hāmagōna in any other color" means one-colored as opposed to piebald, Aw. sāi-. manyava is "celestial," manyuvasah "dwelling in heaven," manyušhvarθa "feeding on celestial food," reason for their "immortality." A compound

like manyušhvarθa, with -šh- < -ǰ-,[88] living continuation of Ar. *manju.-svartha, proves that *manjava was a full synonym of dēva, heavenly, already in Aryan, like NP. mīnawī. asāya "without shadow" is another genuinely old epithet, cf. Theopomp μὴτε σκιὰς ποιοῦντας (under 'Chronology') as characteristic of life in the transfigured world.

The Persians' custom of carrying holy white horses with them in war has its origin in the Mithra cult. According to the story told by Herodotus 1,189 (from Hecataeus, end of 6th century) such a holy horse was drowned in the Gyndes (Diyāla) when Cyrus crossed the river for the attack on Babylon. The legend that the river was punished by being divided in 360 canals is associated even today with the ruins of the dam of BāDjabbāra, at the point where the Diyāla breaks through the Ḥamrīn and the Khāliṣ canals branch off.[89]

The chariot characterizes Mithra, in Aryan conception, as a light of heaven, but he was not the sun-god nor the heaven, for in st.145, he is invoked with the heaven, Varuna, in the dvandva miθrā-ahurā, and beside sun, moon and stars. In the "Peace-song" he travels on the light side of the earth, appears "in front of the sun" and expands after sunset over the whole earth, seeing on his way all that happens between heaven and earth. In st.142 he produces at early dawn the many shapes which were invisible at night, and is likened to the sun, the moon and Sirius.

On the other hand, the disappearance of the sun-god from the Iranian pantheon can be explained only by assuming that Mithra absorbed the old Suryas. *Yt.6*, dedicated to Hvarχšēta, is a clumsy piece of work, without any old substance, and only shows that the late period in which it was produced had no longer anything to say about Hvarχšēta. He has dissolved himself into Mithra and partly into Yama χšēta.

[88] The equally old st.108 has puruihvāθra, while at younger places the writing is puruhvāθra. Very late passages speak of manyava dēva, in reality a synonym, "heavenly gods," mostly coupled with varunya dēva, which originally was θεοὶ οὐράνιοι, see under 'Dēva' and 'Vidēvdād.'

[89] *Gr.Bdh.* 86, ch. "Rivers," mentions a vadš or vadyš rōδ, written in the next line, in Paz., vinaiδīš(nom.). In *Vid.6,40* the acc.adv. anaiδīm appears beside niyāpam patiyāpam, downstream, upstream; Bartholomae, *ZAirWb.* 109: "vielL haplol. aus ana.naδīm, über den Fluss hin, OL nadī 'Fluss' das im Aw. fehlt." The name of the river vinadi(š) corresponds to this *ana.nadī-; with vi- "asunder," it fits the legend; Hecataeus' Gyndes might be vinadiš, and the mention of the name in the *Gr.Bdh.* a remnant of the same legend. Cf. the district Γανδείτων the irrigation of which was restored by the stratiarch of Susa, Zamaspes, in 213 Sel.=98 B.C., according to the Gr. inscription, F. Cumont, CRAI. 1931, 238-252.

Nyberg—and recently Henning—distinguishes between "Mithra in the West" (383): "Hier ist nämlich Mithra ohne Zweifel der Vertreter der Sonne: mihr u māh, Sonne und Mond" [this is NP., not a question of geography, but of time]—and "Mithra in the east," the "Lokal" of the Mithra yasht, where (53) he cannot be the sun because he appears before sunrise. But 57: "Es ist ein *sonnenbeschienenes* Gemälde, das uns im Mithra-yasht, (13-15) entgegentritt" and 59: "Es kann kein Zweifel daran sein, dass Mithra . . . wesentlich der Gott des sternengeschmückten *Nacht*himmels ist." The "Nightheaven" comes as a shock, and the various propositions, beyond doubt, contradict the texts as completely as themselves.

The relation between Mithra and Hvarχšēta resembles that between Apollo and Helios, and in the votive inscriptions of Persepolis, shortly after Alexander, Apollo and Helios both take the place of Mithra. That is the period in which Hvarχšēta disappeared. As late as in the *Māt.Čatr.* one finds the notion of "five lights": ātaχš, fire, and beside the real luminaries šēt = sun, māh = moon, stārak = stars, an unreal "varčak ē ač āsmān āyēt, brilliancy that proceeds from the heaven"; cf. *Daniel* 12: "The knowing ones will shine like the brilliancy of the vault of heaven," and *Mir.Man.*19,19: "Brighter than the light of the sun, the vrdyvn, the sphere of heaven shines." This light, supposed to be the heaven's own, is Mithra.

The functions of the Old Iranian gods are less delimited from each other than, for instance, those of the Greek gods. The spheres of their activities overlap. That is also the case with Mithra, but one side he has all to himself, namely the social-judiciary one, and that is extremely old. Meillet, J.As. 1907, 152f., went so far as to consider this sociological significance as the original one: Mithra as the god of friendship and of loyalty to contracts. I always feel doubtful about assuming such abstractions under conditions of remote antiquity. One support of this theory is the interpretation of the name: Ved. mitrám, n., "friendship," mitráḥ, m., "friend" or n.pr. Mitra; and according to Bartholomae Gath. and Aw. miθra m. "Vertrag, religiöse Bindung." The problem is hidden in the notion translated by "Vertrag, contract" and it is not necessary to separate the "god of light" and the "god of contract."

In *Vid.*4,2, a juridical text of a similar kind as the "wergild tariff" of *Yt.*10,116, treated here at the end of the chapter, miθra has the significa-

tion "(solemn) promise, vow." There are six kinds of promises: (1) vačahina, made by word of mouth; (2) zasta.mršta, made by shaking hands; (3) pasu.maza, by pledging a sheep; (4) stōra.maza, by pledging an ox; (5) vīra.maza, a slave; (6) dahyu.maza, a plot of land, or village. Answerable as joint security, "hada.čiθa, Mitbüssende" are the next-of-kin, nabā.nazdišta in taxes mounting according to the six steps. Membership of the vis involves the duty of standing bail. Something very archaic is preserved in this tariff: Lat. vindex reveals similar notions in Rome, and OHG. hantfesti > handfeste = promise, corresponds exactly to Ir. zasta.mršta.[40] Every promise is made under oath, and every break means perjury.

Promise is the meaning of miθra also at another late place, *Yt.*10,2:

miθram mā ǰanyå spitāma	Do not break a miθra, Spitāma,
mā yim druvatāt prśahē	not one made with a drugvant,
mā yim hvādēnāt rtāvnāt	not one made with an orthodox coreligionist,
uwayå zi asti miθro	for a miθra is mutual!

The inept form, an instruction for Zoroaster about a legal theory which he rejected, is a matter of redaction, part of "Mithra's rehabilitation." An opposition of drugvant and hvādēna rtāvan is recent and quite foreign to the Mithraic sphere. The only old element is the last line: every miθra is mutual, uwaya = Lat. ambo.

There are other places, where the signification "promise, contract" is not at all suited for miθra and miθradruχš, e.g. in *Yt.*10:

17: yo noit kahmāi awi.drōχδo	Who is not-to-be-sinned-against by anybody,
⟨noit nmānahe nmānopatəš, noit viso vispatəš, noit⟩	
⟨zantəuš zantupatəš noit daiŋhəuš daiŋhupatəš⟩	
18: yazi ⟨vā⟩ dim awi.družati	when he still sins against him,
⟨nmānahe vā nmānopaitiš viso vā vispaitiš⟩	
⟨zantəus vā zantupaitiš daiŋhəuš va daiŋhupaitiš⟩	
fraša upa.sčindayati	smashes beyond [repair]
miθro granto upa.tbišto	Mithra, furious, offended,
uta nmānam uta visam	the house and the clan,
uta zantum uta dahyūm	and the district and the province

[40] Cf. Arab. safaqa and yad Allāh 'alā yadaikum.

⟨uta nmānānām nmānopaitiš uta visam vispaitiš⟩
⟨uta zantūnām zantupaitiš uta daiŋhūnām daiŋhupaitiš⟩

uta dahyūnām fratamaδātā and the first-born of the provinces.

A rare form like the part.fut.pass. awi.drōχδo in 17a—cf. Gath. dafšnya in *Y.*53,8 "they shall be to-be-deceived-ones," diwžadyāi in *Y.* 44,4 "must (not) be deceived"—is old, and 18a is closely connected with it because the subject of awi.družati must be abstracted from kahmāi in 17a. On the contrary, the repeated enumeration of the four social steps—which recalls the catechism in *Yt.*19,18—is not old, but introduced by the ēθriyas, proud of their catechetic erudition, in order to define "kahmāi" as chiefs of the nmāna etc. fratamaδāta of 18. This definition is entirely wrong, the result is: when a nmānapatiš offends, Mithra destroys the nmāna, when a vispatiš, the vis etc., whereas the real meaning is: if "anyone" offends, the god destroys "everything," him and his family, clan etc., as the fragment *Yt.*10,2 says:

mrnčate vispām dahyāum maryo miθradruχš!
The miθradruχš ruins the whole country.

The verses 18d-f are the only genuinely old occurrence of the four-step formula in the whole yasht, and these evidently already belonged to the past when the wrong interpolations were added.

granto upatbišto in 18c have causative meaning: "because he is enraged by the offense," just as in st.47 "frasruto zaranimno, because he is enraged (against the enemies) by the songs (of his adherents)."

Former translations, taking the text as a homogeneous one, sound as if all Iranian "Obrigkeiten, fratamatāt," from time to time, became "miθradruχš, die Freundschaft betrügend, or belügend" (in the Vedic meaning) or "dem Vertrag Gewalt anthuend" (in the Iranian meaning of miθra). They do that to the present day every day, and history teaches that countries do not go to pieces in this way. In st.104, the miθradruχš must flee from the revenge of the god to the extreme ends of the world. If those be merchants owing a debt, peasants not punctually fulfilling a delivery, all of humanity—with the words of Vidēvdād I—would stay in the kršvar, at the horizon of the world. Offenses against civil law are entirely out of the question, and miθra cannot mean "contract" in any modern sense, but only criminal offenses against penal law. Since the god punishes the criminal himself with his family,

clan, tribe, country and their first-born, one cannot avoid thinking of blood-revenge dominating criminal law.

There was once an antithesis to st.17-18, a fragment of which is worked into a salute to the birth of Zoroaster, interpolated in the memorial document *Yt.*13,95:

miθro yo vurugavyūtiš	Mithra with the wide pastures
fraδāt vispam - - - -	increases all - - - -
fratamaTātā dahyūnām	the first-born of the countries
yōzantišča rāmayati	and pacifies those in turmoil.

The verses are not complete: in analogy to 10,18 one would expect nmāna and vis behind fraδāt vispa. fratamaδāta appears only in these two places, which originally belonged to one and the same song, though they are now scattered over *Yt.*10 and 13. *Yt.*10 is in better condition and renders T of the archetype by δ, not by t: fratamaδāta is Old Persian for Aw. fratamazāta, see under 'Social Structure.' The authenticity of 95d is confirmed by *Dar. NiR.A,*54: "yaθa avēna imām būmīm yōδantīm, when He saw this earth in turmoil." Darius, significantly, transfers, as Zoroastrian, Mithra's role to AhuraMazdāh.

*Yt.*10,83-84:

83: ⟨yim dahyoš dahyupatiš⟩ bāδa ⟨ustāna.zasto⟩ zbayati avahē ⟨and anal. zantoš zantupatiš, nmānopatiš⟩	84: viso vispatiš, nmānahya "to whom verily cry for help"
84: ⟨yim⟩ dvāčina piθya hačimnā, ⟨bāδa ⟨ustāna.zastā⟩ zbayati avahē⟩	any two that have a feud,
yim driyuščit rta.tkēšo	to whom a beggar, one following Rta's commandments,
apayato havāiš dātāiš	from whom his rights are withheld,
bāδa ⟨ustāna.zasto⟩ zbayati avahē	verily cries for help!

As in st.17-18, the ēθriyas have put in their catechetic wisdom, without grammar, meter and sense, and have tried to give the common cry for help a Zoroastrian coloring by interpolating "ustāna.zasta, with

hands outstretched," the Zoroastrian attitude of prayer (Y.29,5 and 50,8), spoiling therewith the meter.

Our surmise, when comparing the "War song" and the "Peace song," finds strong support here: there was a hymn moving entirely in antitheses, and the st.17-18, the antithetic fragment in *Yt.*13,95, and probably 10, 83-84, were parts of it. But 17-18 is not the beginning of a hymn; the rel. yo requires an invocation preceding it. Such an invocation, in antitheses, moreover with the emphasis on dahyu, the peace and strife of the provinces, exists in st.38, verses which therefore must have preceded st.17-18.

38: tuvam ako vahištasča	Thou, the bad and the best,
miθra ahi dahyūbyo	Mithra, art thou for the countries,
⟨tuvam ako vahištasča	
miθra ahi martiyākēbyo⟩	
tuvam āχštoiš an.āχštoišča	Thou, over peace and strife
miθra χšayahi dahyūnām	Mithra, of the countries thou art master!

A similar thought is expressed in poor language, in st.26:

akataram srōšyānām	the worst for those to be chastised,
ačētāram miθradruǰām	the avenger for the criminals,
yo dahyāum an.ādruχto	who gives to the country where he is not offended
uparāi amāi daδāti	superior power of attack,
yo dahyāum an.ādruχto	who gives to the country where he is not offended
uparāi vrθrāi daδāti	superior power of defense.

St.38 may have concluded the opening invocation miθram . . . yazamade. One can let pass 38b as metrical or easily make it metrical; d, where one syllable should be eliminated, contributes nothing to the thought, separates dahyūbyo from dahyūnām which ought to be as close as possible, and impairs the thought these words express: in this song the god does not face single "mortals, martiyākā," but their collective, dahyu, countries, peoples. The idea of the universality of the god and the individualism of men is not yet ripe.

A stanza like *Yt.*10,79 must be judged differently:

tuvam (tā) dahyāvo nipāhi	You protect the provinces (case!)
yā hubrtīm yātayati	those (where) well-treatment of(!)
miθrahya vurugavyūtoiš	Mithra with the wide pastures is his part.
tuvam tā fraščindayahi	You destroy those,
yā ranχšyatīš dahyāvo	which (are) hostile countries.

This is no longer Old Iranian. The two rel. yā are MP. iḍāfats. yātayati is denom. of yāta "lot, part," (not *Wb.*: "in Gang setzen, sich befleissigen"). hubrti is an artificial n.abstr., modeled after verses like *Yt.* 10,102: yaθa hubrto baratē, or its opposite in 48: yaθa dužbrto baratē. The increase of abstract formations goes together with the loss of inflection, and the same iḍāfats are found in the inscriptions of Artaxerxes II, in which the inflection is entirely artificial. The rel. yā is not resumed (in b) by an enclit. pronoun in the obl. case: "which . . . in them" meaning "in which, where." This feature is preserved in the Sasanian protocol formula "kē čiθre ač yazdān," not kē.š čiθre. The language is a very early Middle Iranian. ranχšyatīš dahyāvo (instead of acc. dahyūš) is taken from st.27: dahyauš ranšyanθyå, which thereby becomes the only place where this word is authentic.[41] St.79, thus, is merely a late and bad paraphrase of frequently expressed thoughts.

A large continuous piece of this hymn is preserved in st.108-111. We may call it "Mithra's Questions," because there is a relation between its literary form and that of Zoroaster's Questions, which raise the type to a higher, philosophical level, in the same way that the "Cow Gatha" does with the "Theft of the Herd."

108: ko mām yazātē ko družāt	Who will worship me, who offend against me,
ko huyašti ko dužyašti	who believes that I am one to be worshipped
mām zi manyatē yazatam	with good, who with bad offerings?
kahmāi rayasča hvarnåsča	Whom shall I give riches and luck,
kahmāi tanvo drvatātam	whom integrity of the body,
(azam baχšāni χšayamno)	
kahmāi ištīm purušhvāθram	whom possessions full of comfort,
azam baχšāni χšayamno	as his lot, I who have the power?

[41] ranχšyanta in Y.12,4 is corrupt.

	kahmāi āsnāmčit frazantīm	To whom shall I make his own progeny
	us apara barzayāni	grow up in future?
109:	kahmāi azam uγram χša-θram	Whom shall I present with mighty command
	hvani.saχtam puru.spāδam	over engines of war, many armies,
	amanimnahyo manaho	unexpected in his mind,
	pati.daθāni vahištam	even the highest one of
	sāθrasčit hāma.χšaθrahya	a commander over the whole empire,
	kamrδa.ǰano arvahya	of a lord over life and death, a valiant,
	vanato avanamnahya	victorious, invincible one?
	(yo ništāyati krtayē srōšyām	(who orders to execute the punishment,
	išar hā ništāta kryati	no sooner has he ordered, than it is executed,
	yazi granto ništāyati)	as soon as the terrible one commands)
110:	kahmāi yaskamča mrkamča	Whom shall I give illness and death,
	kahmāi an.ištīm *dužāθrām	whom poverty full of misery
	azam baχšāni χšayamno	as his lot, I who have the power?
	kahmāi āsnāmčit frazantīm	To whom shall I slay his
	haθra.ǰata nīǰanāni	own progeny at one stroke?
111:	kahmāi azam uγram χša-θram	From whom shall I (as in 109)
	hvani.saχtam puru.spāδam	
	amanimnahya manaho	
	apa.barāni vahištam	take away
	sāθrasčit hāma.χšaθrahya	
	kamrδa.ǰano arvahya	
	vanato avanamnahya	

and the same gloss as in st.109.

The beginning of 108, ko mām yazātē, and the questions with kahmāi that follow, fit so well, as to contents and form, on 17-18, yo noit kahmāi, that we may regard st.17-18 as the introduction to the "Ques-

tions." Conclusive for this assumption is that the verses 108 and 110 modify the idea of the "first-born, fratamaδāta" by āsnā frazantī: fratamaδāta appears nowhere else, and āsnā frazantī at no other place of *Yt.*10. āsnā, with Bailey, equals "āzāta, agnatus, one's own progeny."

In *Yt.*5,8 and 124 the quotations from the epics start with

ko mām stavāt ko yazātē	Who will praise me (Anāhitā), who bring offerings,
kahmāi upa.hačayāni	whose prayer shall I grant,
frārahāi hāumanahāiča	that he be pleased and of good cheer?

The rest are later accretions. Nothing remains there of an antithetic verse, but it must have existed because the goddess always grants or refuses alternately. Similar questions are found in the *Tištriya Yt.* and in the *Fravartīn Yt.* Antithetic questions therefore were a pattern of the old poetry. But Mithra's questions differ from these by their contents.

The repeated words "kahmāi baχšāni,apabarāni χšayamno" describe the god as the "baga" par excellence, the one who "allots, √bag-," fate, "baχta," good and bad, to mankind, as the *δοτὴρ ἐάων.*[42] OP. uses √mā-, mi-: "framānā, lot, fate, *μοῖρα.*" *Dar. NiR.A,*57: hyā ōramazdāha framānā hō.tē gastā mā *θ*andaya! "what Ōramazdā allots shall not appear hellish to you!" The change reveals, again, that Zoroaster had transferred this role from Mithra to AhuraMazdāh.

The use of "azam" in these verses is the same as that defined by Meillet as characteristic of the Darius inscriptions. In 108 Mithra calls himself "yazata, adorandus," as one who must be worshipped with yasht and yasna. The sentence proves the pre-Zoroastrian age of the term yazata—as does the hymn to ApāmNapāt. For rayi, Gath. rāi, in 108d see under 'Fravarti.'

The cultural picture revealed in 109 and 111 determines the date of the song: puruspāδa, lit. "with many armies," and hvani.saχta. hvani-, to √hū-, whence hvandra, hūti, hūnara, see under 'Architecture,' is "to manufacture with skill"; saχta, to NP. sāχtan, sāz-, is the word for

[42] What Mithra allots is baga.baχta. The theological distinction of the *Mēn.Xr.* 24, quoted in *Alṭp.Inschr.* 145, "baχt, fate assigned at the beginning; bagobaχt, what the gods allot apart from the predetermined fate"—as corollary to the doctrine of predetermination—is younger than this Sasanian doctrine itself, and bagobaχt does no more contain the notion "additional" than baχt that of "at the beginning." Translating baga.baχta, a pre-Zoroastrian word, by "allotted by the gods" involves that AhuraMazdāh was, at that antiquity, included in "bagâho." The greater probability is that baga has the same definite meaning "Mithra" as in baga.dāta = miθradāta, baga.buχša = Mihr.bōjēt etc.

industrial fabrication, especially of metals and weapons. Here the adj. indicates engines of war, artillery, which the Iranians had already when they besieged and took one Assyrian fortress after the other (Šamaš omina), before conquering Nineveh. The adjectives presuppose the organization of large armies, as they were fully developed in the Achaemenian epoch.

With sāθrasčit[43] a series of military titles in poetical disguise begins: sāstar is Arab. amīr, MP. spāhpat, general. With the adj. hāma.χšaθra (whence MP. "hāmšahr, world") it means the command over the armies of the whole empire, origin of the titles formed with "šahr-, of the empire" in Sasanian times. Hertel, *Siegesf.* 132, refers to *ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς*, but the title is a purely military one. Ved. ubhá śáṃsa (= OP. χšāyaθya and framātar) with which Hertel deals in that connection, comes near to Arab. al-ri'āsatain, political and military command, but even that is not a sovereign title. kamrδa.gan as honorific[44] signifies "having power over life and death," like Arab. "malik ruqāb al-umam, ruling over the necks of the nations"; being determined by "of the nations," this is sovereign, while in the Aw. passages the subjects are only soldiers. The truly excited gloss depicts the dread the soldiers of the spāδa feel for their commander-in-chief. vanant a.vanamna resembles Arab. al-muẓaffar al-manṣūr. Those are not notions of a prehistoric, not even of an archaic period. The verses are surely younger than the conquest of Nineveh and not older than the Achaemenian period.[45]

The stanzas 108-111 are in good condition, but not all there was. The verse with rayasča hvarnášča in 108 has no correspondent in 110; on the other hand, in st.37 we have

avi diš ayam χšayamno āθyam barāti θwiyāmča

and similarly in st.23:

miθradruǰām martiyānām θwiyām ⟨ava⟩ barahi [χšayamno]

[43] sāθra = sāsθra, to Vsanh-, to command; the spelling may be a transposition of OP. *θāsθra > *θās(s)a into Awestic, with s for θ and θr for s. But note the gen.sg. sāt(a)rš in *Yr.*9,31.

[44] In *Yt.*10,26 Mithra is kamrδa.gan, "who has power over life and death," the foolish addition of dēvānām makes of it "the skull-smiter of the dēva." *Wb.* explains kamrδa itself as "was für ein (scheusslicher) Kopf"—while it is simply "skull, head" to kamarā (see under 'Ardvī' and 'Architecture')—and kamrδa.gan "auf den devischen Kopf schlagend": "was für eine (scheussliche) Erklärung!"

[45] In 110b, the ed. has dučiθrām, K15 dužiθrām; since it is opposed to ištīm puruštvāθrām, no other reading but ištīm duž.āθrām is possible: the archet. had š for ž, wrongly interpreted as Aw. č, the aleph in the joint was dropped. Gr. *δυσήγητος*.

These verses call for association with the "Questions," and the inadequate subj. mood of barāti—emended in *Wb.*937 to barati—proves it: st.37 has been transposed from 2.p. subj. into 3.p. indic., whereat the ā of the subjunctive was overlooked. In the stanzas 108-111 we have only the positive baχšāni and pati.daθāni; barāni fits in as opp. to the negative apa.barāni. The original of st.37 was a simple

kahmāi āθyamča θwiyāmča azam barāni χšayamno

θwiyām, arranged in *Wb.* under √θwī-, Furcht erregen, noun "θwayah, Schrecknis, gefahr";[48] but the superl. θwiyanstama in *Vid.* 2,23—see under 'Ardvī'—means "the most crowded," and the original meaning is "compressed, oppressed (in a tight, straits)." It is here linked with "āθya, ruin," as is dvēθā in *Y.*48,9 and 32,16, cf. *Y.*29,5 "yat mazdām dvadī frasâbyo, crowding M. with demands." θwiyā must be an exceptional spelling for *dviyā.

St.62: yo noit kahmāi miθradruǰām martiyākānām
ōǰo daδāti noit zāvar yo noit kahmāi miθradruǰām
martiyākānām hvarno daδāti noit miždam

to be compared with st.63: θwiyām ava barahi - - - χšayamno; and: apa ēšām bāzvā ōǰo tuvam granto χšayamno barahi. All these sentences paraphrase verses of our song, an original "*kahmāi ōǰo zāvar miždam*, whom (shall I give) strength, force, (a soldier's) pay" which appeared once with baχšāni as "given, allotted," and once with apa.barāni as "taken away." mižda is the pay of a miždavar, soldier, Germ. "Söldner," from "Sold," Arab. rizq sulṭānī < MP. rōzīg, which the men of the djund receive.

Mithra is yazata, and his hu.yašti, the offering due to him, is according to st.119

yazanta θwam mazdayasnā pasūbya stōrēbya vayēbya partatēbya
yo parnīno fravazanti

Lommel translates the duals "mit zwei Stück (dieser Tiere) verehren." √yaz- has clearly its proper meaning "to immolate," always used

[48] *Wb.*: "θwēšah, *Yt.*13,20 and 11,4, mit Wurzelerweiterung zu √ θwi-." It is actually "σεισμός, earthquake" from σείω, which Brugmann, *Griech.Gramm.*[3] compared with Ir. θwi-; cf. θwēšo biwivā in *Yt.*11,5 and boiwrānām in *Yt.*13,20. The roots θwi-, dvi-, and bi-, byah, Ol. bhay-, bhyas- need closer study.

with the double accusative of the victims and the god to whom they are offered: "tam yazatē . . . satam anumayānām, for him, her (acc.) NN. slaughtered a hundred (acc.) sheep." On the other hand, yasna, zōθra, vāča, nāman, when used with √yaz-, are always instrumental. The end of the passage is metrical, and one cannot conceive why a verse was added to the prosaic instrumentals, the less so as the idea is already pleonastically expressed by two synonyms "birds—winged creatures." Obviously, the rules were originally a verse, with the sacrificial animals in the acc.dual, in form of two dvandvas:

ˈpasū stōrā vayī ftartāˈ yo parnīno fravazanti

The redactors have put the dvandvas—as they did in *Y.*1,11 with miθrā-ahurā—in the dat.-instr. dual, and have interpolated on that occasion mazdayasna, for them a matter of course. But the Zoroastrians, the true worshippers of Mazdāh, were pledged *not* to worship Mithra. The rule is pre-Zoroastrian. Remnants of analogous rules are preserved in *Yt.*5,90-95: Anāhitā receives zōθra; people afflicted with crime and shame are excluded from it; *Yt.*8,57-59: Tištriya receives zōθra and barsman, a white, a black or else a one-colored sheep, but no piebalds, with similar exclusions as in *Yt.*5; for Vrthragna the same prescriptions are valid; for Rtiš, *Yt.*17,54 the usual exclusion of infirm people. *Yt.* 13,50f.: the Fravarti receive meat and garments. The redactors who gathered these remnants had no longer an exact knowledge of the old cults, but the gods mentioned had such old cults, while one cannot assert the same of other gods to whom the Awesta dedicates a yasht: some of them may never have had a cult at all.

The songs investigated so far reveal the picture of the god of light as god of social order. Crimes against Mithra are nowhere secret, nocturnal trespassings. Not the night-heaven watches over social law: the night-watch is the moon. The whole is a function of a god of light. In the "Theft of the Herd" Mithra is called "mēθanahya pātar, protector of the farm," "vrzānahya hartar, keeper of the village," who sustains the pillars of the house, timbers its antae. In the "Peace-song" he gives peaceful life as rāma.šayana, in the "War-song" he is called ahura, raθēštā, vispatiš, dahyupatiš and vispānām dahyūnām dahyupatiš. In st.109, the "Questions," he appears as commander of the army and gives its command to whom he favors. He personifies, thus, all gov-

ernmental, civil and military authority. In st.83 poor people and those to whose rights prejudice is done, implore him. He watches over the right, rtam, and in that quality he has Srōšo and Rašnuš next to him on the chariot, and eight lookout men on the mountains. In *Yt.*10,17-18, he protects the house, clan, tribe and province of his worshippers; in 13,95 he destroys those of the miθradruχš.

In *Yt.*10,2, where the miθradruχš "brings ruin to the whole country," Bartholomae translated maryo miθradruχš by "mithra-betrügender Schurke," Lommel "Unmensch." maryo alone is "(young) man"; the marianni are the army of the Mitanni Aryans; in OP. marika is slave; when used before or after terms of profession it requires no translation.[47] miθradruχš is a very special term, and without defining it one cannot understand the name Mithra. There is a number of synonyms. The most frequent one is miθra.zyā, to √zyā, diyā, ǰyā- (see under 'Hāugava'), which means "deminuere, diminish, impair," especially somebody's rights. Hence miθra.zyā "impairing a miθra." Another is awi.-miθri, i.e. "anti-mithraic." A third, *miθra.gan "slaying a miθra," formed like vrθra.gan, can be abstracted from *Yt.*10,2 "miθram mā ǰanyā" and actually occurs, in corrupted spelling, at two places, *Yt.* 10,45 "yim išanti *miθra-ǰano," and in 104b (see below). miθradruχš itself is Ved. mitradruḥ, hence a pre-Iranian notion, continued by the MP. mot savant mihrāndruž (cf. late Lat. sociofraudus), whereas TPahl. druχtmihr (MMed.) "perjured, sacrilegious" is a genuine word.

A striking fact which requires explanation is that in *Yt.*10,17-18 and *Yt.*13,95 Mithra's favor or anger extend to the "first-born," and that in the "Questions" he threatens to slay the heirs of the offender. Sentences like "the miθradruχš destroys the whole country" and the invocation as "ačētar of the miθradruχš" make the meaning clear. ačētar[48] belongs to "kēnā, revenge." In *Yt.*9,18 Husravah is called the "son of Syāvaršā, who executes the kēnā, revenge for the treacherously murdered father upon Frahrasyā," and the "kēnan, avenger, of Aγrēraθa"; in *Yt.* 15,28 Krsāspa calls himself "kēnan of (my) brother Rvāχšaya." The son and the brother take blood-revenge, and in kēnā = ποινή one has

[47] Cf. husbandman, policeman, Germ. Ackersmann, Zimmermann etc.

[48] ačētar to √ci-, καy-, τίνυμι "to avenge," like *čiti = τίσις, kēnā = ποινή and kēnan "avenger." *Wb.* translates "Bestrafer, Richter," giving it a wrong character. kēnā was believed to be the only word attesting blood-revenge in Iranian. The words ǰēta.činah, nari.činah, which Geiger, *Ostir.Kultur* 453, adduced—"claiming money, women"—do not belong to it.

long since recognized the IE. word for blood-revenge. Mithra, the ačētar, is the avenger, the god of ius talionis.

The Mithra yasht contains a fine poem about the miθradruχš, more exactly the našta.rāzišta; st.104, which belongs to it, has been discussed above because it gives the date of the poem: 612-550 B.C. At least three fragments fitting together are preserved.

105:	dušhvarnå *našta.rāzišto	The unfortunate sacrilegious
	ašāto asti ahvayā	is peaceless in his mind,
	iθa manyatē dušhvarnå	thus the unfortunate thinks:
	noit imat vispam dušvarštam	Not every single misdeed,
	noit vispam awidruχtaye	not every wilful crime
	miθro vēnati apišmā	does Mithra see, the blind one!
52:	āt yat duždå fradvarati	But when the fool runs away,
	yo ayavarš θwarta gāma	the evil-doer, at a quick pace,
	θwartam yōjayati vārtam	Mithra with the wide pastures
	miθro yo vurugavyūtiš	makes harness the fast chariot,
19:	ahmāi nēmāi uzǰasati	to that half he goes forth
	miθro granto upatbišto	Mithra, furious, offended,
	yahmāi nēmānām miθra-druχš	on which half the miθradruχš is,
	nēδa manyū patipatē	—and not does he expect him the least—
104:	yahya dryāčit bāzava	him whose arms, however far,
	*fragrwnātē *miθra.ǰano	seize the miθra-slayer,
	yatčit ušastarē hindōu	whether in the east on the Indus,
	yatčit dōšatare *tigrē	or in the west on the Tigris,
	yatčit sanakē ranhayå	or at the sanakē of the Iaxartes,
	yatčit *vimaδyē ahyå zmo	or here in the middle of this earth,
105a:	tamčit miθro hangrfšamno	—wherever, Mithra seizes him,
	*pari.apayāt bāzuwyā	clasping him in his arms.

Sequence of verses:

The train of thought has no gap, the joining no faults. It is clear enough that the rel. yahya in 104a relates to miθro in 19b, not to miθradruχš in 19c. The two dušhvarnå (imprecative, see under 'Hvarnah') in 105 are resumed by duždå in 52; dušvarštam in 105 by ayavarš. manyatē in 105 is continued in 19 by manyū patipatē. ašāto in 105 is

related to fradvarati in 52: the criminal cannot remain at one place and must hide. Isolated as it is in the yasht, st.52 has no purpose: the harnessing yōjayati, receives good meaning only when the starting, uzjasati, in 19 follows. And st.19 alone contains no reason for Mithra's wrath: it is roused by the attempt at escape. The verses 104 c-f with east, west, north and middle, specify nēmā in st.19, and 105 a-b answer in the negative to the hope of the criminal expressed in 105 (c-h, beginning), and are therefore the conclusion.

Vocabulary:

'našta.rāzišta in 105a: Bartholomae supplemented to a našto razišta, written with separation (instr. instead of ablat.) here and in *Yt.*10,27 (text below), "paθā, vom gradesten (Wege) abgegangen." *Wb.*1515 discloses his reasoning: "razišta, a) von pantay in *Yt.*10,3; b) ohne pantay, das aber hinzuzudenken ist, in *Yt.*10, 27 and 105." *Yt.*10,3: "razištām pantām daδāti ātarš . . . yoi miθram noit awi.družati" is part of the editorial introduction; the words of *Yt.*10,27 "Mithra takes away the rāzišta from his enemies" make the redactor think of rtahya pantām, and he infers that the god probably gives to his friends what he takes away from his enemies. One must not repeat the error of the redactor who has wrongly "hinzugedacht" panti in *Yt.* 10,3. The whole expression goes back to pre-Zoroastrian antiquity. √nas- does not mean "abgehen von,"[48] but belongs to Lat. nex, pernicies; Ved. "nā́śana, annihilating" to nāśay-, Skr. naśana "getting lost." Gath. nasyanto rtāt in *Y.*32,4 "those who sin against rtam." It is the stem of MP. vināš, NP. gunāh "sin." And rāzan are the lēges or the mores:

*Yt.*10,27:

yo dahyauš ranšayanθyå	Mithra who from the countries hostile
parā 'rāzišta barati	to him takes away their rāzišta (acc.pl.)
pati hvarnå vārayati	makes inefficient their luck (plur.)
apa vrθragnam barati	carries off their victory . . .

[48] "To deviate," cf. Germ. folksong "Üb immer Treu und Redlichkeit . . . und weiche keinen Finger breit vom rechten Wege ab," also Arab. wa-lā tamall 'an al-'adl, "do not deviate from justice" in a letter of Ṭāhir I to his son, in Ṭaifūri, *ḳit.Baghdād* fol.15.

*rāzišta is the elative of rāzan. The faulty case endings of našto razišta indicate that it is a dismembered compound—cf. sahvar.mariśta under 'Last Judgment'—superl. *našta.rāza, formed like "našta.zmana, who has lost his livelihood" (Duchesne §207); hence it means "who has lost his rights," in the superl. either "lost completely" or "his highest rights," one who has suffered the capitis deminutio maxima. It must be taken in its most intense, legal, not in a vague moral sense, for it is connected with ašāta.

*Yt.*19,34 describes Yama χšēta after his banishment from paradise (text under 'Yama χšēta') as ašāta: "Yama roams peaceless, ašāta—prostrate in misery he hides—over the earth." Tha'ālibī transfers the motif to Kai Xusrau: "wa sāḥa l-arḍ, he roamed about on the earth." It is the curse of Cain, *Gen.*4,12: "And now cursed be Thou on earth, bā'ārāṣ." The Pahl. transl. of *Y.*29,9 renders Gath. χšanmanē, life as xenos, exile, by ašād.-mānišnīh, peaceless-living; Germ. "friedlos" in medieval law means ban, excommunication from the clan and loss of all rights. Cf. Grimm, *Rechtsaltertümer* 397ff.: "Ein Totschläger wird 'friedlos,' ursprünglich nur der eines Stammesgenossen, nicht der eines Fremden, da diese exlex sind."

ahvayā in 105b, written ‚aŋuhayā', with insignificant variants, archet. 'HVY', is loc. of "ahva, soul, heart, feeling." It may be right—cf. "dāušmanahya, in misery"—but it is tempting, with regard to the passages quoted, to read *ahavā, loc. in ā of ahū, archet. 'HV', ašāto ahavā, as in *Gen.*4,12.

awi.druχtayē in 105e: cf. Benveniste, *Inf.av.* 55: n.abstr. awi-druχti [cf. an.ādruχti under 'Yama'] "tout (ce qui est fait) pour la tromperie." It means a wilful injury, scelus dolosum. To the entire thought compare the verses 92-104 of the book Enok, quoted under 'Last Judgment.'

fra.dvarati in 52a, with *θ*warta gāma, can only mean "to run forth=away," Germ. "fortlaufen" as in *Yt.*11,6 and perhaps more often. Also where it means "to run in advance" it has the connotation of furtiveness.

104b *fra.grwnātē *mi*θ*ra.jano: in the text the verb is a plural inst. of dual, written fragərəwəąti; not a "praes.27 von √grab-"

(*Wb.*) but GRPNTY, read grwnātē. The mss. have miθrō.aōǰaŋhō, a word counting only four syllables, and the first element of which must be miθra-. Therefore it can be neither a corruption of miθo.aōǰaŋhō, nor of miθrō.draōǰaŋhō, but is *miθra.ǰano.[50]

The redactor, who tore the poem to pieces, further maltreated these verses by adding, in st.106-107, in verbose commonplaces his own thoughts to those of the našta.rāzišto, [much reduced]: "I on the contrary think: no man on earth who could think, talk or do evil [the usual triad each time in extenso] in as high a degree, as Mithra does the contrary; no man who owns greater innate intelligence and better hearing than Mithra!" Wolff annotates only: "! ?" I believe it is the only instance in the Awesta where the diaskeuast speaks in the first person and all but steps out of his anonymity.

Thus, the miθradruχš, the one "who injures the miθra" is "sacer" and the word means "sacrilegious," like TPahl. druχtmihr. As našta.-rāzišta he has suffered the capitis deminutio maxima, is outlawed, "vogelfrei," according to the old vehmic formula "der leib ist freigegeben den vögeln in den lüften." Mithra is the god of blood-revenge, and the miθradruχš are offenders against the ethical foundation on which society rests, the nmāna, vis, and zantu. All members of these groups are bound and united in avenging these crimes. The punishment strikes not only the criminal himself, but his house, clan, tribe and the firstborn. Blood revenge, indeed, can "destroy the whole country": "Hir hat daz maer ein ende, daz ist der Nibelunge Not!"

Th. Mommsen, in his treatise "Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker,"[51] defined as subject to blood-revenge "crimina publica, der Gemeinde zugefügte Schädigungen, die nicht als Notwehr (Kriegsführung), sondern als Vergeltung des Bruches der dem Gemeindeverband zu Grunde liegenden sittlichen Verpflichtung von der Sippe geahndet werden." These words of Mommsen, who was not in the least thinking of things Iranian, give an exact definition of the Iranian notions, a proof of their extreme antiquity: miθra does *not* signify "con-

[50] The spelling -v.'v- at the point of junction originated when separation of the joints and the unetymologic -ō before the joint were introduced, here into an original spelling -ə'ǰ-; this involved the interpretation of the ending as -aŋho, while its n is an etymological one.

[51] "Fragen gestellt von Th. Mommsen" etc., herausgegeben von K. Binding, 1905.

tract, Vertrag," it is the "moral obligation upon which the society was founded." Ir. drug [IE. *dhrewgh-, *dhrowgho] does *not* signify "lie, deceive" as in the Germanic branch, A.S. driogan, OHG. triogan, but "to injure"; miθradruχš means "injuring the miθra," exact syn. of miθra.zyā, miθra.gan. The concept comes quite close to Zoroaster's "žīta.rta, by whom Rtam is diminished, impaired," where the ethic principle supplants the social group. The crime is aimed at the obligation towards the social unit. The obligation is imposed either by descent, or by a forsworn covenant. The form under which such a miθra was concluded is known by the so-called Fravarāni in Y.12, where an arya-man, client, takes the oath upon his entry into a vis. Every miθra imposes reciprocal duties, is uwaya, as is an Arab 'ahd, Hebr. b'rīt, "covenant." Thus the inexact and insufficient translation "contract" is pardonable; of Bartholomae's definitions only "religiöse Bindung" holds, if one takes "religious" in its old Latin signification.

The total of the miθrā (pl.) is the rtam in the pre-Zoroastrian usage of the word. Zoroaster detached it from the "mores," the traditional customs, just as he detached religion from cult, and—"worshipping in spirit and in truth"—transfigured it thereby in the absolute kosmos, the moral law, ethical order of the world.

In fact, there is no difference between the Ved. n.pr. mitrá, mitráḥ, m. "friend," and the Iran. n.pr. miθra, nor between Ved. mitrám "friendship" and the Aw. m.sg. miθra, the Gath. pl. miθrā. The god bore the name Mitra already in the Aryan epoch, not as a pale personification of the notion "contract"—and not even in the true meaning as one of the "covenants" that all together form Rtam—but as "the friend." In NP. "mihr, love, friend" the original meaning is maintained to the present day. The words in the beginning of the *Kārnāmaḳ Art.*, "he made mihr u dōstīh with Ardashīr" have the full sociological meaning of Rom. societatem et amicitias, or as Olr. miθra and rvaθa. If the "akataro ačētā," the wholly-bad avenger, bears the name "Mithra, friend," this is the same phenomenon which leads to the name Śivá for Rudra in India: for fear of causing ill-luck one does not pronounce the evil word, the avadyá.

These social institutions come down from immemorial Indo-European antiquity. It is with them as with words: just as linguistic correspondence proves that words belonged to the aboriginal language, thus

traces of such institutions prove their age and origin. O. Schrader[82] gave two such sequences: Got. heiwa.frauja "master of the house," Germ. *hīwa, to Lat. cīvis, Skr. śivá "dear," hence the family as "association of friends"; in Rome, with the transition of the gens into civitas, the civis became citizen. Or: OHG. wini "friend," Irish fine "clan," Lat. vin- -dex "bail." That is the cultural soil on which also Ir. miθra grew.

These concepts are shared also by peoples not of IE. language. *Exod.* 20,5-6: "I, the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation (Luther 'Glied') of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto the thousands, of them that love me and keep my commandments." This is said where the ten commandments are announced, and once more in 34,7, where the new Decalogue is given. The "four generations"—the "thousands" as their opposite mean infinity—come from the Ius talionis, and correspond to the four generations in direct line of the Iranian nabā.naždišta, or the four groups next to the "master of the house." In the Mithra cult āsnā frazanti and fratamaδāta take their place. "Those that hate me" and "that love me" correspond to awi.družati or ranχšyant, and an.ādruχta or an.awidruχta, also to the opposition of dužbrtam and hubrtam baranti. The analogy shows clearly why just the songs to Mithra are composed in such antitheses.

Zoroaster's lament in Y.46,5 is a description of himself as našta.rāzišta, proscript, in the old Roman sense, or as "vogelfrei": "He who receives the fugitive as xenos, be it the χšayans, satrap, or a hozantuš, co.-civis . . . , a rāšna žīvans, one who lives according to the rāzan, leges, mores, shall speak as his advocate for him—who as xenos has no voice, no vote—before his peers, to protect him from χrūnya, murder." He makes an appeal to people who adhere to polytheism and to whom he has not yet exposed his doctrine. He therefore uses words belonging to their notions of right. The words rāzan, rvati and miθra just in this gatha prove the pre-Zoroastrian character of the same terms in Yt.10.

rāzan, lēges, are, with original congruence of right and custom, the mores, resting on rvati and miθra. rvaθa means "friend, amicus"; the

[82] *Sprachvergleichung u. Urgeschichte* 1906, 1,203f.

subst. fem. rvaθā in *Yt.*12 means amicitia.[33] The mores, in Roman, are founded on amicitiae, foedera and societates; relations like marriage, clientela, military retainership are in Rome societates, in Iran miθrā. χrūnya is more than "violence." It belongs to the Ir. word for blood, Aw. χrū, like Gath. χrūrā in *Y.*48,11 and χrūnrā (referring to the killing of Gōmāta) in *Y.*53,8. It is at least "murderous deed" and is, like kēnā, ačētar, one of the terms of blood-revenge.

Zoroaster is threatened by murder, because the acts for which he was sentenced and banished were subject to the ius talionis; he is banished as "miθradruχš" according to the moral notions of his own time. Such are the "zur Unhaltbarkeit zugespitzten Zustände" (Nyberg) and the "zeitweilige Zerwürfnis mit den Sippengenossen" (Lommel). The members of the clan are bound in duty to protect each other against revenge. Therefore Zoroaster accuses his bandva, brother-in-law, the ahura, lord justiciary, of not having protected him against the verdict of the tkēša, the judge, Bartholomae's rabbi. Not finding the protection with his relatives—except his cousin Maδyomāha—he takes asylum with Rtam, and implores the hospitium, which includes protection against revenge, of another vis in another dahyu. That, and not a night's rest, is what the alleged "Buhlknabe," the kavi Vēhviya, refuses to give, and what Vištāspa gives him. Therefore, finally, he says in *Y.*46,4: "He who robs his enemy of his dominion and his life prepares as leader the path of Čistiš" and in *Y.*53,8: "the žīta.rta shall be one to-be-deceived . . . who will bring murder and carnage upon him?" dāta, law shall replace revenge, but in this case selfhelp, deceit and murder are not a sin, but prepare the path of the religion.

miθradruχš in pre-Zoroastrian language signifies what Zoroaster—who rejects Mithra and never uses this term—calls drugvant, Darius drōjana, "follower of the druχš." There can be no congruent word in modern languages, nor for the opp. rtāvan. "Liar" is totally wrong. Meillet and his school translate "juste" and "just and unjust, or righteous and wicked" when taken in the archaic Biblical sense, e.g. *Ezek.* 18 (see below), come nearer than any other words. From the syn. miθra.zyā, by introducing rtam as collective of all miθrā, Zoroaster derived his žīta.rta, raising miθra.zyā to the highest power, "who

[33] Cf. under 'Hospitium' and 'Last Judgment.' Bartholomae translates rvati, Pahl. transl. dōstīh, by "foedus" or "fides," which fit miθra equally well.

diminishes, impairs the highest right," which after the creed "must be increased, rtam sūdyāi!" žīta.rta is a syn. of rtāt rārišo—see under 'Bandva'—and at the same time the reverse of the pre-Zoroastrian notion našta.rāzišta "outlaw." One can plainly see, from which pre-existing conceptions Zoroaster derived his ideas: first of all from the cult of Mithra.

He makes Mithra himself a našta.rāzišta, in taking away from him his rāzan and conferring it on his AhuraMazdāh, as he does with Rtiš, Srōšo and Rašnuš—whose relation to Mithra resembles already the Zoroastrian "aspects" of AhuraMazdāh. Rtiš "chose right" and therefore was adopted by AhuraMazdāh; as the late *Yt.*19,16 has it: "Your father is AhuraMazdāh, your mother Ārmatiš, your brothers Srōšo, Rašnuš, Mithra (!), your sister the Māzdayasnian Religion!" Zoroaster's rtam is no longer the traditional custom, but the social order and the kosmos, based upon the ethical dualism of good and evil. Thus, from a social it becomes the moral principle: the absolute Good, rtam vahištam, an expression that replaces the not used elative of rtam, *rtištam, and comes close to Aristotle's *αὐτοαγαθόν*.

When custom and right are founded on a religious principle, the notion of the offender against society goes over into "sinner." Zoroaster does not and cannot use the word miθradruχš, and his term drugvant cannot appear in a pre-Zoroastrian passage. It can only be interpolated in order to give a pre-Zoroastrian passage a Zoroastrian coloring. The two words, therefore, are "index fossils" for the knowledge of the stratification of the Awesta.

For this argumentation the words of the gatha *Y.*31,18 are conclusive:

ā zi dmānam visam vā šoiθram vā dahyāum vā ādāt
dušitāča markēča

"(the drugvant) plunges house, village, district and province into misery and destruction." At no other place but here does Zoroaster use the four-step formula for the social structure. His models were verses like 10,18:

yazi dim awidruǰati fraša upa.sčindayati miθro . . .
uta nmānam uta visam uta zantum uta dahyūm,

which must have been familiar to himself and to his hearers.

Equally plain is the assonance—not to say allusion to *Yt.*10,2:

mrnčati vispām dahyāum maryo miθradruχš. . . .

But Zoroaster replaces the term miθradruχš of the older language didactically by his newly coined drugvant.

The polar opposite to his ethically newborn rtam, the principle of Good, is the Druχš (fem.), OP. drōga (m.), the principle of Evil, sin. A universal monotheism replaces national polytheism, and—exactly as in Ezekiel—the ethical relation of the individual man to this god supplants the cult of their gods by a nation. There can be no miθradruχš any longer, but only "followers of the druχš," drugvant. Without the substitution of the dualistic principle for the originally congruent notions of right and custom, an expression like OP. drōjana, "man of (the principle) drōga" is impossible: this term alone is enough to prove the Zoroastrism of the Achaemenids.

At the same time this explains why Zoroaster removed Mithra: he is the god of the old social order, the legal foundation of which was the ius talionis. The era introduced by Zoroaster brings monotheism instead of polytheism, ethics instead of cult, and instead of self-help a law, dāta, that was no longer founded on the social, but on the religious concept of Good and Evil. Only a few years earlier the same phenomenon happened in Judaism. Already *Jeremiah*, 31, 29-30, speaks prophetically of the "New Covenant," Ir. miθra, in which the proverb "The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge" will have no validity. And not much later Ezekiel (18) says: "The word of the Lord came to me . . . ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb . . . the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son, but the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him!" That is the total revocation of the idea of revenge in "I, the Lord thy God am a jealous God." And in this archaic sense, righteous and wicked would be the best available translation for rtāvan and drugvant, just as "those that hate me" or "love me" in *Exod.*20, correspond to the Mithraic terms.

For other reasons, Meillet compared, at the end of his *Trois Conférences* the historical role of Zoroaster with the Jewish prophetism. Ezekiel lived in Babylon after the fall of Nineveh; his lifetime must have overlapped that of Zoroaster. Certainly there was no direct contact, but thoughts are ripe at certain times and in certain lands. The judicial and

moral conceptions, handed down from immemorial antiquity, were passing away, and Zoroaster removed Mithra as the god representing those ideas of the past. The historical development is the same as that expressed by *Matth.*5,17: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, . . . , I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill," and *Rom.*10,4: "For Christ is the end of the law" and *Hebr.*8,13: "that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away."

Very unexpectedly, the gatha Y.48,4 has been interpreted as alluding to Zoroaster's attitude towards Mithra:

yo dāt mano	vahyo mazdā ašyasča
hvō dēnām	šyō*θ*nāča vačahāča
ahyā zōšān	uštīš varnān hačati
*θ*wahmi χratou	apamam nanā ahat

"He who allows his will to be now good, now evil, and his soul to follow in conduct and talk its pleasure, its desire and its free choice, shall, according to Thy decree, stand apart at the end (of all things)."

Bartholomae: "Wer sein Denkan (jetzt) besser macht (und jetzt) böser, und (ebenso) sein Ich, durch sein Tun und Reden, (wer) seinen eigenen Neigungen, Wünschen und Überzeugungen nachgeht, der wird nach Deinem Ratschluss am Ende der Dinge abgesondert sein, nämlich von den Gläubigen, die ins Paradies kommen, aber auch von den Ungläubigen, die für die Hölle bestimmt sind."

Lommel-Andreas: "Wer sein Denken (bald) besser macht (und) bald schlechter, der folgt seiner Natur mit Werk und Wort, seinem Gefallen, seinen Wünschen und seiner Wahl. Nach Deinem Willen wird er zuletzt abgesondert sein."

"Überzeugung" won't do: no prophet could ask people to follow what is not their conviction. √var- [IE. welo-, wolo-, Goth. wiljan "will," waljan "wählen"] is "to choose," the noun, here and often, "choice, arbitrariness." Lommel has a wrong construction, taking hvō as the usual pron. dem. or pronoun of the 3rd pers.: a man doing the contrary would likewise follow his nature. There are the verbs "who makes . . . follows . . . shall be." The inseparable triad "think—speak—act" is dis-

tributed among "dāt, he makes, allows" and "hačati, he follows"; the power of the rel. yo reaches as far as hačati. The acc. dēnām is shifted into the second clause, where it ought to appear in the nominative; the relative is not repeated, but resumed by the refl. hvō instead of an enclit. pronoun: "who allows his will to . . . , the soul (acc.) of that (man) follows" means "and his soul which follows . . ." or "who allows his will to be . . . and his soul to follow. . . ." The comparatives express, in mutual relation, "now good, now evil," i.e. unprincipled, not "undecided, vacillating." nanā "here and there" has the meaning "neither here nor there."

Nyberg interprets this stanza, 242: "wendet sich an die Unschlüssigen, die es natürlich auch in diesem Stamme gegeben haben muss." Natürlich for what? "Aber der Schlag zielt tiefer: er soll Mithra in der Person seiner Anhänger treffen." The gatha does not contain a hint at Mithra. "Im Mithra yasht [10,26 and 29] heisst es: 'Du, Mithra, bist aka, böse und der beste . . . bist ein arger Rächer.' Die Bezeichnung der guten Macht als aka 'böse' muss im Kreise Zarathustra's wie eine Blasphemie geklungen haben."

Thus the undecided ones, who like Mithra think bad or good, as it is opportune, become "Mithra-Verehrer, und ihr Stamm die Mithra-Gemeinde, in der Zarathustra jetzt wirkt." The "Mithra-community" is the product solely of this deduction. Thereby, Mithra would be the god of irresolution, but the men are not irresolute, but refuse to let principles rule their actions, and the god is just as "bad and the best" as "I, the Lord, thy God" in Exodus. Zoroaster himself says, with equal blasphemy, in Y.33,2: "He who is aka towards a drugvant, is quite to the taste, zōšāi, of AhuraMazdāh," and in Y.47,4: "you shall be aka towards a drugvant, even a rich one!" "For he is himself a drugvant who wishes a drugvant well" (Y.46,6).

Nyberg continues: "Die str.48,4 ist ein Meisterstück schonender und doch wirksamer Polemik gegen eine zentrale Anschauung; man beachte das sicher absichtlich unbestimmte und schwebende nanā!" Dante's verses, *Inf.*III,36ff., are almost a translation of the gatha:

coloro
che visser senza infamia e senza lodo.

Mischiati sono a quel cattivo coro
degli angeli che non furon rebelli
ne fur fedeli a Dio, ma per sè foro.

Aw. nanā means "per sè foro." Nyberg: "Zarathustra passt sich weitgehendst den Anschauungen seiner neuen Freunde an [who had forced him to leave his home in desperation], aber in einem Punkte ist er unerbittlich: man kann nicht böse und gut zugleich sein." Mischiati sono, every man is bad and good as well, whatever scale we apply to these qualities. About the same time Heraclitus said: *ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακὸν ἕν ἐστιν*, and Christ says, *Mark* 10,17: "Why callest thou me good? There is none good but one, God." There is not and can be no such infantile saying of Zoroaster, because man's being "mixed" of good and evil is his fundamental idea. In *Y.*30,4 (text under 'Yama'), the two primordial principles, Good and Evil, make themselves the motive powers of the world's history, which for that reason is called "gumēčišn," a "mixture" that dissolves itself only at the last judgment into the victorious Good and the vanquished Evil. Mani has done no more than elaborating this thought of Zoroaster.

P.299f.: "Mithra scheint sich nie von dem Schlag [nanā!] erholt zu haben, den Zarathustra gegen ihn richtete, wenigstens muss er gegenüber Sraoša, der seine Rolle übernimmt, zurücktreten." This picture could be completed: After the chief of police got Mithra's post, the sleepless god of the night-heaven used his leisure to go bathing, to Aix, Andernach, Baden, Capri, Herkulesbad, Sassoferrato, Wiesbaden, and wherever he has left his traces. Did the Roman legions love him because he too was not always good? The passion which Nyberg makes him suffer is worse, akatara, than that which the magi inflicted upon him in *Yt.*10, see 'Return of the Gods.' But to assume that Mithra, who in his beautiful hymn renders all the blows of his enemies abortive, was so heavily hit by Zoroaster's little word "nanā!" would be the great blasphemy: *ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται σῶσαι.*

All over the Indo-European and Semitic world, when retaliation was replaced by wergild, taxes for disbursements were developed. *Yt.*10,116 furnishes an example. mi*θ*ra has there the connotation, discussed above, of "obligation inside the community."

"The miθrā, societates, are valid

20-fold between two	hašā suftidrngā,	business-friends
30-fold between two	vrzanyā,	fellow-citizens
40-fold between two	haδa.gēθā,	members of the same clan
50-fold between two	*hoyaχnā,	blood-relations
60-fold between two	hāvištā,	students of a seminary
70-fold between two	ēθriyā ēθrapatī,	students and professors
80-fold between two	zāmātārā χvasurā,	sons- and fathers-in-law
90-fold between two	brothers,	
100-strong between	father and son,	
1,000-strong between two	dahyū, provinces,	
10,000-strong between the	māzdayasnian religion."	

20- to 90-fold is expressed by multiplicatives in -vant; 100- to 10,000-fold are composed with -yuš, according to Bartholomae "100-fachen Halt bietend," Lommel: "von 100-fältiger Dauer," supposing composition with -āyu, as in dargāyāu. Support or duration are out of question, the ending can only be a factor of multiplication. Therefore I attach -yuš to √yu- in OP. yāumani, from *yuman-, i.e. "with the power of a hundred etc.," syn. of "-fach, -fold."

For suftidrnga Bartholomae guessed "Gaugenosse?" for huyaγna "Stubengenosse." *Maf. al-'ulūm* and *Qāmūs* explain Arab. suftadja, or suftah [from MP. *suftag, OP. *suftaka] as "money-order or the like, which one sends abroad in somebody's favor." Rather frequent in Tabari: When al-Mu'tazz, threatened by murder, asked his mother Qabīḥa for money to pay the arrears of the Turkish soldier's pay, she, who had over three millions worth of gold pieces and jewels in only one of her safes, answered: "Just now I have no cash, only safātidj, bills; if I shall be able to cash them, I shall give you something." suftag is *συγγραφή* and with sufti Aw. suwrā is connected, see under

'Yama χšēta.' drngā is OP. (han)dungā, *Altp.Inschr.* s.v., something "confirmed" by a seal, cf. han.draχta, MP. andraχt= σφραγιστός, and *drahma > δραχμή. Therefore it means something like a business "firm." suftidrnga recalls the χρεοφύλακες or συγγραφοφύλακες prominent in business of the Seleucid period.[34] They are people with mutual business and money relations, like Murašū and Sons in Nippur, and one could translate suftidrnga straightway by "bankers."

'hoyaχna means "of the same liver," i.e. "blood-relation," see Duchesne *Comp.av.*, following Krause, and under 'Social Structure.'

The paragraph is a tariff, inserted into the Mithra yasht for the sake of the word miθra, originally a tariff for redeeming revenge by wergild, then generally for the calculation of penalties, by the čazdahvant, amār vičārtar (see under 'Last Judgment'). Like the paragraph on the six kinds of "vows," miθrā, in *Vid.*4,2, discussed above, its origin is a law code. The late priestly redaction is plainly visible in §§60, 70, 1,000 and 10,000: the students and professors must simply be neglected for the reconstruction of the original condition. They are a group interpolated also at other places, e.g. Y.18,12: hašāmča hāvištānāmča čθrapatīnāmča. The position of dahyū (1000) should be at the beginning, as the broadest and therefore cheapest unit, value 10. suftidrnga, value 20, is a relation looser than fellow-citizenship; standing between dahyu and vrzana, it has been substituted for an original zantu—hence Bartholomae's guess "Gaugenosse." From there on, the values rise regularly from vrzana "township" to "father and son," value 100; the narrower the units, the higher the values. The māzdayasnian religion is out of place: the formula is not "within a unit," but "between two persons"; the religion cannot be doubled; moreover, all the rules are only valid inside its limits. Whereas, as the widest group, the religion ought to have the lowest number, it has the highest, 10,000, against logic, only because in the feeling of the redactors it crowns everything. The corrupt conclusion seems to contain the formula: "thus it was, is and shall be."

[34] Cf. SMOG, 66, 1928, *Ausgrabungen in Warka*, p.15; Cumont, *Fouilles de Dura-Europos*, 281, n.3; 295, 497, and Mém.Miss. à Suse, XX. *Inscr. Grecques de Suse*, 88; McDowell, *Excav. at Tell 'Umar* (Seleucia), Michigan, 1931, 325; Herzfeld, in Transact. Numism. Congr. London, 1936, 418ff.

The conditions of high antiquity, when the vis was the group to avenge all offenses against the mores according to the ius talionis, were probably no longer in full force, but in a phase of transition at Zoroaster's time. But his conception of law is as deeply altered as that of religion. From his time on, crimes are acts directed against the ethical principle, their punishment takes place "through dāta"—just as the revocation of his own sentence—in a criminal procedure regulated by public laws.

The book of *Esther* says, 1,19: "If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment from him and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, that it may not be altered—and the king's order which the king shall make, be proclaimed throughout all his empire!"[55] This passage depends on *Daniel* 6,8. There, the royal edict is called t'qīm 'sārā, the sending of the letter tiršum k'tābā, that it may not be altered dī lā l'hašnāyāh, just as in Arabic decrees *Qur.* 11,188, the curse on whoever introduces a change, is regularly quoted. The law itself is called "dāt māday u.pāras, the dāta of the Medes and the Persians," and "not to be violated, dī-lā tā'dē'," as in *Yt.*10,17 noit awidrōχδo. The "proclamation" is the frasastiš.

Herodotus says that it was Cyrus who constituted a highest court of appeal, and the Demotic Chronicle[56] records an order of Darius to the satrap of Egypt, to codify the laws there. What was ordered for a subject country was probably already done at home. In *Altp.Inschr.* 151, s.v. framātar, I had assumed, in view of the judicial tenor of Darius' tomb inscription, that the words "Ōramazdā invested me with χraθuš and ārvastam," the very qualities of a judge, meant that Darius had created, when organizing his empire, a Persian Corpus Juris. This is the one which in Daniel is called the "inviolable law of the Medes and the Persians." The Darius inscription makes it plain that the "dāta" of the king were no arbitrary acts. "nēma kāma tya skōθiš tunvantahya rādi miθa kryēša, nēma kāma tya tunvā skōθēš rādi miθa kryēša, tya rāstam ava mām kāma, It is not my pleasure that the lowly suffer injustice on behalf of the lofty, nor that the lofty suffer injustice on behalf of the lowly; what is right, that is my pleasure." These words reveal an admin-

[55] The style of talking to the king in the book of Esther is entirely true; there are many parallels in Tabari: "If the Commander of the Faithful would deign to send forth . . . it would better be done this way . . ." etc.

[56] *Demotische Chronik*, ed. Spiegelberg. Sb.Pr.Akd.W. 1915, 304-309.

istration of justice without regard to social order and status, that means a new one superseding the old law based on it. That is Zoroaster's doctrine replacing the legal notions embodied in the Mithra cult.

Codes are no inventions; they codify things existing, subjecting them to a dominating idea. Chapters like the tariff of *Yt.*10,116, in which retaliation is redeemed by disbursements in kind or money, or like *Vid.* 4,2 on the six covenants, also the "surgeon's tariff" in the *Vidēvdād*, see under 'Hōma,' and some other passages may be the last remnants of original parts of this code, and give us at least a faint idea of it.

XXIX. FRAVARTI

Under 'Memorial Document' the second part of the Fravardīn yasht has been discussed, to which actually its heading refers: "We bring offerings to the fravarti, souls, of the rtāvan, deceased faithful, of the prvya.tkĕša, first followers of the law, of the nabā.nazdišta, the next-of-kin" of Zoroaster and Vištāspa. This document found a place in the Fravardīn yasht, because the many names were recited in masses for the souls, prescribed by Vištāspa's waqf, and the fravarti are souls.

The first part of the yasht, §§1-86, has nothing in common with that document, it is merely a description of anonymous fravarti, either of how they look or what they do. This description has so many archaic features and so many affinities with Roman manes and Germanic valkyrs, that it must come down from a very old stratum of religious conceptions, from the highest Indo-European antiquity.

The mazdayasnian redactors have dissected the material at their disposal into small particles, only in st.1-19 a longer context remains. They adopted the ever repeated pattern: "We bring offerings to the fravarti who . . ." These sections belonged originally to hymns, sung at special, mainly military occasions. Herodotus tells of Xerxes' army "sacrificing to the hĕroĕs at the Skamander near Ilios." And since the term "hamaspāθmēdaya, muster of the army" occurs in the fragments, this festival was certainly a regular occasion for celebrating a "fravardīn yasht."[1]

A yasht means sacrifices and songs. A short rule for offerings to the fravarti, preserved in *Yt.*13,50, differs entirely from those valid for Mithra, Anāhitā, Vrthragna, Rtiš and Tištriya (see under 'Mithra'). The fravarti receive "meat and garments," a highly archaic gift to "manes," and in no way connected with Zoroastrism.

Form or contents of the fragments offer almost no clue for reconstructing their sequence, but altogether they convey a pretty complete picture of what the fravarti were. The main means of describing them are an accumulation of epithets, in which *Yt.*13 is richer than any other one.

The fravarti are female (st.29):

hudoiθrīš vrzi.čašmāno	clear-eyed, keen-sighted,
[hu]srōθrīš *drya.rmāno	sharp of hearing, long-armed,

[1] Cf. *Altp.Inschr.* s.v. spāθmēdaya.

yå brzatīš brzi.yāstå	the tall, high-belted ones,
yå huyōnå prθuyōnå	with good lap, broad lap.

Former translations did not grasp the fact that this is a catalogue of beauty, the oldest of the line that ends in 1001 Nights. Tabari and the *Aghāni*[2] tell: "The Persian kings owned a written description of the (perfect) woman, and sent it around in the countries." The Arabs believed that it was a poem which al-Mundhir b. Mā al-Samā' of Ḥīra had presented to Xusrau I, together with a slave-girl, fulfilling the ideal, captured in his war against the Ghassanid al-Ḥārith b. abī Shamir; later, Xusrau II sent it to Nu'mān of Ḥīra who, on account of it, fell in disgrace and perished. Nöldeke translates the corresponding verses of the Arabic poem: "mit breiter Brust, gewölbten Brüsten, dünner Taille, schmächtig im Gürtel, von breiten Lenden, hohem Hinterteil, ihr Gesäss ist fleischig etc." Since the verses of *Yt.*13 describe only the body, all explanations of the words from other spheres are ruled out from the beginning.

Thus yōna cannot mean "Stätte," but is the same as OI. yona, and as kanīno vaδri.yōnå in *Yt.*5,87, cf. Wackernagel in KZ. 46,267. brzi.yāsta, Gr. *βαθύζωνος* describes the upper part of the body, huyōna the lower part as obverse to hutōsa. b is one syllable short, hence [hu]srōθrīš in parallel with hudoiθrīš, not (*Wb.*) vrzi.čašman [vrzi].srōθriš. The text has daryō.ṛarō.man, a corrupt spelling;[3] the correction results from drya.bāzu against ēva.rma and from vazamnā hača bāzubyo in *Yt.*10,39 against asāno rma.šūtā in *Yt.*13,72; in analogy to OI. īrmá one expects initial ṛ sonans.

St.45:

aya.χōδå aya.zayå	with bronze helmets, bronze weapons,
aya.vrθrå yå prtantē	bronze shield, who fight
vrθraγnyčšu rōχšni.awiδātēšu	
θaχtå rzažiš barantīš	wielding drawn (akinakes).

rzaži is an unknown hapax; huθaχta refers to the bow in st.39 as "bent." c is unmetrical and spoils the stanza which is perfect without

[2] Tabari in Nöldeke, p.326ff.; *Aghāni* 11,29ff.

[3] Wrong joint, cf. miθrō.aōʃaŋhō in *Yt.*10,104, and hāδa.yaθa.mąm in *Yt.*5,127, under 'Ardvīsūrā.'

it. It was interpolated from a different context viz. st.23 (where it follows the five compounds with -rta, soon to be discussed):

"⟨yå zavyå⟩ vaŋhuθwēšu ⟨yå zavyå⟩ vrθraγnyēšu ⟨yå zavyå⟩ prtanāhu, who are to be invoked in v., in v., in battles," and: "⟨tå zi⟩ strtēšu barsmōhu zavyå ⟨tå⟩ vrθraγnyēšu ⟨tå⟩ prtanāhu, they are to be invoked at the spread barsman, they at v., they in battle."

Those are typical products of redaction, looking like verses without being it. The brackets separate what may be an old remnant.

> Darmesteter's, and similarly Geldner's translation of vaŋhuθwēšu by "conquête des biens," and Bartholomae's "Blutvergiessen" are merely inferred from the wrong context. The redactors took the zavyå formula from st.20: "yas.θwa . . . paθam ǰasati vanθwēšo (or: vanθwēso), if a v. stands in your way (or you tremble with fear of death in other dangers),[4] recite by memory the charm. . . ." There, vanθwēso is (*Wb.*): "Herden nachstellend, vanθwa + *isa, to Ved. gáv.iṣṭi, Rindersuche, Raubzug," also to awištar in *Vid.*1 "who makes a quest, a raid, Arab. ghazw, incursione hostili *petit* hostem." vaŋhuθwēšu in 23 is a corruption of it: an old formula, in which vanθwēsa or *vanθwišti were linked with vrθraγnya prtana, victorious battles, has been dissected into three parts of a sentence, vrθraγnya prtana into two parts in 13,27. But there is neither a word vanhuθwa nor a noun vrθraγnyam, n., "battle," and *Yt.*13,45c speaks neither of "lichtumflossenen, bathed in light," nor of "lichtgepanzerten Schlachten, battles armored in light."

Only rōχšni.awiδāta remains as an isolated epithet descriptive of the fravarti, for which Darmesteter, with good sense, had tried "in bright garments." An abstr.n. awiδāti appears in Y.9,6, verses of inferior style:

āt ahya ahi awyāsto	baršnūš pati garīnām
drājanhē awiδātīšča	gravasča manθrahya

Bartholomae withdrew, in *ZAir.Wb.* 175, his former interpretation in favor of Geldner's (Sb.Pr.AkdW. 1903, 422): "mit diesem (Gürtel) umgürtet, bist du (Hōma) auf den Höhen der Berge, für alle Zeit, sowohl 'Hülle?' als Stab des manθra."

[4] Cf. *Ōgmad.*: "if a dragon, a bear, a highway man, a whole hostile host stand in your way etc.," under 'Krśvar.'

Lommel, zn,m,169f., interpreted drājaŋhē as dražahe, 2.sg. med. "you hold firmly," in comparison with *Yt.*5,123: (ardvī) patiδānam dražimnā. But then the acc.sg. gravas.ča is offensive, and the construction of the sentence is overloaded. Pahl. (and Skr.) transl. took drājaŋhe—like Geldner—as "forever." The hills are not the place where Hōma receives the belt, but where he grows, a parenthesis: "(you who dwell) on the heights of the hills," and one could read 'drājyaŋho, compar. of dr*y*a, used as positive > NP. dirāz, here adj. to baršnūš "the far and high hills."[5]

Without the parenthesis the sentence is: "girded with it, you are awiδāti, 'wrapping' and grava 'wand' of the man*θ*ra (song or charm)." awiδāti and grava apparently belong to the equipment of the conjurer, the first is something he "ties round" his head, like Gr. *κρήδεμνον*, from *κάρα*, *κρᾶς* (head) and *δέω* "to tie," whether hair-dressing, hood, or veil. In "zaranya.awiδāna, with golden wrapping" and in "awiδāta.-tršti, wrapped in t.," the word awiδāna—related to Ir. patiδāna and Gr. diádēma (it would be *amphí.dēma)—refers to the artificial dressing of the forelock of the horses, see under 'Tištriya.' Therewith, rōχšni.-awiδāta "wrapped in radiancy," epithet of the fravarti, becomes a synonym of the epithet of Hekate, *λιπαροκρήδεμνος*, in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. awiδāna may be a veil round the forehead, or possibly plaits—the women wore two at both temples and ears[6]—or even a wig. The Sasanids wore golden wigs. Surēnas, the victor over Crassus, in Plutarch's description, set out for battle with make-up and artificial hair-dressing. In the Persepolis sculptures, hair and beard of the kings were painted or inlaid with lapislazuli, picturing an artificial hair-dressing, if not wigs. Such a custom may be the remnant of primitive war-paint, and would well fit the picture of the fravarti as Wagnerian valkyries.

*Yt.*13,23:

yå aš.brto yå uγra.rto
yå hu.rto yå vaza.rto
yå taχma.rto yå zavya.rto

[5] Cf. the analogy in *Vid.*19,4, and 11: "drĵya (sic., *Gr.Bdh.* in pāzand "dāraja") pati zbarahi nmānahya, at the long (or high) zbarah of the palace."

[6] Cf. AMI, IX,2 fig.3; *Am Tor v. Aien*, pl. 42, 44 and 49; *IAE*, pl.CXXV, and fg.410, pl.131.

The five compounds with words for "force" as the first, and rt "fighting" as second element,[7] describe the fravarti as female warriors. The first epithet, when translated "viel-bringend," would not fit into the group. In good verses the comp. in -rt would all count for four syllables, and the many yå—suspicious apart from that—would be subsequently added, except for the yå before trisyllabic hu.rto, which, then, must have been the first. When aš.brto moves away from its present first place, its yå falls, and it becomes one syllable short. aš.brt is improbable in itself: aš designates a degree only and is badly fitted for composition with bar-, a trans. verb, without object: "much-bringing" is nothing. It should be either *asa.brt or *aspa.rt. OP. asabāra survives in aswār, suwār "horseman," though Med. aspa supplanted OP. asa in proper names already during the Achaemenian period. Mixing of dialects being as old as that, an OP. asabrt can appear in the Awesta and would provoke a wrong interpretation, like aš.brt. *aspa.rt would be "fighting on horseback," *asa.brt "riding on horses." Probably the fravarti were thought of as marching as well as riding horses or chariots.

St.26:

ōjištå vazantām	the strongest drivers,
ranjištå fravazamnānām	the swiftest in driving

√vaz-, vehi, may apply to different ways of moving; but here it means apparently driving a chariot.

I take also spāradāštå and amūyamnå razištānām in st.35, which stand alone without context, as military epithets.

amūyamna, to which Hertel, *Siegesf.* 141,7, compares the Ved. divine epithet ámūra, is certainly no moral quality. What "cannot be moved, shaken" are not the "straightest (paths of Right)" (*Wb.*) but the hāmyanta, θraχta or rašta rasmāno (*Yt.*10,8; 14,63 and 43), the "phalanges" of the army, spāδa, of fravartayo puru.spāδa. Cf. st.26: "iram a.frarvisyat, the column that never turns the back."

For spāradāšta Darmesteter said "qui porte le bouclier," Geldner "schildgewappnet" (shield-buckled). Bartholomae rejected this for two

[7] Cf. *Altp.Inschr.* 291 and 312. Bartholomae, *Wb.*192: "ich würde -arət- ansetzen, wenn mir ā als Kontraktionsergebnis von a and ə sonst bekannt wäre." Aw. ə is no real sound, it would be contraction of a and ŗ; the Aw. spelling -ār- results from archet. -'r-, notation of initial ŗ of second element of compounds; same in OP.: -a-r-, e.g. Gath. žīta.rta, OP. χšaya.rša; perhaps ārmati. El. ᵏk.se.ᵏr.sa and Gr. Ξέρξης < *Ξήρξης, with -aya.ŗ- > ē.r, rules a.ŗ > ār out, for *χšayārša would give χšārša.

reasons: (1) as epithet of Rtiš the word is used beside purušhvāθra in *Yt.*19,54. This passage is much too inferior as to postulate on account of it a similar meaning. (2) The long ā prevents connecting spāra and NP. sipar. Therefore Hertel, *Siegesf.* 50,3, advanced "spāra to Skr. śval- 'eilen': prominent by speed." The old translations were based on Hesychios' *σπαραβάραι γερροφόροι*, "shield-bearer," such as are often represented at Persepolis. I cannot admit the whole argument: it means overestimating the quality of the textual transmission. And even if the ā was long, the conclusion would not be safe. OP. writes ^{h}u v s p= hvaspa, Med., an old compound; ^{h}u v a s b a r=hu.asabāra, OP., a neologism; and ^{h}u v a r š t i k=hvārštīka, not hu.'rštīka > *hurštīka, hence simplex ārštīka, "lancer," from ršti, against rštibara "lance-bearer," cf. *ārδika (rδi) > ālī (silver-money); *dārīka (δari, gold-piece) > Δᾶρεῖκος. Ctesias has *ἀστιβάρας*, Akk. aštebariannu, -āna deriv. of *ārštibari; hence one may posit *spārabari.[8] The younger language replaces the old compounds with -bara, OP. rštibara, vaθ*abara, by such with -dār, the stem with which Bartholomae compared the -dāšta of the *Frhg.Ēv.*, and to which (spāra)dāšta may belong.

*Yt.*13,35:

yå uvā zbayatō avahē	to whom both cry for help,
[-] viyasča viyānasča	the pursuer and the pursued,
*aftayē zbayati viyans	pursuit! cries the pursuer,
apa.gatayē viyāno	flight! cries the pursued.

*aftayē (text: apataye) to √ap-, and apagatayē are, like avahē, the very outcries, not "um einzuholen ruft (sie) der Verfolger," but, with Benveniste: "à la poursuite! à la fuite!" Meaning and meter would be improved by transposing:

yå viyasča viyānasča	uvā zbayatō avahē.

The fravarti appear in great armies (st.37):

puru.spāδå yāsta.zayå	(forming) many armies, girded with arms,
uzgrfta.drafšå - - -	with raised banners . . .

[8] In an inscription of Chihildukhtarān at Dāmghān, 446 H., the nisba of Isfarā'in is isfārangī, with ā.

In 65 they come:

purvīš purusatå	by many many-hundreds
purvīš puruhazahrå	by many many-thousands
purvīš purubēvāno	by many many-ten-thousands

or in "companies, regiments and divisions." The units are the regular organization of the Achaemenian armies. Therefore another epithet of the fravarti, in st.29, dasa*θ*avatīš, is also to be counted in this class, not "reich an Besitz" (*Wb.*) unfit for tušnišaδo, but dasa*θ*a, perhaps *dasa*θ*wa, is the decuria, hence "in(many)decuries."

In st.49 they come to the muster of the army:

yå visaδa āvayanti	who come flying from the vis
hamaspā*θ*mēdayam pati	to the term of the muster of the
ratūm dasa pari χšafno	army, for ten nights.

The nights are the *five* intercalary days before the new year, navasarδa, and in the parallel passage in *Vič.Dēn.*21 the text has the right "panča, for five nights." The fact that they come "from their vis," the home of their clan, shows that the hamaspā*θ*mēdaya,[8] was not a muster of the standing army, but of those reservists that were liable to service, but lived "domi" as haχman, auxiliarii. The OP. formula in *NiR* B,30, is vi*θ*iyā uta spā*θ*mēdayā, corresponding exactly to Lat. domi militiaeque.

The fravarti are "auxiliariae." As such they are called in 30:

hušhaχmāno huvarzānå	the good vassals, the good townsmen,
apa.šitayē vahištå	the best as neighbors.

In 29 they are called tušnišaδo, a word expressing where they were believed to abide: "Who live in [the land of] silence," in the tomb under the earth, near their former home, visaδa of 49. The Aryan sandhi-form tušnišad, neither *tušnišhad, nor *tušnihad, indicates the high age of the notion: a time in which the dead were still interred.

St.42:

yå *uzbātå manyušutå	who, when called out, marching through air,
frašusanta *baršnāu ⟨avahē⟩ āšno	set forth over the height of heaven

[8] As to the etymology: mēda may belong to √mid-, like hamid-, myastra, myazda, all meaning social unions. In *Altp.Inschr.* I adduced some reasons for spā*θ*- > MP. spāse or MMed. spāh "service."

Bartholomae: "uzbāta for us.zbāta"; Lommel: "'hu.zbāta." The latter is wrong: √zbā- is the call for mobilization, cf. *Ayātk.Zar.* §3 under 'Post and Travels.' Following the call they rise from the tušnišad and travel through the air. One might read *zuvātā, as in *Y.*33,5. avahē spoils the meter and the sense. The predication is not that they come to help, but how they answer the call. manyu.šuta is not "vom Geist angetrieben" to √hū-, which is not "antreiben," but to √šyū-, šu-, and manyu "heaven." Text: baršnvo, trisyllabic, Bartholomae: "gen. for abl.," is not a grammatical but a graphic problem: loc. baršnāu or instr. baršnū, bisyllabic as required.

St.67:

tå yuδyanti prtanāhu	They fight in the battles
havē asahi šoiθrēča	for their own town and canton,
yaθa aso mēθanamča	where they have retained town
awi.šitaye daδāra	and farm as residence,
yaθa nā taχmo raθēštā	like a swift chariot-warrior
hušhambrtāt hača šētāt	fights for his well-garnered
yāsta.zēnuš patiγnita	property, girded with sword-belt.

"retain, daδāra" can mean both: they keep to the place where they had lived, or they remember it. In both cases, like the manes, they are tutelary genii of their homes.

St.46:

yat (hīš) antar vāto fravāti	If the wind blows between them
bara.bōδo martiyānām	carrying the scent of men,
tē naro patizānanti	they smell the warriors
yāhvā [asti] vrθra.bōδo	with whom [is] scent of victory

(hīš) is unnecessary and a consequence of the dissecting of the original song. The smelling of victory is a remarkable archaic idea.

St.63:

yå ahurahya χšayato	who fight on the right
dašinam upa yuδyanti	of the king.

ahura are men risen from the warrior class; it is the word that comes nearest to "king" in Iranian, especially when χšayant is added: ahura

χšayant is the satrap, who is a "king." The fravarti fight "on his right," whereas one expects them to protect the left and not to impede the action of the right arm, the reason why, with us, the younger man lets his senior go right. Here it is not a question of expediency, but of rank, based on the notion that the right is good, the left bad. The custom is Babylonian, e.g. "RittiMarduk (of Luristān), captain of the king's chariots, whose place was at the right hand of the king, his lord" in the kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I (1146-1123 B.C.).[10]

St.18 promises to the commander-in-chief of the empire, sāstā dahyāuš hāmaχšaθro (later Ērān-spāhpat), who by his offerings hubrtā barati, wins the favor of the fravarti, that he will become the most victorious ruler among all men, ho ahāti zazuštamo χšayo kasčit martiyānām.

St.26:

a.frarvisyat krnavanti	they make never-turning-the-back
īram yahmiyā ǰasanti	the troup among which they march.

Darmesteter's translation of a.fra.rvisyant was right; the question in the song of Rtiš, see under 'Nōtarya,' is conclusive: "zām avi ni.rvisyāni, shall I turn my back upon the earth?" īram is the column in march, as opposed to rasman, the phalanx. The fravarti, marching among them, do not let them flee. A similar thought is expressed by amūyamna razištānām, where the "straightest phalanges" are unshakable.

In st.65-66 and 68, the fravarti work for their own vis, as in 67:

65: āt yat āpo uzbaranta	when the rainwaters rise
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt	from the sea Vurukrtam
frašusanti fravartayo	the fravarti set forth
purvīš purusatā etc.	by many centuries etc. (see above)
66: apām ēšimnā havāi	endeavoring to seize the waters
kāčit nāfāi havayāi vise	each one for her own family, her clan,
havāi zantave havayāi dahyave	for her canton, her province;
uti ōǰāno: hvēpaθyā nō dahyuš	thus speaking: shall our own country

[10] L. W. King, kudurru VI, col.I,l.26. The "officer on the left" was the second in rank, and a "third" was an aid-de-camp. The origin are the three men on the chariot. The custom went on with the Mongols and in China.

niδātēča hōšātēča	decay and dry up?
68: (āt yāsča āhām) nivanante	having obtained the waters
(tă) āpam parazanti	they conduct them
havāi kāčit nāfāi havayāi vise	each one to her own family, her clan,
havāi zantave havayāi dahyave	her canton, her province,
uti ōjāno: hvēpa*θ*yā nō dahyuš	thus speaking: Our own country
fraδātēča vardātēča	shall flourish and prosper!

At the beginning of 66, the meter, spoiled when the verses were inserted into the yasht, can be restored by shifting ēšimnå (or īšimnå) between nāfāi and havayāi. St.68 has suffered more, because the wrong interpolation of st.67 made the words "āt yāsča āhām" necessary. The words "frašusanti . . . āpam ēšimnå, they set forth to seize the water" demand "after having seized them, they conduct them . . ." which could be restored. The words they say resemble what Darius says in *Beh.* §55:

yadi ava*θ*a manyāhē	if ye think thus:
dahyāušmē drvā ahati	My country shall be intact!

This is a verse. The El. version transcribes "tajosmi trwa asto," a phrase of seven syllables only, with the OP. imperative "astu" not documented in the OP. texts. This seems to be the traditional formula, and ahati seems to have supplanted astu in the OP. text "metri causa." The thought appears first in the Akkadian legend of the "King of Kūthā," time of Sargon of Akkad. Cf. also *Yt.*6,1, under 'Kršvar': "a hundred thousand yazata come, when the sun brings warmth by its light, to distribute the hvarnah [here a water produced by light, elsewhere a fire produced by water] among the creatures." The 100,000 yazata are certainly 99,999 fravarti.

Another side of the fravarti is their cosmologic activity, described in st.56-58. These three stanzas follow one pattern of composition, and in confronting them one sees at once all the changes they have suffered from redaction and transmission.

53:	55:	57:
yå apām ⟨mazdaδātā-nām⟩	yå urvarānām hvaw-rīrānām	yå strām måho huro ⟨anaγrānām rōca-hām⟩
srīrå paθo dēsayanti	srīrå ruθmīš dēsa-yanti	[srīrå] paθo dēsa-yan[ti] ⟨ašōnīš⟩
yå parā ahmāt hiš-tanta	yå parā ahmāt hiš-tanta	yoi parā ahmāt ⟨hamē gātvo dryam⟩ hištanta
fraδātå afratakušiš	fraδātå afrōχšayantiš	[fraδātā] afrašuman-to
⟨hamaya gātvo⟩	⟨hamaya gātvo⟩	⟨dēvānām paro tbēša-hāt⟩
⟨daryamčit pari zrvā-nam⟩	⟨daryamčit para zrvānam⟩	⟨dēvānām paro drō-mōhu⟩
54:	56:	58:
āt tå nūram fratačinti	āt tå nūram frōχša-yanti	āt tē nūram fravа-zanti
⟨mazdaδātam⟩ pati pantām	⟨mazdaδātam⟩ pati pantām	dūrē.rvēsām [gap to be supplied from 54 and 56 and *Yt.*8,25]
bagabaχtam pati yō-nam	bagabaχtam pati yō-nam	
fraθwarštam pati āf-vantam	fraθwarštam pati zrvānam	
⟨zōšāi ahurahya maz-då⟩	⟨zōšāi ahurahya maz-då⟩	aδwano rvēsam nā-šamnā
⟨zōšāi amrtānām spantānām⟩	⟨zōšāi amrtānām spantānām⟩	⟨yim frašakrtoit vah-viyå⟩

The waters (in 55a) are called "mazdaδāta," and likewise the paths, panti (in 54b and 56b), but not in the parallel passages (58 and *Yt.* 8,25), where their epithet is "dūrē.rvēsa." The "mazdāh-created path" is immediately followed by "baga-destined course." Those are no elegant variations, but incompatible notions of two hostile religions, and therefore cannot be contemporary: dūrē.rvēsam is the genuine word, mazdaδāta was introduced instead by the masdayasnian redactors; bagabaχta proves the original conception as pre-Zoroastrian. "mazda-

δāta" causes suspicion in many places, and there are some where it supplanted "dāmidāta."

Instead of the other mazdaδāta in 53a, as epithet of the waters, the plants in 55a have "hvawrīra, good for mowing?" or "giving good hay"; hence, an analogous good quality of waters has been likewise replaced by mazdaδāta, and comparing the archaic verses in *Y.Haft.* 38,3, ahurānīnām and hambavantīnām would fit character and meter.

The unbearable "zōšāi" verses fall away as additions, also aṣ̌ōniš in 57c, which caused the disappearance of srīrā in the same verse.

yå parā ahmāt hištanta fraδātå afratakušiš in 53c-d, . . . afrōχšayantiš in 55d, means: "which before stood still, created as not-flowing, not-upgrowing"; the stars have afrašumanto, "not-setting-out." fraδāta is indispensable and must be restored in 57, where it is missing: "the stars are created not-moving before (58) but now they move," by the toil of the fravarti. The interpolation "on account of the plots, the assaults of the dēva" is utterly foolish: completely misunderstanding the clear sense of the verses the interpolator stops with these words the movement of the cosmos, whereas the fravarti set the great clockwork a-going, fresh from creation. Also daryam in 57 and the lines with daryamčit, 53 and 55, are false: a speculation, whether and how long the clock stood still before starting to work was entirely foreign to the myth. Together with daryam falls anayrānām rōčahām in 57, for "luminaries without beginning" contradict the clearly expressed thought of their primordial creation. anayra is an idea of a much later age.

The analysis results in a perfect analogy, almost identity, of the three stanzas, with four verses each, on the stars (57), the waters (53) and the plants (55). The st. 54, 56 and 58 agree with each other almost from the beginning, except that 58 is mutilated and must be completed: the fravarti show the course to the stars which before stood still, created not-moving, but now they move, on the course with the far turn.

The structure of the stanzas requires pantām-yōnam-āfəątam to be three nouns of the same sphere, and the three compounds preceding them, among them fraθwaršta, to be descriptive adjectives.

yōna appears also in *Vid.*21,5 (see under 'Sea'), said of the revolution of the waters, Pahl. transl. "advān, path, course."[11] √yu- is "intendere"; Ved. yuváṣva "harness(imper.)"; "to harness" develops into "exert, strain" (pulling the traces); OP. yāumani from *yuman, "exerting oneself, trained, strong." In *Vrtra* 50f., Benveniste defined "cheminer" as only signification, but in J.As. 1936, 201, he speaks of "atteler" as "to be separated from it." I think the stem is one. *Wb.* divides the noun yōna into (1) "(bestimmte, fest zugewiesene) Statt, Stätte," referring to the passages quoted above, where this is entirely problematic, and (2) "Beschäftigung," only in compounds. The five examples for yōna as end of a comp. which he gives, all belong to √yu-, "to exert oneself";[12] the only example for beginning of comp., yōna.hūt, means "artfully building holes, i.e. passages" referring to the fox. hv.āyōna in *Yt.*16,3 can be either "with good relay stations" or "well passable," referring to roads. The simplex yōna—and the compound vrta.yōna, see 'Post and Travels' and 'Astronomy'—is not "fixed place," but implies always the concept of motion, especially on a determined space, and often "recurrent." It is "track, groove, Teut. leisa, Germ. geleise" and as movement "travel, Reise," when applied to the stars their "orbit," as in the Pythagorean metaphor, Goethe uses in the prologue to "Faust":

Die Sonne tönt nach alter Weise
in Brudersphaeren Wettgesang
und ihre vorgeschriebne Reise
vollendet sie mit Donnergang.

āfəąt,[13] "rich in water," does not fulfill the condition demanded by the structure of the verses, to be a noun, syn. of yōna and panti. In st.53, on the plants, where there would be some justification for "rich in water," the noun zrvānam takes its place, qualified by the adj. fraθwarštam. This belongs to θwarsah, fraθwrsa, term.techn. of racing, a "periodos" of the course,

[11] Cf. H. W. Bailey, JRAS 1934, 505, on advān > čvān "stem, stalk" as Pahl. transl. of varšaǰīh in *Yt.*10,5 and *Y.*71,9.

[12] √yu- is semantically close to √hā-, hi- "to harness, rope."

[13] Same spelling in *Yt.*10,14: āfant < *āfvant < *āpvant.

e.g. in *Vid.*2,19 (see under 'Chronology'): "the first millennium was a θwarsah," finished period. Similarly in *Yt.*14,129—see under 'Ardvī'—yaθa.krtam θwarštāi zrūnē, "the beaver skins, appropriately prepared at the right season"; *Yt.*8,11; 10,55, under 'Dēva': θwarštahe zrūno and upa.θwarštahe, "at the appointed hour"; *Vid.*14,13, under 'ApāmNapāt': upa.θwaršti, beside biyārixti, "at the exact time," referring to the two daily irrigations of a garden. Thus "fraθwarštam pati zrvānam, in their prescribed time, period" is right, and āfəąt is faulty.

Otherwise, the three stanzas differ mainly in their verbs: the stars fravazanti, drive; the waters fratačinti, flow; the plants fravaχšayanti, grow; correspondingly the stars were before a.frašumant, not-setting-forth; the waters a.fratakvah, not-flowing-forth; the plants a.fravaχšayant, not-growing. This and a few other divergences—hvawrīra; ruθmiš "roots" for paθo—are intentional recasts. In the verses on the plants the poet did not succeed in carrying through the analogy between growth and movement: the growth does not follow a determined "track." The mutilated stanzas on the stars are evidently the original, and first those on the waters, then those on the plants were modeled after them. But just the verses on the plants have preserved zrvānam, the authentic word, supplanted in the model by āfəąt.

The verses on the stars ended with two lines missing at the other places; 58e-f: the harnessed quadrigae of the stars are waiting for their drivers, the fravarti, to start on their long rounds, aδwano rvēsam nāšamnā, and: yim frašakrtoit vahviyå, "namely of the good 'beyond-making.'" Bartholomae remarked "abl. für gen." The grammar is as faulty as the thought. It is not at all the end of the world's history that the stars want to reach, but the turns of their orbits, again and again, like a chariot that is driven nine times round the race-course; frašam and frašakara are terms of sport. The line is a bad gloss, almost as foolish as the gloss on the "assaults of the dēva." The noun frašakrti, a late abstr. formation, appears at no other place, and since this one is a gloss, it cannot be regarded as a genuine Awestic word.[14]

The verses on the stars thus were as follows:

[14] It is a transposition into Awestic of MP. frašgird, see under 'Last Judgment.'

yå stråm måho huro - -	(the fravarti) who show to the stars, the moon, the sun
srīrå paθo dēsayanti	their beautiful paths,
yoi parā ahmāt hištanta	which before stood still,
fraδātā afrašumanto	created not-moving,
āt tē nūram fravazanti	but which now set forth
dūrē.rvēsam pati pantām	on the track with distant turning
bagabaχtam pati yōnam	on the course laid down by the gods,
fraθwarštam pati zrvānam	in the appointed time,
aδwano rvēsam nāšamnā	striving to reach the turn of their road.

Our long process of cleaning has brought to light fine old verses, and as the parallel of the Tištriya verses, in *Yt.*8,25, shows, their style was typical of pre-Zoroastrian poetry. Under 'Tištriya' we shall deal with the verses *Yt.*13,43-44: st.44 is the archaic original, which, in 43, by a simple addition of "the fravarti let loose, start Tištriya on his course" has been subordinated and assimilated to the thought of our verses here. *Yt.*13,60, too, where 99,999 fravarti guard the star haftaringa, the "septentriones," shows a related conception. The idea of such a guard comes from the Krsāspa myth, where 99,999 awyaχšanti, stand sentry, as awyaχštar, *ἐποπτήρ*. In st.59 this idea is transferred to the ocean Vurukrtam—in connection with the verses in which the fravarti distribute the rain clouds rising from the ocean—and in st.62, a late imitation of those old verses, to the sperm of Zoroaster.

The fragments studied so far are dispersed over st.20-73, karda II-XXII, but karda I, st.1-19, is all one continuous poem. It begins with "Spoke AhuraMazdāh to Zoroaster":

1: ēva tē zāvar ōjasča	Thus, of the strength and power,
hvarno avasča rafnasča	of the glory, help and fidelity,
framrava rzvo ⟨spitāma⟩	I will tell you - - -
yat rtāunām fravartīnām	which is that of the rtāvan fravarti!
⟨yaθa mē jasan avahe	⟨when they came to my aid,
yaθa mē baran upastām	when they brought me help,
uγrå rtāunām fravartayo⟩	the strong fravarti of the rtāvan!⟩

2: āhām raya hvarnahača	By their fortune and glory
viδāraya(m zaraθuštra)	⟨I, o Zoroaster⟩ supported
avam asmānam - - - -	the heaven there. . . .

and all the things AhuraMazdāh supports with the aid of the fravarti.

In 1d the fravarti are qualified by the adj. rtāvan; in 1g they are "the fravarti of the rtāvan." More striking even than in the adj. bagabaχta and mazdaδāta, this is the difference between the original pre-Zoroastrian and the late mazdayasnian notion.

The first thing supported is the "brazen heaven"—a bronze age concept, while asman, "stone" and "heaven," itself is a stone age notion; we have quoted the beautiful verses which describe AhuraMazdāh still as Varuna, under 'Dēva': "I, AhuraMazdāh, supported with their aid the heaven, which Mazdāh has put on as garment etc." The illogical sentence, typical product of redaction, makes the pre-Zoroastrian age of the original only the more manifest.

In st.4-8—a patchwork compiled from *Yt.*5—Ardvīsūrā, a girl of fifteen who jumps from the highest heaven to earth in the picture of her own yasht, is supported, as if she was a fat Zubaida who decked herself out with jewels to such a degree that two slave-girls had to support her. In st.9 it is the earth, on which (st.10) the waters flow in canals, the manifold plants grow—fine old verses. In 11 it is the embryos in the womb. To that point the formula in the first person, AhuraMazdāh speaking, is repeated.

A creator-god, imagined primordial, may create figures to aid him in creating and supporting his creation. But the fravarti are no such creation, but as old as the god of heaven and much older than the time when he became AhuraMazdāh. To imagine the fravarti as atlantes is a wholly archaic idea, but not so the phrasing: "the fravarti helped me, I supported by their force." This is the mazdayasnian adaptation of the primeval belief.

In gatha *Y.*44,3-5 (text under 'Yamā')—verses one must read in comparison with *Yt.*13,53-58, to appreciate fully their relationship and yet the deep difference of their style—Zoroaster asks: "Who has created the sun—who supports earth and heaven—who holds the waters and plants—who harnesses their racers to wind and clouds?", namely AhuraMazdāh, with no help of the fravarti. In these verses Zoroaster transfers

their cosmic role to his god and thereby deposes the valkyrs: "So küss ich die Gottheit von dir!" And the redactor's additions in *Yt.*13 are, as in all the old yashts, the form in which the deposed ones were again received within the folds of post-Zoroastrian, mazdayasnian religion. A phrase like Nyberg's "*Yt.*13 ist so genuin zoroastrisch, dass die Verse wesentlich von Zoroastriern geschaffen sein müssen," could not even be supported by the power of 99,999 fravarti.

From st.11 onwards, the redactor got tired of always transposing the formula into the first person, and now goes on using the genuine formula where the fravarti act themselves without AhuraMazdāh in the third person: "āhām raya hvarnahača, by their r. and hv. (14) the waters flow, the plants grow, the winds blow, (15) the females conceive, they become pregnant, they give birth easily." This genuine formula occurs ten times; where it has been changed in the foregoing verses, it must be restored, and the verses 4-8 on Ardvī must be eliminated. Subsequently one recognizes, too, that the preterit in the changed formula is faulty, only the consequence of subordinating the entire song to the idea expressed in the heading, that the fravarti "helped" AhuraMazdāh at the creation. The original used the present, the activity of the fravarti has nothing to do with the creation—entirely logical, for the fravarti are the souls of men—but is a permanent one, after the creation.

The concluding st.19 of karda 1 says:

iθa tē zāvar ōjasča	This is what, of the strength and power
hvarno avasča rafnasča	of the glory, help and fidelity,
framrōmi rzvo - - -	I tell you - - -
yat rtāunām fravartīnām	of the rtāvan fravarti!

The correspondence with the beginning shows how easy it was to adapt the verses to Mazdaism. Here, except the improper insertion, behind rzvo, of the vocative Spitāma! for another word, nothing has been retouched. And when reading the conclusion without remembering the beginning, one would never think that these verses were addressed by AhuraMazdāh to Zoroaster, and that it was he that the fravarti helped. Obviously, the poet addresses the hearer, and the fravarti, with their

strength and power and fidelity, help continuously the men of their vis, not the god at the creation.

In these verses the genuine beginning and end of a poem is preserved. In the beginning the poet says: "Such I will speak out, fra.mrava," at the end "This is what I tell you, fra.mrōmi." Some gathas begin in a similar form. This is not the beginning of a *hymn*, where the god is invoked, but that of an *epic tale*. The literary form must go back to highest antiquity, for it corresponds e.g. to Gr. *Ἴλιον ἀείδω καὶ Δαρδανίην ἐύπωλον*, or to Lat. "arma virumque cano," and MHG. "von kuener recken striten muget ir nu wunders hoeren sagen."

A close relation exists between two stanzas of this poem, 15 and 11:

15: åhām raya hvarnahača	by their r. and hv.
hārišiš puθrān vrnvanti	the females conceive young ones,
⟨åhām raya hvarnahača⟩	
huzāmito zīzananti	they give birth easily,
⟨åham raya hvarnahača⟩	
yat bavanti hačatpuθrå	when they have become pregnant
11: åhām raya hvarnahača	By their r. and hv.
viδāraya[nti] barθrišvā	they support in the womb
puθrān pativrtān - -	the embryonic sons
a.para.riθyato vyāhva	that they do not die in childbirth
*rvāčaya[nti] astīča	they make grow the bones,
gōnā⟨ca⟩ drwδāča ruθwānča	the hair, muscles, bowels,
padiyåsča fravāχšasča	arms-and-legs, the penes.

By restoring the 3rd person of the verbs in 11 b and e, the meter becomes right. In the original song, as the contents require, 11 must have followed 15. St.11 is transposed into the 1st pers., AhuraMazdāh as subject; but for the second verb cod. Lb 5 has the significant variant rvaṭ.čaēn, i.e. rvāčayan, a 3.p.plur. A similar relation—as to the contents—exists between the verses on the stars, waters and plants in st.53-58 and st.14, and one can imagine these stanzas behind 14, as 11 behind 15. The poem, then, would originally have been much richer than we have it in st.1-19.

The ever repeated formula åhām raya hvarnahača shows that ray and hvarnah, like on the other hand zāvar and ōjah, force and power, are

essential qualities of the fravarti. The adjectives rēvant hvarnahvant are standing epithets of the star Tištriya, and transferred from him to Satavēsa. Alone, Aw. rayi appears only in *Yt.*6,4: hvar yat amrtam rēm (acc.) arvataspam, probably as a genuine old epithet of the sun, hvar χšēta, agreeing with hvarχšētahya amrtahya rēvahya in *Yt.*6,0 (and *Y.*2,24). Since the adj. rēvant, too, is mostly joined with hvarnahvant, the expressions seem to be derived from an old dvandva rayī hvarnahā.

In *Yt.*10,108, Mithra asks: "To whom shall I allot rayasča hvarnasča?"; there, "health and wealth" stand in parallel with it, and in st. 110: "sickness, death and poverty" in opposition. It means apparently "property and luck," see under 'Hvarnah.' In the gathas rāi appears only once and alone, 43,1:

"According to (Thy) will give us, (give) everyone—whom freely ruling as He wills the Lord will give it[18]—Thou as Ārmatiš, (give) me, the rayo rtiš, award of riches and the life in paradise!"

The prayer asks for reward in this and the other life, as in many other verses, and *Wb.* translates, to the point: πλούτου μοίρας. rāi, rayi is etymologically Lat. rēs. But in *Yt.*14,27, where Vrthragna appears as "nar rēvant," opposed to the "youth of fifteen" in st.17, that means as a mature man of 30, in full armor, and in *Yt.*14,36, an old soldier's spell, saying "no man be he ever so rēvant (Wolff-Bartholomae: noch so prächtig) can hit him"—since indeed no magnificence or wealth can be of any help—"riches" do not fit at all. The raya—rēs, there, can be nothing but arms, of the "hoplites," a syn. of zaya, e.g. in *Vid.*14,9-10. In *Art.Vir.Nām.* 14, the artēštārān (raθēštā) are called gvrt'n zyn.'pz'r, "heroes in armor," apparently equal to nar rēvant. In *Vid.*20, chapter on Θrita as physician, the paraδātā (used as name of the pēšdādī dynasty), bear the epithet rēvant, beside "men of property" and others. The *Pahl. Vid.* explains it by "afzārawmand, rich in afzār, resources," almost "ingenium," MP. čārak = Arab. ḥila. MP. kirrōkīh ut afzār means "arts and sciences," a semantic development resembling "rērum perītus" and "rērum potītus." In *Vid.*1,7 afzār translates Aw. "sūra, strong" as epithet of Marw. And in *Vid.*1,14, epithets of the Hilmand river, Aw. hētumantam rēvantam hvarnahvantam, Pahl. r'y'vmnd ꝺnн.'vmnd, are commented by χvyšk'r v tvχš'k mynvg sgst'n, "dutiful and industrious

[18] Parenthesis, passing from second to third person.

genius (of or in) Sigistān." Whatever their original meaning, this was later the signification of the standing epithets of the fravarti.

Another significant and odd epithet is rtāvan. In the original text of *Yt.*13,1d—repeated in 13,19d—rtāvan is an adjective to fravarti. But in the interpolated line 1g they are rtāunām fravartayo, "manes of the rtāvan." In pre-Zoroastrian usage, e.g. as epithet of the archaic dvandva miθrā-ahurā, rtāvan refers to rtam in its original sense "law," hence means "loyal, righteous, just" in the old Biblical connotation. Likewise as epithet of the fravarti: "the just, loyal fravarti," a pre-Zoroastrian idiom. Zoroaster, by opposing his notion "druχš" to the traditional rtam, made rtāvan the antonym of drugvant. In the subsequent Mazdaism this concept of rtāvan took on the connotation "orthodox," and the rtāunām fravartayo of the gloss are the "manes of the orthodox." The small difference in the two all but identical lines discloses pre-Zoroastrian and post-Zoroastrian thought.

This phase was not yet reached by Old Persian in 479/78 B.C. as the inscr. *Xerx.Pers.daiv.* shows: l.47f.: šyāta ahani[16] žīva uta mrta rtāvā ahani (l.54f. has the same in 3rd pers. with verb bavati). The Akk. version, while translating "to be šyāta" by "to see dumqi," does not translate, but transcribes the term rtāvan by artawa:[17] "Happy I want to be in life, in death I want to be rtāvan!" The wish corresponds to Zoroaster's words in *Y.*43,1: "Give me rayo rtiš (in life) and paradise (in death)!" or 51,7: "Give me amrtātā harvātā and taviši utiyūti," both dvandvas opposing the wish for this and the yonder world.

Theopomp, in Plutarch, *de Iside* 47, translates this term by *εὐδαίμονες*, Eudemus of Rhodus[18] by *μακάριοι*, which is an excellent translation for the OP. connotation. To *μακάριος* in the hereafter corresponds "šyāta=*ὄλβιος*" in this life, a term perfectly rendered by Akk. dumqi lūmur. Zoroaster himself calls both, the living and the dead, rtāvan. The difference between his and the OP. idiom gives a deep insight: the prophet to whom the victory of his religion and the "coming of the kingdom" are the same event does not yet feel as contradictory

[16] OP. ahani is an inverse writing of spoken *āni, for older *ahāni; same case as avahana, spoken avāna, old avahāna.

[17] Darius must have said something similar in the postscript of *Beh.* §§73 and 76: "hya auramazdām yadātai ya[vā tau]m[ā a]hati uta žīvahya uta [mrtah]ya - - - , he who worships Ōramazdā as long as he has the power [=lives], [of him, gen.], alive and [dead - - - - -]."

[18] Same place, cf. Ed. Meyer, *Christent.* II, 69, n.4.

the two concepts of passing away into the beyond when dying, and of a resurrection at the end of the world. And so, Zoroaster does not distinguish, as Xerxes does, between šyāta and rtāvan. Eschatology develops only after the death of the prophet.

Xerxes says "abide in the laws that AhuraMazdāh has given, worship AhuraMazdāh as Rtam, and ye will be šyāta in life, rtāvan in death." Since this is the reward for a moral life, the word is used with all the ethical value, the implied opposition to drugvant-drōjana, which Zoroaster had laid into it. But in reserving rtāvan for the beyond, OP. follows the line indicated by the pre-Zoroastrian usage: rtāvan was the epithet of the manes, the fravarti, in the popular notion.

Therewith a few classical passages are explained. Hellanicus, *Persiká*, quoted by Stephanos Byz., s.v. artaia, said: ἀρταίους δὲ Πέρσαι ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἥρωας καλοῦσι; "hḗroes" in the meaning of Lat. "manes." Herodotus VII,37 calls the Fravardīn yasht, the magi celebrated on the Skamander before Ilios on the occasion of Xerxes' campaign, "libations to the hḗroes." Stephanos adds: Ἡρώδοτος ἀρτεάτας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ. Our editions have: γένεα ἐξ ὧν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, on whom all the other Persians depend. The Greek rendering of rtāva(n) by ἀρταῖοι resembles Ctesias' Δαρειαῖος for dāreyavoš < dārayavahuš. There is no reason to explain, with Markwart UGE 1,66, ἀρταῖοι by (fra)vartayo. The Ir. name of the month *fravartīnām māhya passed into the Cappadocian calendar as Αρτανα, i.e. the gen. pl. rtāunām, because it was the month of the rtāunām fravartīnām. And Herodotus' Median king Phraortes = fravartiš appears in Ctesias' Parsondas legend as Αρταῖος: rtāvan.

Herodotus has also put into his report on the military review at Doriscus, in 485 B.C., two remarks, either quotations from Hecataeus (shortly before 500) or his own. VII,62: "The Medes called themselves ἄριοι," and 63: "The Persians ἀρταῖοι." The first is historical and correct. The second is corroborated by Hesychios: ἀρταῖοι · οἱ δίκαιοι παρὰ Πέρσαις. δίκαιοι is the very old meaning of rtāvan, and no inadequate translation of the later mazdayasnian meaning. But with Herodotus it would already be a religious name for the Persians, almost "orthodox," and if so, could only be his own remark, since that could not be said before his time. Hesychios has still: ἀρτάδες · οἱ δίκαιοι ὑπὸ μάγων. This seems to be a Greek plural of *ἀρτᾶς after MP. artāy, ardāy.

XXX. ARDVĪSŪRĀ ANĀHITĀ

"Was verfolgst du meine Herde?"

All cattle and all animals are, in Old Iranian mode of thinking, under the protection of Ardvī, the goddess of celestial waters and fertility. She was the "great goddess whose name is Lady." Zoroaster condemned and banished her together with Mithra, Vrthragna, Hōma and other dēvas.

Ardvī seems to mean "moist, moisture"; sūrā is etymologically *κυρίη*, semantically also *πότνια*. The name Artemis is given to her as *πότνια θηρῶν* in the votive inscriptions of Persepolis. Her standing epithet is anāhitā, the immaculate, whence Gr. *Ἀναΐτις* and her MP. and NP. name Nāhīd. Before Alexander's time, the Greeks identified her with Aphrodite Uraníē. Herodotus gives this name to her as goddess of the Scolotian Scyths, who associated her under the name *Ἀργιμπάσα* with Apollon *γοιτόσυρος*. The second element of this name, -sūro = *κύριος*, is the same as in Ardvī-sūrā; the first, goito, is gavyūti "cow-pasture."[1] Apollo goitosyros is Mithra vurugavyūtiš. The language was an Iranian dialect.

> Argimpasa: argim- with m < nt before labial, as in Ir. dat.-abl.pl. -anbyo of the -ant-stems, is a participle. So is 'exam' in *ἐξαμπαῖοι*, Herodotus IV,52 = *ἱραὶ ὁδοί*, discovered by Markwart = Scyth.Oss. āfsand < Ir. spanta, *ξ* substituting for *ψ* because of init. labial of the second element. Tedesco told me that √arg- may be compared to Gr. alk- (alex-) "protect," a root represented in Skr. The second element is pasu-: fšu-, pecus; hence, argim.pasa < *argant.pasu, type fradat.fšu, vidat.fšu, is a surname of Ardvī of the same character as goitosyros of Mithra.

Evidently, the ethnic *Ἀριμασποῖ* in Aristeas' Issedonian story is a derivative of that surname of the goddess, though Herodotus, IV,13, asserts that it meant "one-eyed": Scyth. arime "one," and spū "eye." But arima is Gr. *ἠρέμας* "quiet," and there is no spū "eye." Arima.spoi is stronger hellenized than argim.pasa: arima = argim-; the m demands following labial, hence spū < psū; arimaspoi < *argim.fšuya, worship-

[1] Cf. *Yt.*14,41: "Vrthragna who hvarno pari.vrnavati, makes rain (or fertilizes with) hvarnah upon the houses for the cow-owners, gōsūrābyo."

pers of *'argim.pasu, hence their sanctity; the idea is expressed in *Yt.* 5,89: "through me pasū-stōrā, small and large cattle find their sustenance all over the earth," and by Ardvī's epithet "van*θ*wa.fraδāna, increasing the herds." In the Demeter hymn: *ἥ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὁπόσ' ἐστιν.*

To the Scythian Ardvī-Argimpasa the Greeks substituted their "Taurian Artemis" of the Orestes-Iphigeneia legend, and this goddess again was identified with the Hittite mother-goddess of Komana in Pontus and in Cappadocia; at a later period the Iranian goddess was also identified with the goddess of Ekeleac-Akilisene, the Armenian region of Erzinjān, called *ἡ Ἀναΐτις χώρα*, where a statue of solid gold, holospyratos, stood in a temple, carried off by Roman soldiers during Antonius' Parthian campaign, Pliny NH. XXXIII,82-83. Erzinjān is Old Arm. erēz "stony," an assimilation of the older Urartaean name preserved in Ptolemy's *ὄρση* in *ὀρσηνή* (cod.x better: *ὀροσηνή*), in Procopius, *de aedif. φρούριον Ὀροσηνῶν*, near south of Σάταλα, i.e. Arm. satał, mod. Sadagh. The annals of TiglathPileser I, year 2, render the Urart. name by urusu in Ḫaria, and the Šunaššura-treaty by (Hitt.) urušša in Ḫurri, a highly important fixed point for the historical geography of Asia Minor in the second millennium.

The amalgamation one observes here of the Iranian Anāhitā with old Anatolian goddesses has its parallel in Susa and Babylon, where she became one with Nahhunte, Istar and Nanna.

The Ardvī yasht is an extensive one, but is in a bad shape and its redaction was inferior to yasht like that of Mithra or Vrthragna from the beginning. The interest concentrates on the old fragments it contains.

The goddess has no earthly home; in st.3, the introduction, she "flows down from mount Hukarya to the ocean Vurukrtam," and in st.85, the conclusion—both belonging to the same late redaction—she "comes from the stars there above down to this earth." Her yasht contains more quotations from the epic than most others, and the form is always a prayer of the heroes at their proper place. Thus, *Yt.*5 contains the most complete topography of the epopee, but that, of course, creates no connection of the goddess with one of the places of the heroes. To infer, as Nyberg does, that one of these localities was the "home of

the cult of Ardvi" and the place "where *Yt.*5 was composed" reveals a total miscomprehension. The goddess is ubiquitous.

In *Yt.*5,28-35, quotation from the Θrētōna myth of the epic, the place of the adversary, AžiDahāka, is called bawroiš, in which Darmesteter already recognized Babylon. Meillet calls this equation "evident," see under 'Anērān-Tūrān.' Nyberg, on the contrary, speaks of the "vermeintliche Erwähnung von Babylon" and translates bawroiš by "Biber-Land, beaver country"; 322: "Varəna [of the *Vidēvdād*] lag gegen das Biberland hin, wo AžiDahāka zu Hause war, folglich im Flussgebiet des Jaxartes, weil der Biber der Ardvī heilig war." She wore a beaver fur, that is all. The argument has not even the value of Markwart's attempt—see under 'Ērānvēž'—to identify Ranhā and Wolga-'Pâ, because the kara fish lived in it, perhaps the sturgeon. Were there beavers in the Jaxartes and only there? Caviar and furs are no instruments for solving geographical problems. "Beaver country" would be bawrānām dahyuš; bawroiš (dahyuš) would be "she-beaver country." "Wir befinden uns also jetzt im äussersten Osten vom iranischen Standpunkt aus": no, in Babylon. On this "she-beaver-land" he bases the theory that *Yt.*5 "in allen wesentlichen Teilen dem östlichen Zoroastrismus angehört und vor der Auswanderung des Zoroastrismus nach Raga und vor der Achaemenidenzeit entstanden ist."

Babel and beaver are entirely insignificant for judging the age and place of the yasht: the name has nothing to do with the Awesta, but was AžiDahāka's place in the epic: he represents the Babylonian empire at the time of the Iranian immigration. That which compels us to date not only a redaction but the first composition of the main parts of *Yt.*5 in the later phase of the Achaemenian period is the language and the picture of the civilization which just this yasht clearly reveals.[8]

There are two contradictory passages in which the goddess is presented driving in her chariot.

St.13:

yahya čaθwāro vaštāra	whose [chariot is pulled by] four drawing [animals]
spēta vispa hama.gōnâho	white ones, all of one color,
hama.nāfēni - - -	of one strain - - -

[8] Beside the passages here discussed, there are the st.5, 50, 101, 49 and 130, typical of Achaemenian period.

Meter and grammar are deficient and what follows is totally decadent. If hama.nāfēni and the following words brzanta tarvayanta are, as it looks, duals, "four" must be wrong. Against Lommel's "gleich schnell" I consider hamanāfēni as syn. of hamātar; Bartholomae remarked: "nom.dual, Neubildung zum fem.stamm wie zarnēni in st. 127; der dual, den auch die beiden folgenden Wörter zeigen, passt allerdings nicht." "Neubildungen" are out of question: when these verses were put into the yasht, the language was dying or dead. The form recalls the fem. patron. adjectives in -āni, -ēni.

St.120:

yahya čaθwāro aršāno	whose (are) four male (animals)
vāto vāro mēyo fšanhuš	wind, rain, clouds, hail,
yahya avāvat *zēnānām	whose (are) so many weapons,
nava satāiš hazahramča	nine hundred and a thousand.

Glosses, interpolated to give the verses a mazdayasnian coloring, are easily detected: "AhuraMazdāh fabricated for her (the four animals)" and "Always, o Zoroaster, they make rain for me, AhuraMazdāh." Bartholomae, who took them as authentic, was forced to interpret the common avāvat (with gen.) "tantum," as an exceptional augment pret. of √bav-. The text has "hēnā," in d, a hapax, certainly not to be maintained by adducing Gr. ἵημι, but a simple fault for *zēnā: the "hail-stones" especially are the "weapons," of which 1,900 are lying on the chariot: the number means infinite, cf. st.4, where the Pahl. transl. converts the "40 days' marches," extent of the seas, into 1,900 parasangs, both "infinite." aršāno, here, contradicts the fem. hamanāfēni in 13, but there is nothing to show which of the two has more authority. The animals must not of necessity be horses. In much later pictures, the sun has a team of four yellow stallions, the moon of two white cows. The distinction is certainly not a late notion.

St.11:

yo purvo vartam vazāte	Who (nom.sg.m.) first (m.) drives the chariot
anχnā dražate vartahe	gripes the bridles of the chariot,
ahmya varte vazamna	upon? this chariot, driving (f.)

counting the men, thinking thus: who will praise me, bring me offerings?

The passage is ungrammatical. From the masc. yo purvo one may infer that Anāhitā, like all gods, had a charioteer. The repetition of vārtam-vārtahe-vārte is bad, and if anχnā means "bridle"—which belongs to the animals, not to the chariot—the second vārtahe is a fault.

St.126-129 give an entirely different description of the goddess, and long since it has been presumed to be the description of a statue.[3] The first line, which was not accurately translated, raises this beyond doubt. The stanzas differ from those quoted, because they do not describe an imaginary picture of the living goddess on her chariot, but her statue in a temple. Berossos records that statues of Anāhitā were erected under Artaxerxes II in the temples of all provincial capitals, and the verses with their bad grammar and meter may well belong to that time. In the background of the Ṭāq i Bustān, in the tympan, is such a statue, over 12 feet high, and not only do the verses fit this statue, but the statue elucidates some dark points in the verses. Therefore, though created not before the beginning of the 7th century A.D., the statue can be used as substitute for old statues lost.[4]

126:	yā hištate fravĕδamnā	she is standing there perceptible
	ardvī sūrā anāhitā	Ardvi, the lady, immaculate,
	kanīno krpa srīrayå	in the shape of a fair maiden
	aš.amayå hu.rōδayå	very-strong, well-built,
	uskāt yāstayå ʿbrzaθyå	high-girded, tall,
	rēvat čiθram āzātayå	noble of rich house
	frazušam aδkam ʿvahānā	wrapped in a precious cloak
	puru.paχštam zaranēnam	finely-woven, golden.
127:	‚bāδa yaθa.mąm' barsma.-zasta	hydria and barsman in hand,
	fra gōšāwarā sispimnā	making scintillate her ear-drops,
	čaθru.karanā zaranēnī	square crystals mounted in gold
	minum barat huvāzātā	wears the right-noble
	ardvī sūrā anāhitā	Ardvi . . .
	upa tām srīrām manōθrīm	round her pretty neck,

[3] Already in 1856, Windischmann, *Die persische Anahita*, Abhdlg. Bayr.AkdW. VIII, i p.96.

[4] Fragments of a statue of Darius, three times life size, have been found in Susa. Artystone is said to have had a statue of gilt bronze, sphyrelatos; cf. the holosphyratos statue of Anaitis in Erzindjān. Life-size statues of bronze, of the Parthian period, discovered at Shamī, Malamīr region, in Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of W. Iran*, 1940, fig. 46-48.

	hā hē maδyam niyāzata	she tightens her middle
	yaθāča hukrftā fštāna	that her breasts be well-formed,
	yaθāča ahān nivazāna	that they be lovely,
128:	upari pusām bandayata	On the head she has bound a diadem
	ardvī sūrā anāhitā	Ardvī . . .
	satastrāhām zaranēnīm	with a hundred stars, of gold,
	ašta.kōždām raθa.karyām	with eight curves, chariot-shaped,
	drafšakavatīm srīrām	with scarfs, a pretty one,
	anu.piθwatīm hukrtām	with a roll around, well-wrought,
129:	bawrīni vastrā vahata	A garment of beaver skins
	ardvī sūrā anāhitā	Ardvī . . . has put on,
	θrisatanām *bawrīnām	of three-hundred she-beavers,
	čaturzīzanatām - -	that have dropped four times - -
	yaθa.krtam θwarštāi zrūnē	properly prepared at the right season,
	čarmā vēnanto brāzanta	the skins shine upon the onlooker
	*frāna rzatam zaranyam	(like) sheer gold and silver.

In 5,18, Visataruš legend, the verses 126b-f are repeated, with the verb "upatačat," and then

zarnya ōθra patišmuχta	wearing golden boots,
yā vispā.pisa bāmiya	shining in all colors.

In the Pārva-legend, 5,18, too, where an appearance of Ardvī (instead of Ušā) is wrongly interpolated, 126c-f are repeated and after them

nizanga ōθra patišmuχta	wearing boots covering the ankles
zaranya.rviχšna bāmiya	with golden laces, shining.

The shoes were originally part of the description of the statue. Perhaps also st.7:

srīra vā ahān bāzava	pretty were her arms,
aruša aspa.stavyahīš	the white ones, stronger than a horse,
fra srīra zuša sispata	[something like: with precious
arvati bāzu.stavyahi	bracelets . . .]

I insert here *Had.N.*11,9, description of the dēnā which meets the

faithful after death, because it is so closely related with the description of Ardvī, that the variants of the texts allow mutual corrections:

kanīno krpa srīrayå	in the shape of a fair maiden,
χšoiθniyå aruša.bāzvo	a queenly, white-armed,
[aš.]amayå hurōδayå	very-strong, well-built,
uz.arštayå brzaθiyå	adult, tall
rδva.fšniyå srōtanuvo	with straight breast, beautiful body,
āzātayå rēvas.čiθrayå	noble, of rich extraction,
pančadasayå rōδēšva	fifteen years of age for her stature,
krpa avāvato sraya	of such beautiful shape
yaθa dāmān sraištāiš - -	as the most beautiful of creatures - -

The most beautiful of creatures means the sun, and one may add "huno" in the last line, as in *Yt.*10,143. One sees that Anāhitā, too, is described as the ideal type of the girl of fifteen years, in analogy to Vrthragna as youth of fifteen years. Grammar and meter are bad, but were so from the beginning; the verses were composed at a time when the authors no longer mastered the language. One must not try to correct them.

To st.126: fra.vēδamna (or -vīδ°), Bartholomae "die immer wahrzunehmen ist," Lommel "zu erscheinen pflegt," both taking stā- in auxiliary function. The MP. auxiliary originated from a similar use of stā-, but it is auxiliary only with the past part. Nowhere is a god "always visible" nor did any one "use to appear" regularly. hištate means "she is standing (there)," and fravēδamnā "visible and palpable," namely as statue in the temple; cf. the usage of °viδamna, vēnamna.

uskāt yāstå, cf. brzi.yāstå as epithet of the fravarti, corresponds to Gr. *βαθύζωνος*. Instead of the incomprehensible rzvaθyo in 126 and 64, Had.N. has the clear brzaθyå. Instead of rēvat čiθram it has rēvas.čiθrayå. Bartholomae and Lommel regard rēvat čiθram as parenthesis, badly fitting the verse; it might be an acc. of relation; at any rate it is no real old language. The following vahānam is rather a wrong case of the participle than an "absolutivum."

With puru.paχšta Bartholomae compared MHG. -vah, "viel-

gefaltet," while he ascribed zaranya.paχšta.pāδa, adj. to gātu "kline," to √pas-. Lommel translates "reich gestickt," as if reading -pišta. These furnitures are "overlaid," cf. *πήγνυμι*, or "inlaid" with gold, cf. literas in ceram pangere. "afsman, rope, chain," to √pas-, is also the warp of the loom, and puru.paχšta is probably what later is called "hazārbāf, woven with a thousand (colors, or threads)." It stands beside zaranēna like Gr. *πέπλον χρύσεον παμποίκιλον* in the Aphrodite hymn, see below.

aδka describes the cut, not the material of an overcoat, whether just "cloak" is doubtful. According to *Nir.*92, one can wear it aδaram or uparam, that is "with the lining outwards or inwards." That makes one think of a fur coat, yet it cannot be the same as the bawrini vastrā, separated from it in 129.

To 127: The ed. has ‚bāδa yaθa.mąm', P13 bāţa yaθamąm, J10 bāţ yaθa.mąm, L18 bāδa yaθmąm. The corrupt spelling resembles that of daryō.ṛarō.man in *Yt.*13,29 for *darya.rmāno, and miθrō.aōjaŋhō in *Yt.*10,104 for *miθra.ǰano.[8] There is one syllable too many and the copyists did not understand the text. mąm is apparently an attempt at correcting an acc.m. into an acc.fem., B'TYTM[m]; cf. *Yt.*9,31: humaya vrdakanāmča instead of the dvandva humayē *vrdanakēča, and here something similar may be the reason. But since the words "round her neck" in f make the only verb "barat, she wears," in d, unfit for the objects in a-b, these lines can only contain appositions in the nominative, like *barsma.zastā, no accusative. The whole overhanging syllable -mąm must be eliminated; only B'TYT remains and must be something analogous to "barsma.zastā, barsman in hand." This word nowhere appears alone: in *Y.*62,1 people pray to Ātar "ēsma.zasta, barsma.zasta, gō.zasta, havana.zasta, fire-wood, barsman, milk, mortar in hand," equally in *Vid.*3,1 when praying to Mithra. On the sculpture of Ardashīr II at the side of the Ṭāq i Bustān, Mithra holds the barsman; the statue of Anāhitā in the Ṭāq holds the hydria as her attribute.

[8] Bartholomae, *Wb.* posits for this word and for the adv. avi.mąm in *Vid.*5,60,61, a noun "mā(y)-, measure," inadequate for both cases: "Wahrlich wie es das Mass (will, hält sie) barsman in der Hand." Lommel: "wie sich's geziemt?"

On the gold sheets of the Oxus treasure, of the Median epoch, several figures are depicted with barsman and hydria or phiale, jug or cup in hand. Among the objects of the treasure is a golden hydria for libations of the Achaemenian epoch; from a similar piece in silver comes the fragment with the inscription of Xerxes, *AltpInschr.* n°19. Flat libation cups are more numerous; the inscription of Artaxerxes I, *AltpInschr.* n°23, on one of them, calls them bātugara, see under 'Hōma.' Athenaeus XI,27 quotes from a letter of Alexander "*βατιάκιον* of gold and silver," and explains *βατιάκιον · περσικὴ δὲ ἡ φιάλη βατιάκη.* OP. *bātiyaka lives in NP. bādiyah, which glossaries explain by piyālah, i.e. *pati.gāla (= gāra), as Benveniste has shown in J.As. 1936, 233. *bātiyaka would be B'TYK, and so B'TYT must be emended. The archetype had B'TYK BRSMZST, i.e. bātiyaka barsmazasta, with ellipsis of zasta after the first word: "hydria (or phiale) and barsman in hand."

frasispimna: In *Yt.*17,10, the ladies of the house are awaiting their husband, sitting on the well upholstered klines

> mrzyumnå ankupisimnå fra gōšāwarā sispimnå
> ⟨ča*θ*rukaranā⟩ minuča zaranya.pisi

*Wb.*1617 derives the signification "prunkend zur Schau tragen" for frasispimna from sispimna in *Yt.*17,10: "the river Hētumant spētiniš varmiš sispimno, weisse Wogen aufschwellend," to Skr. śvā- "to swell." Etymology and signification are very doubtful, cf. "spaya*θ*ra" under 'Astronomy.'*

In *Yt.*17,10, minū is not (*Wb.*) an acc. dual, but the first element of a compound "minu(pisi) zaranya.pisi, adorned with minu and gold," the same case as *bātiyaka barsma.zasta. Some Mss. have mēnu, cf. mēna.*χ*an, name of a mountain "crystal-source," NP. Arab. "mīnā, crystal, glass, enamel," and the topic name Mīnāb, crystal-water. Ča*θ*rukarana spoils the meter in 17,10 and is probably borrowed from 5,127, where it seems to signify the square shape of the mounted jewels, the usual shape of semi-precious stones and the oldest of jewels.

* Hertel raised objections, but his list of 150 words derived from Ved. √śū-, Ir. sū-, Gr. καν- in *Beitr.* 110 brings no solution.

nivazāna: var.l. navazāna/i, navazāte, nēvaǰate, all one syllable overlapping; perhaps, with v misplaced, the OIr. form of MP.NP. nāzuk = Gr. ἁπαλός.

To 128: pusā: Hübschmann, *Arm.Gramm.* 232: "Arm. psak, Kranz, Diadem, Krone, στέφανος, als Verb 'kränzen.'" Hertel, *Siegesf.* 46: "Hitāspa 'mit goldenem Helmbusch,' pusā = OI. puccha 'Schweif'; 'Diadem' entbehrt der Begründung." The "Begründung" for diá-dēma is the verb bandaya, which determines pusā as an awidāna; one does not wind around one's head the crest of a helmet; besides, crests were never worn in Iran, are comparatively late and considered to be a Carian invention. On the other hand, "Schweif" may mean any kind of trailing scarf. The *Frhg.Ēv.* is right in explaining pusā by aparsar, NP. afsar "crown."

satastrāha means jewels like the strip of stars under the crenelations of Darius' crown in his Behistun sculpture. ašta.kōžda raθa.karya: Bartholomae, *ZAirWb.* 125 compared Ir. kōžda and OI. coda, cuḍa "torus, coussinet" of tiles, and cūḍā "fringe" or "chignon"; he does not mention NP. kōž, kōz "curved." ašta.-kōžda, "eight times curved," especially along with raθakarya, at once evokes the picture of Anāhitā's crown in the Ṭāq i Bustān. H. Junker[7] reached the materially right translation "Mauerkrone, turreted crown" in a way which does not convince me. Heuzey, *Origines de l'art* 379ff., deals with a type of chariot of high antiquity, the front-wall or shield of which is shaped like two half-battlements with the crenelle in the middle: . This form persisted down to the Arsacid period, cf. F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Dura-Europos* pl.lxxviii. And this is the very shape of the chess figure, called ratha, chariot, in Skr., our "knight, raθēštar:"[8]  . The crown of Anāhitā in the Ṭāq i Bustān consists of eight such units: ašta.kōžda raθa.karya.

drafšakavant "with scarfs, ribbons," *anupiθwant (codd. anu-

[7] OLZ 1926, col.876: by means of W. Bang's equation "Man.Turk. ordu = MP. rahe, Feldlager, Pfalz." in Muséon 36, 1926, 216; accepted by Bailey, BSOS, VII,71. I suspect "Pfalz < palatium" to be a "laager of wagons, Wagenburg."

[8] Cf. Ch. K. Wilkinson, *Chessmen and Chess*, Metr. Mus. Art Bull. May 1943, 271ff.

poiθwant), *Wb.*: from *anu.pētu, "rings entlang gehende Konvexität," would be a lower torus of the crown.[9]

In 129 a gloss is added after čatur.zīzanatām: "yat asti bawriš srāištā yaθa yat asti gōnatamā bawriš bavati upāpo." The text is so close to being metrical that it must contain a small fault, probably in the words yaθa yat. Meaning: the she-beaver is at her prettiest, that means she is the hairiest, when she goes into the water. The last two lines may also be an addition: frəna, i.e. PRN, is either prna or frāna (in zasta.frāna.masah, as much as a handful). The sentence seems to express: the skins shine as if they were sheer gold and silver.

More notable even than the relation of the song of *Yt.*5 to the statue in the Ṭāq i Bustān, which was not suggested by that poem but is the result of a sculptural tradition of more than a thousand years, is the similarity of this description of Anāhitā with that of Aphrodite in the Homeric hymn, where she visits Anchises:

(86) *πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἕεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς*
(89) *καλὸν χρύσειον παμποίκιλον · ὡς δὲ σελήνη*
(90) *στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἁπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι*
(87) *εἶχε δ' ἐπιγνάμπτας ἕλικας καλυκάς τε φαεινάς ·*
(88) *ὅρμοι δ'ἀμφ' ἁπαλῇ δειρῇ περικάλλεες ἦσαν.*

She, too, wears a "golden" peplos in all hues, aδkam purupaχštam zaranēnam, which shines like fire; radiant earrings, chalice-shaped, gōšāwarā; turned torques (or fibulae?) upon the soft breasts, anku.-pisimnā and fštānā navazānā?. The Homeric hymn may be a hundred years older than the one in *Yt.*5, and in both old formulae are preserved.

As "mistress of the animals" Ardvī is described in st.89: "Through me, Ardvī, they find their sustenance all over the earth, pasū-stōrā, small and large cattle, and the two-legged man: I protect all good creatures, as it were, like pasum pasuvastram." The verses are a late passage, but the notion is old: in Greece it is the role of Artemis and

[9] Bartholomae links pētu:poiθwa to √pi-, but poiθwa as part.fut.pass. to √spā- "to wipe out," "wie von einer ā(y)-Basis" (Nachtr. p.1873). He translates √spā(y)- "aufschwellen," and one would expect anu.pētu, -poiθwa to √spā(y)-. Something is wrong.

of "Gaia, the mother of all," and the Scythian name of the goddess, argimpasa expresses the same.

Wb. separates pasuvastra "cattle-shed" from a second word meaning the "sheep's coat," a separation partly based upon a wrong concept of fšu-, see fšuyo under 'Harvatāt.' √fšu-, "fett machen" and the derivations attributed to it, fall away. There is only fšuyant, fsōnī and pasu: fšu, and this last has still, as in other IE. languages, the meaning "woolbeast." St.89 says: "I protect the animals as its woollen coat protects the sheep," and the mediocre poet thinks his metaphor to be so daring that he adds most prosaically "so to say."

Y.45,9: pasūš vīrān ahmākān fradaθāi ā

"Pour l'acroissement des nos hommes et troupeaux" is the old dvandva pecudes virosque in Ovid, Umbr. veiropequo, cf. Benveniste, BSOS VIII, and *Inf.av.* 46. It comprises all cattle, but the proper acception is "sheep." One reads often—in respect to asp u mart—the Persians had kept horses in higher esteem than men. If so, the Romans would have valued sheep higher. Only among Arabs have I met with such an attitude: "al-Ḥadjdjādj imported, from Sind, ten thousands of buffaloes with their Zuṭṭ" as unavoidable appendages. asp u mart means men and horse, the army. Cf. the Egyptian style, in the letters of Amenophis III to Kadašman-Harbat or of Burnaburiaš to Amenophis IV:[10] "May you, your house, your wives, your children, your great ones, your horses, your chariots go on very well!" The last two are the cavalry and the chariot-warriors, the army. In asp u mart, or OP. huvaspa humartiya, asp and huvaspa precede because of the old dvandva rule: the shorter word, and if the number is equal, the one with initial vowel comes first.

The other dvandva, fšōnī vanθwē, thus in the Yama myth *Yt.*9,9-10, is πῶν and ἀγέλη, pecus et armentum, also in *Yt.*5,29 (=19,33), as discussed under 'Yama χšēta.'

Tribes pursuing cattle-breeding on a large scale are necessarily nomads who themselves have no houses but merely tents, MP. viyān.-mānišn, Arab. bait sha'r, "hair-house." The more so the herds, counting by ten thousands, are in the open, at the best in pens. The Assyrians speak of numbers like 201,400 oxen, 800,000 sheep carried away, and Sargon calls the hurdle of horses "tarbaṣ sīsē, corrals"; rabāṣu is also

[10] Knudtzon, *Amarna-Tafeln*, 61 and 85.

the term for keeping wild beasts in preserves for hunting. A word as old as pasušhasta < *pasušasta, to √had-, *sed-, can only mean "pen," not "stable." OP. ršāda < *rša.hada, a stud where stallions are kept, is a corral, neither a stable, nor a "Männerhort," as Oppert, Justi, Foy and Andreas translated it.

The fact that people in villages and towns kept a number of beasts in stables is no contradiction. *Vid.*2,25 says, referring to Yama's var, "make a dwelling for men, a gāvayana, stable for cattle." And in *Vid.* 14,14 "house for cows" is a cow-shed. But that is valid for townsmen and farmers only, not for cattle-breeders.

In the gathas and in *Y.Haft.* appears, four times, a strange looking word fsəratū, fem., *Wb.*: "Vergeltung, Belohnung in eschatologischem Sinne"; Hertel recognized it as a bad spelling. In Y.35,12, vahū manahā ‚fsəratūm', he takes it as four-syllabic, in Y.51,4, ku*θ*ra āroiš ā ‚fsəratuš' as trisyllabic, eliminating the dispensable postp. ā; and thus he arrives at the reading pasu.ratū or pasur(a)tuš. But fšu.ratuš, fšu.ratūm would suffice.[11] In the interpretation "Ausstrahlung des Viehs (aus dem Lichthimmel)" I am glad to be at variance. ratū is the term for seasons; one of them, the āyā*θ*rima fra.rvēštrima, has the epithet vršni.hršta,[12] Pahl. transl. "kē vušn hilišnīh patiš andar āyēt, time of the admissura arietum." *pasu.ratū or *fšu.ratū, likewise, means a "sheep-period," but not that of the ram's leap, but the "lambing time"; the lambs are usually born early in March. *fšu.ratū is an ὀχεῖα, not "eschatological reward," but "fertility of the sheep." In Y.33,12 Zoroaster prays: "As Ārmati grant tavišim, vigor, as spanta give zavah, force, as rta give hazah, power [the three words for 'force' need investigation], as vahu manah give fšuratū, fertility of cattle." In *Y.Haft.* 39,5 vahvyå *fšuratavo stands beside vahvyå ārmatoiš, agricultura.

The obscure epithet of Druvāspā, "fšōnimrzā"—either fšu.nimrza or fšōnī.mrza—seems also to refer to ὀχεῖα:√mrz-, mālīdan is "coire"; the deity may influence it as bēšaza, physician, or as god of horse-breeding.

*Vid.*7,12: noit payo fšuta zō*θ*rē noit gauš zō*θ*rē. *Frhg.Ēv.*13 spells pəšuta, but arranges it under initial f. *Wb.* translates: "nicht darf man

[11] Cf. spellings like pəšuta:fšuta; afsmanəm:aŋšman; narō varəšva corrupted from narā vā pasū vā (or sim.) in *Vid.* 2,28 under 'Yama χšēta.'

[12] Cf. Roth in ZDMG. 24, 1888, 704ff.

(vom dem Rind) die Milch, den Käse (Pahl.transl. panīr) bei dem zōθra (libation) verwenden, nicht das Fleisch (gauš) . . ." note: "wohl eine in den Text geratene Glosse, man verlangte sonst noit vor fšuta." Meat does not at all belong to a libation. gauš means "cow" in contradistinction to "sheep"; no noit is missing, but payo refers to both; cheese is not mentioned: "neither cow milk nor sheep milk."

Thus we have discovered a number of terms which show that the sheep-breeding of the nomadic tribes was just as important as their cattle-breeding.

Where the threatening "winters" are announced, *Vid.*2,23 says (cf. 2,22 under 'Yama χšēta'): Only one third of all living beings will be saved:

yatca ahat θwiyanstamēšu asahām
yatča ⟨ahat⟩ baršnušva ⟨pati⟩ garīnām
yatča ǰanfnušva ravānām
[u]paχrumēšu nmānēšu

Pahl.Vid.: "of the gōspand shall perish (1) ēn.ic kē hast pa bymkyntl ač ǰākān (čigōn Spāhān); (2) pa bālēn apar garān (čigōn pārsēn); (3) ač ān zufr rōstak (cigōn ērāhistān, var. l. ērāstan, read ērāgistān = 'Irāq); (4) ān ē knt' m'n'."

Only 2 and 3 are clear: "of that which is on the heights of the mountains and which is in the depth of the valleys," verses borrowed from Y.10,17, see under 'Hōma.' One cannot even say whether point 4 is independent, whether it qualifies the three foregoing points or only the third.[12]

In (1) "places" are described by the superl. of θwiyant, Pahl. transl. bymkyn, example "like Isfahān." bīmkēn means "anguishing, terrifying," while Isfahān is esteemed as the most beautiful part of Iran: "nuṣf i ǰihān, half the world." "Terrible" as opp. to "mountains and valleys" is just as impossible as Isfahān as example for a "terrible" country.

Bartholomae, *Wb.*794, gave a wrong start by attributing to √θwi- the signification "Furcht erwecken," and more so to

[12] Cf. *Mir.Man.*III,20,18 in the parinirvana hymn: "O great caravan-guide, who left (his) caravan in wy'b'n, deserts, dšt kvi'n 'vd dr'n, plains, mountains and valleys."

θwayah- and θwiyā "Schrecknis, gefahr" (see under 'Mithra'), θwiyanstama "der schrecklichste." In *Wb.*799 he annotates: "Es sind die *ebenen* Sand-und Salzwüsten im Gegensatz zu den Bergen und Thälern gemeint," although quoting there the example Isfahān. *Yt.*10,23: "you bring θwiyām avi hvēpaθyās.-tanuvo, to the very body of the miθradruχš" demands something very definite, not a vague "Gefahr." θwiyā is "anguish, angustiae," in this case "tightness of breath"—(opp. hvāθra, good breathing). θwi- in general is "being in a tight, in straits, compressed, oppressed, thronged," cf. Germ. "bedrängt, Bedrängnis, Gedränge." In *Yt.*10,23 and 37 θwiyā forms pair with āθi, as does dvēθā in *Y.*32,16 and 48,9: yahya mā āθiš dvēθā, Bartholomae: "cuius me (mihi) pernicies minatio (= minax est)"; Benveniste, *Inf.av.* 15: "dont la destruction me menace." "pernicies" is a doubtful translation of āθi, rather "pain." Bartholomae compared δεινός, δείδω. At any rate, θwiyā and dvēθā are synonyms, cf. *Y.*29,5: yat mazdām dvadi frasābyo, "mit Bitten bedrängen," evidently related to dvēθā. Hertel, though mistaken in reading dabiyām for θwiyām, was right in regarding its θw- as exceptional spelling for dv-; the rare word was confounded with θwi-:θwēšah. dvēθā, otherwise unconnected, belongs to √dvi- < θwi-. The proof is θwiyans:θwiyanstama, i.e. *dviyanstama asah as opposite to mountains and valleys where men and beasts live far apart, are the "most crowded, populated asah, towns," and the example Isfahān is right. At the time of the commentary, after Shāhpuhr II and not later than Xusrau I, Isfahān was the largest town of Iran.

*upaχruma: text paχruma, one syllable short, belongs to χruma in *Yt.*10,8 "earth, soil"; adj. χrumiya, there and in *Yt.* 13,38, "sandy, stony," see under 'Mithra.' upa.χruma "on the soil." The Pahl. translation, knt' rather than kvt', krt' m'n', is not clear, but the loc. upaχrumēšu nmānēšu seems to refer to garinām and ravānām, parallel to θwiyanstamēšu asahām.

Y.haft. 39,1: "We bring offerings for our souls and those of the pasukānām yoi nā jījīsanti," and 39,2: "for the souls of the datikānām aδyūnām." Whether jījīsanti belongs to √jī- "to live" as Pahl. and Skr.

transl. take it, or to the else unattested √gay-, ǰi- "to nourish, refresh," *Wb.*, it means "that are our sustenance," fitting "aδyu, useful." pasuka, though used here in a wider sense, means originally "sheep." Mutton was an important part of animal food. *Wb.* defines datika, deriv. of dant- "tooth," as "wildes, nicht domestiziertes Tier." The prayers offered to their souls and their "usefulness" restricts the meaning to "animals hunted for food"; *Gr.Bdh.* calls the hare "ratu, chief" of the datika. This cannot mean "carnivorous," but, as in Islam, the permission to eat may have been bound to the shape of the teeth. Often the "five kinds of pasuka and datika" or "gauš pančahyayå" are mentioned, to which prayers, zō*θ*ra and barsman are offered. This rules out all really wild animals of prey. Occasionally they are specified: upāpa, upasma, fraftrǰāt, ravasčarāt and čahrahak, living in water, on land, winged creatures, those living in (or by) ravah, and those following čahra. (4) and (5), in fact, specify (2), and the only thing common to them would be that it was permissible to eat them.

In *Yt.*8,48, a bad imitation of the poem discussed under 'Tištriya,' this pentad is inadequately added to "yim vispē patišmarantē—aδari zmē upari zmē, all that are under and above the earth." In fact, the pentad itself is a triad to which a pair has been subsequently added,[14] and the original triad is the one familiar to every language. *Gen.*1,8: "fish in the sea, birds under the sky, beasts on earth." Much deeper in Aristoteles, *de mundo* VI,401: *τῶν δὲ ζώιων τά τε ἄγρια καὶ ἥμερα τά τε ἐν ἀέρι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν ὕδατι βοσκόμενα γίνεταί τε καὶ ἀκμάζει καὶ φθείρεται τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ πειθόμενα θέσμους.*

ravas.čarāt and čahra.hak specify the upasma, beasts on the land. √hak- and √čar-, sequi and colere, signify certain modes of life, e.g. gari.šak, living on the mountains. The only old place where čahrahak appears is *Yt.*10,38, see under 'Mithra': "the cow, čahrahak, used to following the deep pastures, is forced to go the stony way of captivity." The word resembles Aristoteles' *βοσκόμενα*. It is no synonym of pasuka (*Wb.*). ravah is primarily "open prairie," then "liberty"; in Y.8,8 and 52,8 ravah huvā*θ*ra "with good breathing" is opposed to anzah

[14] That causes the contradictions in the interpretation of upasma < *upazma "*in* der Erde, *in* Erdlöchern befindlich," though they are gaul. But s.v. upāpa: "*auf* dem Lande." Similarly "upa.-āpam (relating to fog) *auf* dem Wasser," but "upāpa (animals and ApāmNapāt) "*im* Wasser befindlich."

dužāθra, "straits with bad breathing," hence ravasčarāt "roaming in the prairie."

Wild beasts of prey are mentioned in a song to Tištriya, *Yt.*8,36 (see under 'Tištriya'):

arunāča garišačo siždrāča ravasčarāto (with chiasm:)

"the aruna and siždra living in the mountains and prairies."

aruna appears only at two more places, (1) in *Y.*34,9 (see below) connected with the verb syazdat to which siždra belongs. Bartholomae translated "wildes Raubzeug" and "zurückweisen, repel"; Hertel, *Beitr.* 71 "feuerfarbige Schädlinge, aruna selbverständlich gleich Ved. aruṇá, √ar- 'feuerfarbig, rotbraun, goldgelb,' xrafstra von solcher Farbe, also Löwen oder Wölfe; für letztere spricht das Unbekanntsein des Löwen im Awesta . . . und dass der Wolf in *RV.*1,105,18 aruṇá heisst." The "being unknown" is no argument: lions existed until about 30 years ago in Khūzistān and southern Luristān; tigers are still found today in Māzandarān. But 'harfstra means "reptiles"—see below—and their color is the yellowish poisonous green. In *Y.*34,9 aruna designates this color or straightaway "poisonous."

(2) In *Yt.*14,23 Vrthragna appears "in shape of an aruna ram, mēšahya krpa arunahya," in 24 "in shape of a rəna he-goat, būzahya krpa rənahya." Unless one assumes apostrophe, usually not admitted, arunahya has one syllable too many; rəna(hya)is hapax. *Wb.* says: "rəna, 'wild (nicht domestiziert)' aus Ar. *'rana" and "cf. Ai. áraṇa 'nicht-heimisch.'" Consequently, without α priv., rana ought to be "heimisch, domesticated." Bailey, followed by Duchesne, proposed aruna to √ru- in ravas.čarāt, which is against their being garišak. In both cases the god appears not as a domesticated, but as a free animal; hence mēša is ovis tragelaphus, būza is ibex. The Pahl. transl. has "a.ramak, not (living) in herds," i.e. herds belonging to men, not "non-gregarious" in general. This perfectly fitting translation comes from a text which had M for VN, and a script of the Awramān type allows misreading of M as VN. Thus both aruna and rəna are doubtful, if not corrupt. I assume that both render the OIr. correspondent to OI. úraṇa "lamb, young ram," and the word from which MP. varrak, NP. barrah descend, and that Vrthragna appears as a one-year-old wild ram and ibex.

For siždra in *Yt.*8,36 and *Vid.*13,2, *Wb.* assumes "scheu, shy."[13] But *Yt.*8,36 speaks of wild beasts that are not "shy" and do not "shrink back," but defend themselves or attack. "Shy" is too weak an expression and it must be causative: they are not horrified, but cause horror. That is also the meaning of TPahl. syzdyn in the hymn on Mani's death, *Mir.Man.*III,18,19, which Henning translates by "gewaltig?". It must be "So that I may no more see the enemies' form and no more hear their 'horrifying' voice, včn syzdyyn," and in 42,19: syzdyn z'vr'n kv'n rzmyvzn, "the horrifying hosts, the pugnacious giants (deprive all creatures of light)."

In *Vid.*13,2, the porcupine, an especially "good" animal of the "holy" creation, natural enemy, hamēstar, of the χrafstra (clearly not of wolves or lions) is called siždra: spānam siždram . . . yam vahāparam. spā "dog" in mazdayasnian conception is the opposite of an invective, and siždra cannot imply a moral quality, but only the "horrifying" looks of the porcupine, cf. Germ. "hässlich" = ugly, from "hass" = hatred. In the list of dogs in *Vid.*5,29ff., the porcupine appears under the name sukurna; equally in *Vid.*13,16. In NP. this name is lost; the 24 graphic variants of NP. sugur in NP. dictionaries are all taken from Pahl. glossaries; but in Ormuṛī it survives, with rn > l, according to Grierson and Morgenstierne.

*Vid.*5,29, query: "If in a house in which many live one of them dies, how many are infected with contamination by the corpse?" Answer: "If the others are priests 1:11, if warriors 1:10, if peasants 1:9, if spā pasušharvo, sheep-dogs 1:8, if spā višharvo, house-dogs 1:7, if spā vahunazgo, hunting dogs 1:6, spā taruno, greyhound (? else lacking, and indigenous in Iran) 1:5, sukurno, porcupine 1:4, jažuš, hedgehog 1:3, awizuš, according to Duchesne 'barker' 1:2, vizuš 'barking away' 1:1." Query: "But how, if it be a fox, rupiš?" and (in Bartholomae's translation:) "auf wieviel von den Geschöpfen des Heiligen Geistes erstreckt der Fuchs seinen Einfluss direkt, auf wieviele indirekt etc.?" to which AhuraMazdāh replies "like a shrivelled frog, dead for more than a year."

With this awful chapter a fine song to the dog contrasts in *Vid.*13,44, the contents of which are: "One may compare the dog to the priest,

[13] Cf. the remarks on the verb siždya-, syazda- below.

the warrior, the peasant, the slave-vēsa, the thief, the disu (? who is active at night), the slave-girl, ǰahīkā (of course not 'whore') and the child." With each one he shares three features: with vēsa and ǰahīkā, to be χvandrakara, asnērēša and zarmyafsman. hvandrakara, syn. of draχta.hunara is "having learned a craft," see under 'Architecture.' zarmyafsman, "bound to the house," to Ved. harmyá "house," see zarmyangura below. asnērēša means certainly *not* "aus der Nähe verwundend wie der Knecht und die Hure." āsna[18] would be "innate"; for -rēša some Mss. have -rēsa; only *āsna.vēsa, NP. χānazād, "born in the house" gives a satisfying sense.

The classification of the animals is not a scientific one. I once asked a shaikh of the Shammar, why they allowed the tent to be full of greyhounds, though they regarded a dog as impure, and he answered: "Why, a slūqī is a cat!"

The fox, classified as dog, is called in *Vid*.5,33 "rupi tiždāta, with sharp teeth," in 13,16 "rōpi ,yaonō.χvatō." Previously I had surmised this epithet to express the idea of the Arab. name of the fox, "abū l-ḫuṣain, owner of the little fortress." That was right: one must read yōna.hūt, type "root-nouns with -t-enlargement," Duchesne §107, which are commonly formed from u-roots and always thematically inflected, cf. *ratu.gūt, χšnūt etc. In *Vid*.5,5 and 6,5 a "spā rōžo" is enumerated between dog and wolf; the Pahl. transl. "rōpās, fox" is probably right, since p and ž can be easily taken for each other, and at any rate "Schakal" (*Wb*.) is not right. Otter and beaver are considered as dogs, but not jackal and wolf.

The jackal appears in *Vid*.13,8 in a passage, Bartholomae failed to recognize: "Who kills a dog, goes to hell with howling

yaθa vrko vayoi tūtē dramnē barzištē razurē

vayoi = vāi, woe! describes the howling of the jackal, like Arab. ibn āwāy, wāwī. Thus yaθa vrko vayoi means "like a jackal." All the rest are locative determinations.

Bartholomae: "[Wer einen Schäfer-, Haus- oder dressierten(!) Hund tötet, dessen Seele geht unter grösserem] wehgeheul zum Jenseit, als

[18] āsna, in *Wb*. divided in two words, is only one, *ā + zna, used beside frazanti and manah just as āzāta (adgnatus, ā-znā) "noble." Aw. asnē, asnāt and OP. aθnē (*Wb*.264) do not belong to it, but are "near," Meillet: < *ṇzd.na, compar. nazdyah, sup. nazdišta. Cf. Bailey BSOS VI,594 and *Alp.Inschr*. s.v. alnai.

ein Wolf ausstösst, (der) in einer sehr tiefen Fallgrube gefangen (ist)." He emended ᵓdramno (690) as part.pres. of dar- "who is caught," took tūte as 3.sg.pres.med. of an unknown √tū-, "(Geheul) ausstossen"; barzišta, only here, as "sehr tief," whereas it is only known as "very high," in *Vid.*2,28 precisely applied to trees, čigōn sarw u činār, like cypresses and planes; finally, razura—always "forest"—here and likewise in *Yt.*5,30 (races of Husravah) as "pitfall, Fallgrube": "Wald, von den herumgesteckten Baumzweigen, die die Grube verdecken sollen; aus der Jägersprache." A wolf would have avoided this pitfall.

Aw. dramna is the word the MP. form of which, dramnag, Bailey discovered in the Sām-legend, BSOS VII,764ff., "wormwood, Artemisia absinthium," loaned in Syriac as dramnag, NP. Arab. diramna,[17] described as thorny shrub with yellow flowers, zargōnī, e.g. Muqaddasī 443. The country Pishin is full of it, where "Sām lies inmidst the dramnag and over him snow has fallen," *Gr.Bdh.*198. *Gr.Bdh.*121 opposes dram(n)ak ē daštīk "prairie absinth" to hōma. Dictionaries explain it: nām i giyāhīᵓst talχ-bōy i dar χurāsān aspān χurand, name of a bitter herb which in Khurasān the horses eat, Arab. šīḥ." Šīḥ is Artemisia herba alba or absinthium, also translated by "wormwood." dramnak ē kōfīk, "mountain absinth" is explained by āfīlūn, probably ᵓāqīlūn, cf. Gr. ἄκυλος=ilex, in Arab. likewise šīḥ, and Arab. ᵓāqūl, Alhagi maurorum. Yāqūt III,346: "šīḥ, fragrant plant, called vaχšizak by druggists." The Pers. dictionaries write faultily vaχširaq, but comment rightly "mugwort (Artemisia), wormwood," or again "diramna, absinthium chorasanense or turcicum." Thus vaχšizak seems to be "oxianense," cf. χolozmik "stone of Xvārizm."

The typical thorn bush of the Mesopotamian steppes is šauk or ᵓāqūl, and qaiṣūm (also in Egypt), the medicinal Achillea santolina. al-Asmaᵓī, the famous naturalist, characterizes in his description of Ruṣāfa, in Yāqūt and Bakrī (442), the poor steppe round Ruṣāfa by "only šīḥ and qaiṣūm." The thornbush typical for east Iran is a thistle called šuturχār, camel-thorn. There was neither a scientific botany nor zoology, nothing of the spirit of Theophrast. The names change and designate different plants, but all are thorn bushes. That is the meaning

[17] Syr. darmanā < Ir. darman is "pharmacum." Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* 61; Arm. darman "provisions, victuals, fodder," originally "sustenance." See my Herbarium, in *Arch.Reise* V, for šīḥ and qaiṣūm.

of šiḫ u qaiṣūm and in *Vid.*13,8, too, one must expect two such plants.

The second, tūtē, nom. tūta, is NP. tūδ, in *Shāh.* 1644,147 and in al-Muwaffaq, but Arab. tūth < Syr. tvt', cf. Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen* 395; name for raspberry, bramble and similar fruitbearing bushes, but also for the mulberry tree, Ass. musukanu > Gr. sykáminos.[18] Perhaps one may also compare Akk. and Syr. šūš, Arab. sūs "liquoritium" which covers hundreds of square miles along the Euphrates and Tigris. Dramna, at any rate, in *Vid.*14,8 means the most common thorny plant of the steppes.

The "dog porcupine," vahāpara, hystrix, is an animal holy to Spantamanyuš, *Vid.*13,1: "vispam pati ušāham ā 'huno vaχšāt, from every dawn to sunrise it goes out, killing a thousand creatures of Ahriman."[19] *Vid.*13,2 comments: spānam siždram ruvisaram ⟨yam⟩ vahāparam yam martiyākā ⟨avi⟩ dužvačāho dūžakam nāma ōjatē, Bartholomae: "den scheuen, spitzschnauzigen Hund, den die übel-redenden Leute dužaka, Igel nennen." From his misunderstanding of dužvačāho as "maligning talk" instead of "bad Awestic, i.e. Middle Persian speaking" resulted duž- in dūžaka as "schlimm." The name is no compound with duš-. dūžaka > MP. žūzak > NP. žūžah. Initial ž in MP. can replace z; the second ž in NP. can be assimilated to the first; in MP. ž and z may have suffered metathesis. Thus OP. dūžaka stands against the Median line: *zūžaka > žūzak > žūžah.[20] In *Vid.*18,15, the expression dužvača is applied to the designation of the cock by either parodrs or krkatās, in *Vid.*18,15 to zarmyangura and zarmyaka.

vahāpara = dūžaka is not a zoologically accurate equation. An animal of the genus canis, characterized by a pointed muzzle would be a greyhound, not a hedgehog which is especially easy to describe. "Pointed" for ruvi in ruvisara is merely inferred from the Pahl. comment "ku.š sar pōzak bārīk, NP. ya'nī bārīk sar, whose muzzle is thin, i.e. with

[18] According to Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*[8] 392, it grows wild in Transoxiana; Löw, *Aram.Pflanzennamen* 395, assumes its original habitat on the Euphrates. Cf. Ovid, *Metam.*4,55ss, Pyramus and Thisbe under a mulberry tree. B. Meissner, MVAG, 18,2, 1913, 63 on musukanu.

[19] Qazwīnī, 'adjā'ib, cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.z.Gesch.d. Naturwissenschaft* Sb.phys.-med. Societät Erlangen, vol.48, 1916, 266, reckons all mice, for their noxiousness, among "vermin," but the hedgehog, qunfudh, and the porcupine, duldul (vulg. da'ladj) among the natural enemies of vermin.

[20] Benveniste, in *Stud.Ind.Ir. Geiger* 219ss, posits Ir. jūjaka. However cf. NP. jūja, čūja, jūza, čūza "chicken," Arab. djūdjaq beside didjādj.

pointed head." The translation itself is d'lmk slk. Where ruvi else appears, in ruvi.χōδa and ruvi.vrθra—cf. ayo.χōδa, zaranya.vrθman, zari.vari—it can only mean "d'airain, of copper" as Darmesteter translated in *Ét.Ir.*II,180.[21] d'lmk in d'lmk slk corresponds to NP. χār, MP. dlmnk "thorn," Gr. ákanthos, and slk, sarak (which gave rise to sar pōzak) corresponds to pušt in the NP. name of the porcupine, (Gr. *ἀκανθίων*) χār.pušt, quill-back. Hence sarak seems to be the Aw. dual "sarī, two hides," i.e. skin and bones or "Haut und Haar."[22] ruvi.sara would be "needle-hair or -skin."

The porcupine has the obligatory epithet tīr-andāz "arrow-shooting," according to the belief, common to Persians and Arabs. It is Gr. oxybelés, e.g. Empedocles: *αὖταρ ἐχίνοις ὀξυβελεῖς χαίται νώτοις ἐπιπεφρίκασιν.*

However obscure be the etymology of vahāpara, it is certainly the porcupine, frequent in Persia and Mesopotamia. I had a tame porcupine, called Ramazan, because it was born in that month. We found it, a few days old and only 5 inches long, looking like a young chicken. It took to milk and soon became entirely domesticated and big. It was a great collector and used to pass the day with its collections under a couch. It was not only clean of habits, but used a certain place. After midnight it went out and came back at sunrise, as the *Vidēvdād* says. It collected crayfishes, "Krebse, 'harfstra" without eating them. It carried a little bell round its neck, lost it, found it, and added it to its collections. When a playful Airedale terrier attacked it, the dog looked afterwards like Saint Sebastian with ten arrows in him. Two little Sealyhams and a big shepherd dog, spinjaruškā, kept at a safe distance. Ramazan stayed over a year. One night it did not come back, and we believed it killed. After a full year it made a one-day's visit, then left for good.

A hedgehog, erinaceus, at Persepolis, bigger than the European one

[21] Evidently a short-form in -i of metals, cf. Meillet, *Introd.*[8] 249. In Iranian there are: (1) gold, zaranya:zari, OP. θaranya:θari in *dārīka, Gr. dārikós, goldpiece; (2) silver, Aw. rzata, OP. rāta:*rzi in *ārzika, Yazd. āli, (silver)money; (3) lead, Aw. srva, OP. asā sārvanrvi in srvi.stāy, lead-loaded, see under 'Industries' and *Alip.Inschr.* 99. But, the short form of IE. *raudha [in Iran. weakly represented by Aw. rōδita, name of a mountain, MP.NP. rōd, rōy] would be *rudi, not ruvi. Tedesco considered an early Sasanian inverse spelling ʌvr for ʌov. On the other hand, IE. *raudha is related to Sum. urudu, to which corresponds Akk. erū; therefore, a variant without dental in Iranian is possible, perhaps attested by Aw. runya (*Wb.* 1532), a vessel, which—like OP. kāsaka > NP. kāsah, or Gr. alábastron, or "glass"—may be a term of material, "copper (vessel)" assimilated to zaranya.

[22] Cf. *Frhg.Ée.* 3b surī, NP. transl. pōst i mardum ēīvandak.

and with quills striped gray and white, could not be tamed though it loved milk. At Samarra, I had one living in the sardāb, basement, which occasionally came up the stairs and allowed itself to be photographed. The *Gr.Bdh.* describes the hedgehog, žūzak, as just as holy as the porcupine, and as natural enemy, hamēstar, of the "mōri dānakrš, MP. mōr ē dānakaš, grain-dragging ant," as if it were an ant-eater, orycteropus.[28] The Arabs believe that it eats snakes, 'harfstra, like an ichneumon, at any rate it eats vermin.

Y.34,9: ēbyo maš rtā syazdat yāvat ahmāt arunā χrafstrā
Pahl.transl.: ač avēšān vas ahrākīh sizd.

"against those is a feeling of loathing with Rtam, as much as (it is) from us towards (=between us and) the χrafstra."

Bartholomae: "Vor denen weicht Aša gar sehr zurück, soweit als vor uns das wilde Raubzeug," a translation containing three offenses: the instr. rtā as grammatical subject; the holy rtam compared to the most unholy χrafstra; and the χrafstra, whether "wildes Raubzeug" or "poisonous vermin," do not shrink back. Hertel, *Siegesf.* 71, avoids strainedly the instr.-subject, but gives no better sense: "Vor denen weiche der Sterbliche (maš < mrt.s?) infolge des Rtam soweit wie vor uns die feuerfarbigen Schädlinge," explained by "wolves." Instead of "zurückweichen, shrink back from" a stronger word like "abhor, loathe" is needed, cf. the remark on siždra, above. In Y. 32,4 (words left without comment under 'Yama χšēta'): "vahoš sizdyamnā manaho," followed by χratoš nasyanto, the "abhorring" subject ought to be Vahumano, as in the protasis of Y. 34,5 Rtam; hence: "being repugnant, loathsome to Vahumano, because they are sinning against AhuraMazdāh's χratuš." Logic demands for 34,5 a parallelism: "against them loathing is felt by Rtam, as much as by us against the χrafstra," which should become visible by conform cases of "rtam" and "we," and of "they" and "χrafstra." Since the cases do not conform, the apodosis is not governed by the verb "syazdat" of the protasis. But it has no verb, and only a copula can be supplied. This

[28] There are old Sumerian figurines of an animal which may be orycteropus or erinaceus.

would be easier if syazdat were an impersonale, like Germ. "mir graut's vor dir!"

The etymology of χrafstra—three times in the gathas—has not been found. Bartholomae, *Wb.*, calls "Zerlegung in χrap + *stra wenigstens denkbar" and quotes M. Haug in *Grdr.* §§40, 177 and 204: "< *krap-θra, Fleischesser." Meillet, *Introduction,* does not mention it. Benveniste, in *Stud.Ind.-Iran. Geiger,* 1931, 219ff.: "il n'est guère possible d'inscrire sûrement au compte de χrafstra la moindre forme moderne: Pahl. χrafstr est un emprunt ou une transcription, munj. škrāflá 'scorpion,' que M. Morgenstierne en a rapproché, diverge pour le sens." The last words actually anticipate a definition, at any rate excluding "meat-eater" and "wolves," but not yet given.

The *Gr.Bdh.* enumerates as χrafstr: aži, mār, gazdum, klbvn (must be klbvk), vazak, i.e. dragon, snake, scorpion, lizard, frog. In a passage isolated by gaps, the inscr. *NiR.*64=*SMaš̌h.*40 has: "v m'r [------v] klbvky v 'ḤRN χlpstry M'LH YKVYMVN.t" and "'LH.šn 'MT ZK (41) dvšχvy dysy v.M'L[H-----] ḤZYTVN.t 'pyr syzdy YḤVVN ḤVH.nd, ... was full of snakes, ----, lizards, and other χrafstr (vermin); --- when they saw this hellish sight they were very horrified at it." Remark the use of sizd, as in *Y.*34,9 and 32,4. H. Junker, ZII,II, 1923, 243, quotes: "purr gaz u u karwūγ u pasdūγ u vazaγ, full of scorpions and ... and lizards and mites and frogs," from the picture of the Iranian "Lady World" which passed over into the western Middle Ages along with Beelzebub, i.e. bēl dabābi, "diabolos," understood as "lord of flies": "Herr der Ratten und der Mäuse, der Fliegen, Frösche, Wanzen, Läuse" (Faust).[24]

aži: today the "waran, crocodilus chersaeus," rare in Iran, common in Mesopotamia, are called aždahā, Arab. aghwal, plur. of ghul.[25] mār: all worms, even earth-worms, lumbricus terrestris, are regarded as snakes in the Near East. karbūk translates Aw. karpuna in *Vid.*14,5, explained "mār ē b'n/vk (?)"; Horn, *Grdr.*1,2 §185: "lizard, snake with feet"; but Kirm.Kurd. kirpu, Turk. kirpi is "hedgehog."

The feature, all these animals subsumed under χrafstr have in common, is their way of motion, the creeping which all humanity abhors,

[24] Cf. above, note to "porcupine," Arabs classing mice among "vermin."

[25] They were very common around Assur; I had one in my camp at Balkuwārā, Samarra; in Persia I found only one sitting in front of the Achaemenian tombs of Ākhur i Rustam, *Arch. Hist.Ir.* pl.v.

sizd. *Gen.*3,14: 'al-g"hōn"kā tēlēk, "upon thy belly shalt thou go," and 15: "I will put enmity between thee and the woman." The name Leviathan, in the original myth a seven-headed snake, later interpreted as crocodile, comes from lāwāh "to wriggle,"[28] AS. creopadh and snicadh, the movement of a snake = Germ. Schlange, and a slug = Germ. Schnecke; on the other hand, the sidling walk of a crab or crayfish. Herodotus 1,140: "The magi kill ants and snakes and other *ἑρπετὰ καὶ πετεινά*," "was da kreucht und fleucht."

That is the meaning of XRFSTR, which therefore belongs to IE. *serp-, OI. sárpati "he creeps," sarpá "serpent," Gr. *ἕρπειν*, Lat. serpere, serpentes. Since *hrap- would become *rap- in Iranian (*Grdr.* §87), I read, following Tedesco's suggestion, *harfstra. These are Herodotus' herpetá, reptiles.

Their epithet aruna, in *Y.*34,9, a color, corresponds to the more frequent zarita, poisonous yellow, cf. *Y.*9,11:

yam višāvantam zaritam yam upari *višam rōδat
ārštiya.brzāt zaritam

"the poisonous, yellow one, over whom the yellow poison rose high as the length of a lance" (cf. Bailey, BSOS VII, 1935, 83). For Aw. zarigōna, "yellow, golden" the Pahl.transl. gives zart, zartgōn, expl. by tarr, sabzrang, i.e. the light yellowish green, as in aruna harfstra, the color of poison.

A harfstra is the zarmyangura, which *Vid.*13,6 describes as the opposite to vahāpara:

"‚daēum' yam zarmyanguram nāma yam martiyākā avi dužvačāho zarmyākam nāma ōjatē, the dēva zarmyangura which badly Awestic speaking people call zarmyāka."

Like the vahāpara it goes out at the early dawn, but kills "a thousand creatures of Spantamanyuš," a notion including plants and grains. Pahl. transl. transcribes zarmiangur, NP. transl. is "lākpušt, tortoise." Whether this animal is really meant is not certain. Spiegel and Geiger thought of the mole, talpa. Bartholomae believed it confirmed by the etymology: zarmya, OI. harmyá "solid house, case"; angura, OI. aṅguli "joint, finger, toe"; and as a whole OI. harmuṭa = tortoise. He took, as

[28] Arab. lawī, to serpentine, cf. al-malwiyya, "the spiral," name of the great minaret of Samarra; and 'aqabat al-malwiyya, *Yāq.* III,638, name of one of the great Alwand passes, "the serpentine."

does Benveniste, zarmyāka as familiar abbreviation. But the normal word would be Aw. kasyapa, MP. kašapak, kašavak, NP. kašaf or kašau. The Europ. languages have another word: Gr. χέλυς, χελώνη, Old Lat. golaia,[27] Slav. žely. With the Greeks the animal had a chthonic connotation, as shown by the etymology of "tortoise," found by H. Grégoire: tartaruga < *ταρταροῦχος, "denizen of the Tartarus."[28] Hertel denied "zarmiya, ein festes Haus habend" in zarmiyāvant as epithet of the moon, and it is doubtful, since the only explanation, allusion to the "moon-stations," is too young a notion in view of the antiquity of that word. The Pahl.transl. is sabzāwmand, NP. sabzrang, "green," comm. "makes the world—sar?—green," seemingly identifying zarmiya with zari, combined with zarmaya "spring," though the moon does not influence the seasons. The Pahl. transl. renders Aw. garman "throat" by MP. galūk, (NP. gulū) as if assuming a change rm > l. zarmyāka may be an artificial word, with inverse rm < l, for a spoken *zalyāk?.

The animal is called ‚daēum', i.e. normally "dēvam, god, dēv," here rather MP. dyvg, "caterpillar, worm."[29] A worm with a house evokes the idea of a snail, NP. χāna-bar-duš, "house-on-the-back." OIr. name unknown. On the other hand, a name composed with "claw" evokes the idea of crustaceans, of which Homer, *Batrach.*294, gives an unequalled description. In the East, the crab, κάρκινος, is the best known species; always so in the zodiacal sign of Cancer, MP. karčang, NP. χarčang, with popular assimilation to "čang, claw, shears."

Crustacea is the meaning of the Germanic name of the lobster, ONord. humarr, Germ. hummer, Gr. κάμμαρος, etymologically related to OI. *kamartha (cf. OI. [Gramm.] "kmárati, to be curved," Boisacq, 402) which belongs to Ir. kamarδa, kamara, but means "tortoise" as animal covered with a "test," cf. Lat. testudo, from "testa, test, shard," Aw. tašta > NP. Arab. tašt. For the archeological side of these words see under 'Architecture.'

The Greeks knew the four great zoological species, (1) καρκίνοι, cancri, crabs; Ind. karkaṭaḥ < *karkrtaḥ; (2) καράβοι, locustae, spiny

[27] O. Schrader, *Sprachvergl. u. Urgesch.* II.ii,149.

[28] Tortue-Tartare, in Rev. de l'Univ. de Bruxelles, 35, 1929/30, 305f.

[29] Henning, BSOS IX,82: dyvg in *Gr.Bdh.* against šyo' in *Ind.Bdh.* as word for χrafstar; NP. dēvah "silkworm," dēvak, dēvča "white ant, termes," and "leech." The last one is otherwise called zālū, zalōg, whether χθων?

lobsters, palinūrus; (3) the true crayfishes, Germ. Krebs, and (4) the lobsters, homarus. Among the Homeric epithets are ὀστρακόδερμος "crust-skinned," i.e. crustaceous, and ἀγκυλοχήλης "with curved claw." The striking similarity between these epithets and zarmiyangura, in character and form, seems to me a better starting point for an etymology than the attempts made so far.

The objection against Morgenstierne's connection of škrāflá, scorpion with harfstra, "diverge pour le sens," is not valid; the generic name is applied to a species. And it looks as if more words were originally related, to be subsumed under *serp-, *skerp- or *kerp-.

XXXI. HŌMA INVICTUS

"Quo me Bacche rapis tui plenum?"

In 1931, the second year of the excavations of Persepolis, I received a letter from a gentleman in New York. His hobby was botany, and he said that he had reasons to believe a plant growing only in Persepolis, Salvia Persepolitana, was the Hōma. It was a little late in the season, but from the beautiful picture of it I found just one small shrub with one flower left, and sent it. It was the right one, and afterwards I sent seed of this plant.

In the autumn a letter came, asking me to send some living plants by airmail, for which I would receive in time packing materials, sea-weed and water-tight envelopes with yellow quarantine labels for the Botanical Garden, but warning me not to miss the flowering-season and to consider that the writer was an old man.

The mail went by Bushir on the Gulf. A letter from Persepolis to Teheran with answer took always just a month. The sea-weed arrived in Bushir in December. The Persian import law did not contain a paragraph on sea-weed, and—minima curat praetor—the package went to the Direction Générale des Douanes in Teheran. In the beginning of February I was advised to give power of attorney to somebody to receive a parcel that had reached Teheran. I wrote to the legation to which I was attached, asking them to take charge of it. Early in March the answer came, they had tried in vain, I was to write directly to the Director General of Customs. I did so and got the answer, early in April: the parcel seemed to contain dried plants and was free of duty. The salvia was in full bloom everywhere at Persepolis.

I wrote to the Minister of Finance, asking whether he could have the parcel sent to me. In the beginning of May the Minister wrote back, he would do his best. At the end of May, an under-secretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction visited us, and was kind enough to take with him the whole pile of documents, promising to settle the matter. At the end of June he informed me that the Director General was ready to deliver the package to the Imperial Bank of Persia. I wrote to the bank. The salvia had long ceased blossoming. While I was waiting for an answer, in July 1932, in New York, my unknown friend died.

The sea-weed stayed in the Direction Générale des Douanes, a small box with seed of Salvia Persepolitana, perhaps the hōma, stayed with me, together with a withered fig-leaf from Ardashīr's "castle of the Graal" and a dry rose from Ālamut, the castle of Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāḥ, the Assassin, and with some ephedra from Aurel Stein who regarded it as the true hōma. Once I had brewed a tisane of salvia, and once the seeds were sown, the plants started growing, and—if a cloud-burst had not swept everything away, I would press hōma today.

Hōma is the plant, the drink, and the god, Ved. Soma. The name of the Sakā Hōmavrgā contains the word, and the name of the mythical hero Hōšyanha, of Scythian origin. Hōma is derived from √hū-, "to press (wine)." Not a few songs to hōma are preserved having found a shelter mainly in *Yasna* 9-11, the so-called 'Hōm yasht,' and in *Vid.* 18-19. The great yashts mention Hōma only occasionally,[1] the gathas never.

Though, in their present state, the language of these songs is deficient, their general character is archaic and much may be pre-Zoroastrian, but nothing pre-Iranian. The cultivation of the plant, the making of the drink, and the cult of the god are at least as old as the Aryan period, middle of the second millennium, but the songs were made and sung in Iran. The Hōm yasht, 9,4, calls Vivahvant, father of the first man Yama (see under 'Yama χšēta'), the first hōma presser, Āθwiya, father of Θrētōna, the second, and Θrita, the Sāma, father of Krsāspa, the third. All the great heroes of the pre-Iranian golden age drank hōma. But what hōma was has never been defined.

It was grown on hills, in vineyards, like vine.

Y.10,3:

stōmi garayo brzanto	I praise the high hills
yaθra hōma rūruδiša	where hōma is grown,
stōmi zām prθwīm paθanām	I praise the earth, the wide and broad,
barθrīm tē hōma rtāvam	that bears thee, Hōma, the just.
stōmi zmo yaθa rōδahē	I praise the earth's gardens
hubōδiš arvo čarānam	where thou growest full of perfume . . .

[1] In Yt.8,33; 9.17; 10,88; 14,57; 17,5.37; and 20,3.

That the plant did not grow wild, but was cultivated, follows from the term čarānam, to √kar-, karš-, NP. kištan "to plough," cf. yava.-čarānya and NP. zār, flowerbed in a garden. The same is expressed by the perf.med. rūruδiša, cf. zām rōδyām karšyām. Such plantations are no open fields, but had the characteristic of a "garden, paridēza," the diδā, wall of adobe or a hedge around them. Already the Ritti-Marduk kudurru of Nebuchadnezzar I, dealing with the Luristan region where later the famous Māsabadhī wine (bīt Kubatti of old) grew, says: "the (m)akkalti kīrē[pl] (cf. Arab. 'aqala) hedges of the gardens (vineyards) and the date-palm groves no man is to cut down."

Y.10,5:

vispē hōmā upastōmi	I praise all the hōma
yatčit baršnušva garīnām	whether on the heights of the hills
yatčit janfnušva ravānām	or in the valleys of the rivers,
yatčit anzāhu drtåho	or kept in the narrow
ʼjarīnām upa drzāhu	prisons of the wine-jars.

Though thousands of years and miles separate them, one cannot fail to see the similarity with German wine-songs: "Nur am Rhein . . . wo die Berge tragen Reben, und die Reben goldnen Wein!"

The text of 5e has "janīnām," and Bartholomae translated "ob sie in Gefangenschaft gehalten sich in den Fesseln der Weiber befinden (was ist damit gemeint?)." Lommel: "die in der Enge gehalten sind in den Bündeln der Frauen."

What is meant becomes clear by comparing the humorous verses Y.11,3, where Hōma curses

yo mām	you who
awišhūtam dārayahi	store me when pressed
yaθa tāyum prta.sāram	like a criminal who forfeited his head,
nava ahmi prta.sāro	I am not one who forfeited his head!

After being pressed, hōma wants to be drunk, he feels himself imprisoned in his barrel like a djinn in the bottle. The barrel was a cylindrical storage vessel of pottery, without spout or handle,[3] called djarrah,

[3] Also called "dinn," cf. *Ausgr. v.Samarra*, vol. III *Wandmalereien*, p.85, pl.40ff.; vol.V *Keramik* p.11.

djaraq in Arabic, a loanword from Iranian which passed over into European languages as It. giarra, Fr. jarre, Engl. jar. OP. *gāraka, cf. NP. piyālah, paiyālah < patyālak < *pati.gāra, and OP. bātu.gara, comp. with *bāta > bāδ, fresh wine. Hence, ǰanīnām is one of the cases of wrong n for r, read *ǰarīnām. And the verses 5,d-2 say: Hōma is jugged in the jug, the jar.[8]

*Y.*10,2 describes the making of hōma. It is made like wine, by "pressing, √hū-," in a havanam, press. This consists of a frataram, principal, and an uparam, upper, havanam. Bartholomae compared upara with Gr. hýperos, pestle of a mortar, and translated "yahmi niynē narš ōjaha, womit ich hineinstampfe mit Manneskraft," wherewith I bray, crush. It is not really a mortar with a pestle, but a press with a press-stone, and Lommel objected: "der obere Teil ist kein Stössel oder aufgehobener und auf die Pressmasse niederfallender Stein, sondern er ruht auf derselben, und es wird durch Schläge auf den Oberteil der Druck auf die Pressmasse ausgeübt." That is impossible. The material was stone, the form like a hand-mill but of considerable size. ni + gan- is a motion vertically down. One cannot beat stones without breaking the instruments and finally the stone; the stone operates by its weight to which one adds by standing on it and stamping with the feet, √hū-. In the description of brick-making, *Vid.*2,31 says: "stamp the clay with the heels, knead it with the hands, as still today men višāvayanti (√hū-) stamp sundried bricks." This is at the same time the most primitive way of making wine, stamping the "Pressmasse" with the feet directly.

The "pulp" which the frataram havanam "contains," hangrvayati, is called "ansu, OI. aṃśu," a term occurring in Iranian only here and in *Nir.*108: "how large shall be the ansavo?" *Wb.* translates "Schoss (shoot), Zweig (twig)." The liquid is produced by simple pressing and develops alcohol by itself, when fermenting. Not even the most tender sprigs of any plant would contain more sap, liquid, than wood pulp. The material can only be a fruit, a berry, with much juice—sweet juice as the epithet "gōma" expresses—and little fleshy, not wooden

[8] bātu.gara: the -u in the joint may correspond to Aw. spelling -ō. Cf. *Yt.*5,122 bāta yaθa.mąm = *bātiyaka, unter 'Ardvī.' abigara abigarta in *Visp.* 22,1, Pahl.transl. apar rasīnīh, also used for abiǰarta(r) in *Visp.*5,1, and apām vahvīnām fra.itim pati.itim abi.ǰartim in *Y.*62,11, repeated in *Y.*70,6 and 71,6, may also belong to √gar-, gālaya, Skr. gālati "to flow, drip," instead of √gar- "to praise." hātugara is the word that appeared to H. H. Schaeder so false that he "branded" the beautiful silver phiale of Artaxerxes I, *Altp.Inschr.* n° 23 as "a modern fake." Against my indication in *Altp.Inschr.*, only one of the four dishes has the inscription.

pulp, part of which dissolves itself. Therefore, "ansu" can only be "shoot" in the sense of "vitis, Germ. Rebe," with the same shifting of meaning from "tendril," vine, to "bunch of grapes." The product, hōma, has the standing descriptive epithets "zāri, zarigōna, zaridoiθra, golden, yellow, gold-eyed," like the "golden wine" in German poetry and the "yellow qahwa" of the early Arab poets.

Y.10,14 describes the effect of the alcoholic drink:

mā mē yaθa gāuš drafšo	We do not want to reel insensibly
āsito vārama čarē	like the steer drunk from branding,
fraša frayantu tē maδo	straight shall walk those drunk with thee,
vrziyahvāho ǰasantu	in full possession of their senses they shall stride!

Just as the German song: "Trinket ihr, seid ihr betrunken, trinken wir, sind wir begeistert!"

> Wolff-Bartholomae translated: "Nicht sollen sie mir beliebig wie das Stierbanner (das Reichsbanner aus Stierfell oder mit einem Stierbild, das im Winde schwankt) sich einher bewegen, (wenn) sie (dich) geniessen; stracks vorwärts sollen die gehen (die) sich an dir begeistern; mit energischem Schaffensdrang sollen sie sich einstellen!"
>
> Similarly Lommel: "Nicht soll mir wer davon getrunken hat, wie das Stierbanner (Anspielung auf das iran. Reichsbanner, das der Schmied Kāvā aus einem Lederschurz hergestellt hatte) nach Belieben (? schwankend) sich einherbewegen. Wunderbar mögen herbeikommen deine Räusche, wirksam mögen sie kommen!"
>
> Skr. translation (in Unvala's Engl. translation): "Mayst thou not go away quickly out of battle like the bull-banner."

Bartholomae and Lommel, both attributing to the Awesta a higher antiquity than the Achaemenian and Median empires, yet take no offense at the "Iranian imperial banner" which implies the existence of that empire. Fortunately, drafša, here, is not the Iranian banner, behaving like a drunkard and deserting the battle, but the "signum, NP.

dirafš, dirōš, punch and branding-iron," cf. *Altp.Inschr.* 348s. Recently (JRAS 1942), Henning found MP. drafša(g), misspelled grafša, in the name of the 19th moon-station, equal to Gr. kéntron, sting of the scorpius, NP. nīš i gazdum, Arab. shaula. "Receiving" the daχšta, impress of the branding-iron, is called "āsito, having drunk," like NP. "χurda, having eaten, suffered." It has been said: "The Persians are omnivorous, they eat—mīχurand—everything," cf. Amer. to swallow. After the branding the cattle raise themselves stunned and staggering to their feet like a drunkard.

Zoroaster does not allow the word hōma to pass his lips, only two of his sayings allude to it. In Y.32,14—see under 'Welcome'—he declaims against words which he attributes to sacrificial priests, and which must be a quotation, adapted to his meter, from a pre-Zoroastrian hymn to Hōma:

gāuš ǰadyāi yo durōšam sōčayat avo!

"the steer must be slaughtered, that it may inflame to help him-before-whom-death-flees!"

gāuš ǰadyāi is the opposite to gāuš azī agnyā in *Y.haft.* 38,5: "the cow must not be slaughtered," and both sayings embody ideas of high antiquity, with Vedic connections. The same is valid for durōša, Ved. durósa, an Aryan epithet of Hōma,[4] the meaning of which resembles Sum. GEŠTIN, "tree of Life." Bartholomae annotates that Hōma gets part of the sacrifice as inducement; according to Y.11,4 it was the hahvarna, jaw-bone.

The second place is Y.48,10:

kadā mazdā ‚manroiš' naro visantē
kadā aǰan mūθram ahya madahya
yā ahrayā karpāno ˚rōpayantē
yāča χratū dušχšaθra dahyūnām

"When, o Mazdāh, will the warriors, from their intoxication, recover their senses, when (at last) wilt Thou slay that urine of a wine, after which, in their evil will, the sacrificers and the evil satraps belch?"

In contrast to huχšaθra in st.5, the satraps are here called dušχšaθra because they get drunk, together with the naro, the noble χšaθriya,

[4] Cf. Bailey, Transact. Phil.-Soc. 1936, 85s; and Duchesne, *Comp.av.* p.272.

and the karpāno of Hōma who abet them; therefore their χratu, will and knowledge, is called ahra, from ahra manyu.[6]

RV.1,80 says "made" for "soma," and likewise Zoroaster uses "mada, mead, new wine, Germ. Most" in order to avoid the hated word hōma. Aw. mad- is "to get drunk," masta "drunk" and "ruttish"; the highest degree is aγryamaδimastama. In the first line, where the Mss. offer mąnarōiš, mąn.narōiš, the redactor seems to have transformed the bisyllabic instr.-abl.pl. of a genuine *madra, *mandra, which offended him in the holy gatha.

*rōpayantē (Mss. -ti) is spelled with p in all Mss. *Wb.*: denom.pres. of *rūpa "Scheinbild," hence "betrügen." B. Geiger and Lommel see in it a word for "causing stomach-ache." It seems to me to be the same word Homer uses of the drunk Polypheme: ὁ δ' ἐρεύγετο οἰνοβαρείων, whether the p be right or to be replaced by g: √rup-, Lat. ructare, Germ. rülpsen, an onomatopoetic word of the aboriginal IE.[7]

What was Hōma? Viticulture spread from Asia Minor into Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia as early as the copper age, the fourth millennium B.C., imported by the miners coming from the Cappadocian Pontus: Chalybes, Tibarenoi and others.[7] Many indigenous peoples therefore adopted the Anatolian names with the thing. Gr. ámpelos, "vine," is such a loanword, cf. the common placenames Amlada in Lycaonia, Ablata in Cappadocia, Amblada in Pisidia and Πουσούμβλαδα, with hrōnds-, name of a god, in Cilicia. The word is Lyc. eple, āpla, and was transferred, as Ebla, later Abina (Tell-Amarna-period), Abila (Hellen.), Ābil (al-sūq) (Arabic) to the Antilibanos as early as NarāmSīn and Gudea. Near Ebla-Ābil lies Arab. Ḥulwān dhū l-kurūm, "with the vineyards," where the most famous wine of antiquity was grown: *Ezekiel* 27,8 ḫālbōn, Nebuchadnezzar (Wadi Brīsā) ḫilbunu, Gr. Χαλυβώνιον οἶνον, which the kings drank in Susa, Strabo 15,3,22.—The Babylonians said karānu, another loanword, writ-

[6] ahrayā and χratū, separated by Bartholomae and Andreas, must be connected as K. E. Punegar does in his translation "through (their) carping (intelligence)" and "through (their carping) intelligence."

[6] Cf. rōžo and rōpi, rupi, Pahl.transl. rōpās, "fox" under 'Ardvī.'

[7] With this problem I have dealt in a still unpublished Ms. on the historical geography of the Anc. Near East.

ten with the Sum. ideogr. GEŠTIN, "tree of life," Ar. durōša; Syr. karmā, Arab. karm, kurūm, and Gr. *κάροινος*.[8]

To Iran, viticulture was likewise brought by Anatolian prospectors. The Chalybes, in whose original home on the Pontus mod. Ünye still bears the old name Οἰνοή, and who had settled in Aleppo = Chalybōn and Ḥulwān dhū l-kurūm = Chalybōn, settled also at the 'aqabat Ḥulwān, the Paiṭāq Pass, the gate of Iran. Alwān, Halwān is mentioned since the Sargonic period, modern Sarpul, where viticulture is attested since antiquity, and where many antique stone wine-presses are lying between the town and the rock with the sculptures of Annubanini.

The Tibarenoi, Tabal, their neighbors on the Pontus, between the coast and Diwrigi-Tephrike, who settled in the fourth millennium in Sumer, in Bad-Tibira, ideogr. BÁD.URUD.NAGAR, "settlement of the Copper-smiths" and who are later known in the richest mining region of the Taurus, went also to Iran, where Salmanassar mentions them, in 838 B.C., the very years of the appearance of the Aryans there, in the Kurdish region south of the Urmiya Lake towards Sunqur and Kingawar, near Kirmānshāhān. Tabaristān on the Caspian Sea still bears their name.

Other Cappadocians, from the Pontus, i.e. people from Hitt. Kizwatna, settled at the south end of the "Antimon mountain" between Zanjān and Kazwīn, in Kitpat, a town which bore that name, > ka*θ*wat, qahvaδ till about A.D. 1300, mod. Ṣa'inqaleh. All these are mining- and wine-districts. On a bronze "letter of franchise," granted by a "king of Abdadāna" to an Assyrian tamqaru, "merchant," to be dated ca. 1200 B.C., GEŠTIN-karānu, "wine" is mentioned; Abdadāna was situated near west of Kitpat -Qahvaδ. This documents the famous wine of the Kazwīn region.

Sardur of Urarṭu says "I planted vine in my KI.GU," garden, in Van, Rusas-town, and Sargon, having conquered Ulḫi, north of Tawrīz, records: "Rusas of Urarṭu, by a large canal, had his fruit-trees and vines watered as though by rain," and after opening the "hidden wine-

[8] An analogous case is the Anatolic name for olive oil: Gloss. CT.XVIII, pl.14,8-9: "ú.lu = šaman, ú.ru = šaman," šaman being any oil. Ulu in Anatolian placenames: Ululu (Narāmsīn) = Urru (Gudea) = Ullaza (T. Amarna) northern end of Lebanon, Eleutheros valley; or U.Ilu.ša (Hitt.) = Ἐλαιεῦσα in Cilicia, etc. Akk. loanword ú.ul šamni, e.g. Nebuchadnezzar, *cyl. Grot.* n,32 and Wadi Brīsā; Sargon, *cyl.*55: "the pious speech of my mouth was to my lord's taste like olive-oil" (he swallowed it).

cellars, bīt karānēšu, the vast hosts of Assur drew the perfumed wine (hōma hubōδiš) in skins like canal-water." Viticulture flourished everywhere in Iran before the immigration of the Aryans, and nothing prevents the assumption that it had reached the—later—famous wine-regions of Marw, Herāt, Balkh and Samarkand at the middle of the second millennium.

The problem of hōma therefore is: On the one hand, vine, cultivated all over Iran before the advent of the Aryans and after, does not appear in the Awesta, but is a common product of the country to the present day. On the other hand, hōma, common in the Awesta, is an unknown plant and drink, described like wine, whose cultivation has left no trace in the country. To define hōma means to explain how wine could remain unknown to the Awesta, and how the cultivation of hōma could disappear in Iran long before the Arab conquest. The solution is evident: hōma is vine, wine.

"Wine" is a word of Anatolian origin.[9] There are many local names formed with it, beside Οἰνοή-Ūnye of the Chalybes, e.g. an Οἰνοάνδα in Lycia, on the Xanthos-šiyanta river, north of Tlōs, in Lyc. inscriptions wñ.nu.wã.ta, Hitt. viyanawanta. Compared with the many Iranian names in -vant, Gr. -φεις, -φεσσα the first element is viyana, the Hitt. word for "wine," which began with vi-, for, the Sum. ideogr. GEŠTIN has in Hitt. the phon. value vi-, acrostic of the full word. It passed into Greek as ϝοῖνος, Lat. *voinum, vīnum, Alb. vënε, Armen. gini, also Hebr. yayin. But the Aryan languages did not borrow the name with the thing, but created a name of their own for it, derived from √hū-, "to press (wine)," from the method of making it: hōma. The god Hōma is the Aryan Dionysos. The Greeks ascribed to him a triumphal march to India, and Alexander's armies believed to see proof for this legend in the flourishing viticulture in Eastern Iran as far as India. What they observed was cultivation and cult of Hōma.

The cult of Hōma would have played a decisive role in the life of Zoroaster, in Nyberg's presentation, 286: "Zoroaster eifert immer gegen die nächtlichen Orgien des Haoma Kultes, Gegenstand seines brennendsten Hasses und flammensten Pathos." 287: "Der Haoma-Kult

[9] Cf. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergl. und Urgesch.* 50; Meillet, *Introd.*[8] 343; Hrozny, *Sprache der Hettiter*, 5; Sommer, *Hettitica* 121.

hat seine Heiligkeit wiedergewonnen. Ich glaube nicht, dass die Gemeinde, das innerste Pathos des Propheten vergessend . . . und untreu . . . nach seinem Abscheiden einen Kult aufgenommen hätte, der sich nicht zurückdrängen liess [sic]. Es ist undenkbar [unthinkable, as the insolvable dilemma just quoted actually is] dass man gewagt haben sollte, vorsätzlich eine Aenderung des Kultes vorzunehmen. . . . So bleibt nichts andres übrig, als die Voraussetzung, dass Zarathustra selber, als ein Glied des Synkretismus, der die Grundlage seiner Missionspraxis bildete, auch den Haoma aufgenommen hat," mūθram ahya madahya. 288: "Die auflösende Wirkung hat Zarathustra nicht vermeiden können, als er selber den Haoma Kult in seine Gemeinde einführte. . . . Der maga hat dadurch den Todesstoss erhalten," 201: "der Herzpunkt der Religion der Gatha Gemeinde."

This is totally incompatible with another theory, developed p.247, that Zoroaster himself arranged a collection of his songs for the liturgical use of his parish, adding a preface to it, both of course unwritten. What we have would be this second, oral edition, in which Hōma is called "this urine of a wine." 268: "Zarathustra hatte als Religionsstifter einen offenen Blick für die Grundwerte der Mithra-Religion [the god to whom he dealt the "crushing blow nanā!" see under 'Mithra'] und ihm hat er vor allem im Haoma-Kult eine Stätte gegeben," in the mūθra ahya madahya.

P.268: "Zarathustra hatte damit sicher recht [he merely does not say so] dass der Haoma Rausch [of the Mithra community] unvereinbar sei mit dem heiligen Rausch des maga [of the Gatha community], der vielleicht von dem weit tiefer wirkenden Hanfrausch unterstützt war," whereas the Achaemenids "den Flug der Seele . . . in einem ehrlichen Weinrausch suchten." Actually, the hōma intoxication of the Mithra community and the wine intoxication of the Achaemenids were the same, both "propter nimium est est," and the Mithra people deserved the same extenuating circumstances "honest." He reproaches them, 196: "Wer sich bei Nacht mit haoma berauschte, konnte unmöglich am Tage danach [the day after] arbeitsfähig sein," but fails to say at what time the Gatha people were capable of working whose "cult of the day-god was connected with trance and hypnotic narcotisation." As to the prophet: maga means "wedding"; "hemp" is a mere assumption. Calling ḥashīsh smoking "holy intoxication," does not

influence the hangover effect. "Burningest hatred and flamingest pathos" are foreign to ḥashīsh smokers; a friend of mine, past fifty, whom I asked, said: "I feel no effect on my health, but it makes you take life less passionately and more philosophically."

In a disconnected sentence in *Vid.*19,20 Zoroaster asks AhuraMazdāh: "O Omniscient, sleepless art Thou, without bang, abanha!" As a question this must mean "how is it that . . . ," and "not even bang, which you don't take, would make you sleep." Certainly, to take bang was not considered a virtue. In *Vid.*19,41, the demon Kunda is called banha vibanha, Pahl.transl. mast yut mast, drunk without drinking. banha > NP. bang, Arab. bandj, is ḥashīsh, canapis. As vegetable fiber, hemp replaced with Iranians and Scythians the linen used in the western world, and according to Herodotus IV,73-74, the Scythians used to strew hemp-seed on hot stones when taking a steam-bath, the vapors having a narcotizing effect. Otherwise, the name of the plant appears only once more, in *Vid.*15,14, as abortive, presumably used internally. Nothing is known of the use of hemp as a narcotic prior to the Arsacid period.

The two places in the *Vidēvdād,* both dating from the beginning of our era, show that at that time taking ḥashīsh was considered as shameful, "unehrlich." Only at the end of the Sasanian period, in the Artavirāz book, composed at that time and attributed to the beginning of that period, bang is used to send the saint in his dream on the journey through heaven and hell. But even he makes his will before taking the drug. Customs change, mostly for the worse. The venerable Mustaufī al-mamālik, who had inherited the Ministry of Finances at the age of fifteen and had been Prime Minister more than once, told me, when the Opium Commission of the League of Nations visited Persia: "In the house of my father there were about a thousand servants, one of whom perhaps did smoke opium; if I had still a thousand servants,—he had given away almost all his great wealth,—there might be one among them that did not smoke."

The use of ḥashīsh in Zoroaster's time is an imagination. The mysterious hōma is wine, a reality. Y.19,16 advises:

> hōma . . . pleno titulo . . . ya*θ*a hvarantē vahišto!
> "Wine drinking is the best!"

And the old chevalier Chardin found, on the wall in an inn at Isfahan, the verse, a "rixta" to which life amounts: "Life is intoxication continual, the pleasure is passing, the hangover lasting."

Herodotus IV,23 reports, from tales of Scythians and far-traveled Greeks in the Pontic emporia, that, at the far confines of the Scythian plains at the ascent of high mountains, there lived a people of "bald-heads," hairless by nature, pug-nosed and with square jaw, σιμοὶ καὶ γένεα ἔχοντες μεγάλα, with a language of their own, but Scythian dress. Everyone dwells under a tree and hangs a white felt cover over it, as shelter in winter, but not in summer. They live on the fruits of that tree which is not higher than a fig-tree and is called ποντικόν. It has a fruit like a bean, κύαμος, but with an inner kernel, πυρήν. When the fruit is ripe, they strain it through a cloth; they lick or drink, mixed with milk, the black juice, called ἄσχυ, which trickles through, and make also πάλαθαι, lozenges, of the thick residue and eat them. Nobody does a thing to these people; they are regarded as holy, bear no arms, decide the disputes their neighbors bring before them. The asylum they give to fugitives is never violated. Their name is Ἀργιμπαῖοι.[10]

Argimpaioi cannot be interpreted as "bald-headed"; rather could Ctesias' καλύστριοι < *karva.sar.iya, have this meaning, a name he translates by "dog-heads" (thinking of Aram. kalbā?). Argimpaioi is the same name as Arimaspoi in the Issedonian story of Aristeas, which Herodotus translates by "one-eyed." Both are adjectives derived from the name of the Scythian Ardvīsūrā Argimpasa, cf. under 'Ardvī' and the etymology of Pasargadai under 'Māda-Pārsa.'

Ctesias mentions the κάρυα τὰ ποντικά, *Ind.* frgmt. 19, see under 'Harvatāt,' where he speaks of the siptachora-tree: "The tree is said to bear fruits in clusters, like the vine, and yet have berries like the pontiká nuts." κάρυα are nuts in general, according to Athenaeus II,53,b "hard-shelled nuts, also almonds in Attic." In II,57,c he says about the kernels of pine-cones: "Hippocrates, in his book on tisanes, πτισάνη, calls them κοκκάλους (kernels), but most say πυρῆνας, as Herodotus

[10] Var.l. οργιμπαιοι, αρλιππαιοι. Herodotus' attitude towards the linguistic problem is: argimpaioi in Scythian tales, arimaspoi in Issedonian tales, retold by Scythians; but both names are Scythian.

of the pontiká." Theophrast uses "kárya" for cherry-stones. That it was the fruit of the siptachora-tree that resembled the pontiká nuts is hard to believe, because manna is no fruit, but the resin of various trees; širexišt,[11] known in Europe under the name "Turkish Delight," is called after its shape, paláthe of Herodotus, and since Ctesias, as physician, was interested in these products, he probably called the form of the products, not the fruits similar.[11a]

Athenaeus 11,53,b quotes Nicandrus of Colophon—of whose didactic poems just the *θηριακὰ* and *ἀλεξιφάρμακα*, pharmaceutical works, full of rare and unknown vocables, are preserved—as saying, some called the pontic nuts *λόπιμα*, while the dictionaries of Hermionax and Timarchides gave *Διὸς βάλανον*, "Zeus' acorn" as second name. The Deipnosophists evidently did not know the fruit itself, but only its name from Alexandrinian books, and the thing belonged to the sphere of pharmaceutics. Besides Ctesias and Nicandrus, only Galenus, also a physician, speaks of it, ed. Kühn, VI,335: "a boil, sometimes as large as a pontikon nut, sometimes twice or thrice that size." This description is far from implying that the measure was generally known. In Arab pharmacology the word is used as weight.

Herodotus and Ctesias use the name for something not known to the Greeks; hence, it cannot mean "Pontic" relevant to the Pontus, Black Sea. Neither is Tomaschek's etymology right: "Scyth. *panθika, 'belonging to the road,' because carried as 'viaticum.'" Herodotus does not say so, but gives it as the name of the tree; and Ctesias never uses Scythian, but only Old Persian names. But, like the *κάρυα περσικά*, *συωπικά*, or like "malus punica, sinica" the fruit was surely called after the country where it grew.

[11] šīr "milk, sweet"; χišt "brick"; in Khurāsān extracted from olive trees; used in mod. India instead of older tabašīr < Skr. tvakṣīra "bark-milk, -sugar." The usual Pers. word is tar.angubīn, from angubīn "honey," Kurd. gaz.

[11a] A similar case: At the siege of Tigranocerta the Roman artillery used *ἄμωμον* and *γαγγῖτις*, cf. Sallustius, *Hist.*IV,72; Josephus, *Antiqu.*20,25, "from the country *Κάρδυες*," i.e. Qardū, Gordyene. *ἄμωμον* is Pliny's pissasphaltos, XII. XXIV.7 and the *γαγγῖτις* stone is jet (Gagat), Arab. Pers. mūmiyāi, cf. Ḥamdallāh, *nuzhat* 217 "found near al-Mauṣil," and Curzon, *Persia and the Pers. Question* II,521. But Strabo says, XVI,1,24: "Gordyene bears the aromatic *τὸ ἄμωμον* and the *γαγγῖτις* stone which drives reptiles away," and Theophrast and Dioscurides, too, call "Armenia and Media" (Gordyene) the home of the ámōmon herb; similarly the Armen. commentary to *Jeremiah* and *Exod.* 30,23: "from Tmorik'," a canton of Kordik'-Gordyene. The herb is "sweet cinnamon" and the tree does not grow in a latitude more northern than South Arabia. All these authors, even the great botanists, mistake the plant for the mineral, because the only thing they knew was the preparation.

As something well known, the pontikón appears only in two papyri from the Fayyūm. In *Pap.Zenon*, Cairo n.59 702 (Grenfell-Hunt) l.22, a half choinos of pontika costs 2 oboli; in *Pap.Flinders Petrie*, vol.III, n.1422, l.13, one choinos costs one drachm. Both papyri are private accounts, in both κάρυα appear as a separate item. In the Fayyūm the pontikón was known and cheap.

Löw, *Aram.Pflanzennamen*, quotes Syr. puntaqā from Elias of Nisibis (ed. de Lagarde). As pharmaceutic term this Syriac word may be a loanword from Greek. S. Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, derived Arab. bunduq, by this puntaqā, from Gr. pontiká. But NP. and Arab. bunduq, funduq is, in distinction from the Greek, a familiar word for small nuts, acorns, beans, and besides for pills. The dictionaries, like Lisān, explain it as "fruit of a tree, round as a (small) nut, with an inner kernel, similar to that of the pistachio" (Arab. fustuq < Ir. *pistaka, NP. pistah). Therefore we translate bunduq by "hazel-nut." The wide application shows that it had become a generic word. In the *mafātīḥ*, ed. van Vloten 179, in the list of pharmaceutic weights, "al-bunduq = 1 dirham," is entirely an abstract word. Such names of weights are either of Greek provenance, or words like nut, bean, pea, grain. Arab. bunduq, funduq, which passed back into mod. Persian, retains the MP. form *pundaq < OP. *puntaka. The dialectic development would be *pundah in the north, *punnah in the south.[12]

In Ctesias' mouth, pontikón renders OP. *puntaka, without relation to Gr. pontos. Likewise in Herodotus, who may have thought it to be a Scythian word. But *puntaka or *puntika is a normal OP. adjective of origin and means "from Punt, Puntic, Puntian." It is by no means a coincidence that the classical pharmacology knew the word from Egyptian sources, and that the thing itself appears only in the Fayyūm papyri. If Herodotus' description gives the impression that middle-

[12] The change nd > nn in Fārs: Gannāwah < *gand.ābag, near Bushire. bunduq is to be separated from (2) Arab. funduq < Gr. πανδοχεῖον, (3) bunduq, bunduqī, also qaus al-bunduq, "crossbow, arcubalista," and its missile. This name was hitherto assumed to have passed from the missile, resembling a bunduqa, hazel-nut, to the weapon, and later from the crossbow to fire-weapons and bullets. That is wrong, as an anecdote in Hammer-Purgstall shows: In A.D. 906/1500, the Venetians imported the first fire-weapons to Cairo. The sultan Ghōrī and his amīrs despised a weapon that could be handled without personal danger. Only when the Venetians hinted that the Egyptians might succumb to just this despised weapon in their fight against the Turks, they took it. bunduqī, hence, is "Venetian," not only the fire-weapon, but the older crossbow. The date is earlier than that of the anecdote, for in the military Museum of St. Irene in Stambul there is a cannon with inscription of Qāitbāy.

Asiatic mountains far to the east of the Scythian plains were the home, the story must have shifted the locality, and though Herodotus' words do not sound so, Aristeas' *Arimaspeia* must be the source. Argimpaioi is but a variant of Aristeas' Arimaspoî. "One-eyed" and other fabulous creatures were imagined by Homer and Hesiod as living in Ethiopia. Aristeas' poem can be the indirect source of the stories Herodotus heard from the Scythians. The story fits perfectly into that sociological utopia which the miracle-man adorned with tales heard anywhere. He was known on the Proconnesus and in Metapont, and some reality is behind his wide journeys. If they led him to the Scythians and on the other side as far as Lower Italy, he was surely also in Egypt, where he may have heard the story of the pontikón. One point in Herodotus' version itself contradicts altogether the conception that Central Asia was the home: life under trees, in winter only covered by a felt, is a picture utterly impossible for that region. It presumes a climate where even at great altitude winter and summer differ only in rainfall. If on the slope of such mountains a tree is described as growing not higher than a fig, with a fruit in shape of a bean with hard shell and kernel, Arab. qishr and bunn, which, when filtered, gives a black, oily juice that gets dry, then this is word for word a description of the coffee, as it grows between 3000 ft. and 4000 ft. altitude on the slopes of the South Arabian and Abyssinian mountains. That country, on both sides of the Bāb al-mandab is the land Punt, Pūt of the OP. inscriptions, see under 'Sea.'

The pontikón tree is the coffee tree. The Arab. name for the tree and the bean, bunn, is assumed to be derived from Abyss. būn, the provenance and etymology of which is unknown. But bunn is the Arabic pronunciation of South Persian *punn < MP. *pund OP. punt, the pontikón of Herodotus.

Since the name of the Argimpaioi and their word puntikam belong to an Iranian dialect, the enigmatical ἄσχυ ought to be likewise an Iranian word. It seems to be OI. aṃśu, Ir. ansu in Y.10,2, written aŋsu, perhaps pronounced with gutt. ŋ, which designates the "pulp" of hōma in the havanam.

Arab. qahwah was originally a word of poetry for a white wine, thus in many poems and anecdotes of the *kitāb al-Aghāni*, the scene of which

is Samarra in the ninth century A.D. The word was applied to coffee as late as about A.D. 1400 when Ṣūfīs in South Arabia started to drink plenty of coffee before their ecstatic exercises. Before each draught they shouted "yā qawī!, o Strong one!", one of the 999 epithets of Allah, chosen because the numerical value of its letters is the same as that of qahwah, 116. Thus the mystic contents of the word were the reason why it was used for coffee; it is not derived from the Kaffa-region in Abyssinia. The introduction and propagation in South Arabia is ascribed to several Ṣūfīs, the oldest of which is 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī, 821/1418, and it is reported that before that time only the bean, bunn, not the shell, qishr, was used for preparing coffee. What happened about 1400, then, was not the discovery that coffee could be consumed, but the finding of the modern method of brewing coffee. In Abyssinia, one still eats powdered coffee mixed with milk; in Arabia one still eats the beans, in Persia dry powder; like the preparation described by Herodotus, those are prehistoric methods. Coffee itself was known. Richard Starr informed me that among the remains of grains, discovered in the "Hurrian stratum" of Nuzi, i.e. about 1400 B.C., the scientific analysis stated one coffee bean.

Now, as in an old mystery play, "adventavit asinus, pulcher et fortissimus":

Names of wines, like qahwah, are names of origin; already the Arthasāstra says: "Its origin is its name," and thus it was not only in India, but everywhere. qahwah is not Arabic, and can, as to its form, be derived from an Iranian *kahvah < *kaθwaka. This word occurs in the tariff of a surgeon in *Vid.*7,42: The surgeon can charge for an operation on the chief of a house, nmānapatiš, one head of big cattle of inferior quality, on a vispatiš the same of middle quality, on a zantupatiš the same of best quality, and on a dahyupatiš a chariot harnessed with four horses. For an operation on their wives he may charge, in the first case, a she-ass, *kaθwā,* in the second a cow, in the third a mare, in the fourth a she-camel. The tariff is now in the *Vidēvdād,* in which it can hardly be put before the beginning of our era, but the social structure was no longer in existence, payments in kind were replaced by money, one no longer drove in a chariot; altogether, the tariff itself is much older, from the sixth-fifth century B.C.

The meaning "she-ass" of kaθwā is required by the context and cor-

roborated by the Pahl. transl. ꞰMR' (ideogr.) and NP. χar < OP. χara; this is the normal word, while ka*θ*wa must be a special donkey, not a mule, astar < Med. *aspatara, OP. *asatara, compar. of aspa "horse."

Like wines, domestic animals are called after the region where the special breed was bred; it is enough to recall, for Iran, the Nēsaean horses from Nisaya, or "mesaia" from Mesa, arşibini from Rzifya. One has Herefords and Brahmas in America, Shropshires in Europe. A region in Kirmān, not far from the straits of Hormuz, bears the name *καν*θ*ωνική* on Ptolemy's map, i.e. OP. *kā*θ*wanika. The source of all his very accurate knowledge of South Iran is Eratosthenes, and through him the general staff of Alexander. As Kāhvan, Kāhun, that name was alive in the middle ages.[13] The place was two days from Sīragān on the road to Rustāq i Rustāq (mod. Rustāk), these two between Furg (OP. Parga) and Tārun (OP. Tārava). The name means "donkey-country."[14] Today the region of course has donkeys, but no special ones. But opposite, on the Arabian side of the straits, in Baḥrain, is the home of the famous white Baḥrain donkeys, with their enormous ears, and *Yāqūt* IV,209, quotes from abū Ḥanīfa's *ḳit. al-nabāt*, book on botany, the mountain *qahwān* there, which stretches along the coast of 'Umān, outside the straits. Thus the Baḥrain donkeys seem to be the issue of the antique ka*θ*wa.

Now, also in Greek, *κάνθων*, fem. *κανθίς*, and *κανθήλιος* mean "donkey"; there, too, it is not the usual but a special word, not common. In a scholion to Aristophanes' *Vespes* 179, a *κάνθων*, is called "big"; a Libyan *κάνθων* is described like a zebra. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 7,5,11 uses *ὄνοι καν*θ*ήλιοι*, "donkeys with packsaddles," for such animals in the army. Word and thing are the same, but their phonetics forbid common linguistic descent. Both are loanwords, both names of origin, and the land of origin must have been between Iran and Greece, in Anatolia.

Asia Minor has always been famous for its horses, donkeys and mules. Still before the time of Hammurapi, in the 19th century B.C., the Assyrians had organized the import of horses from the Halys region to Assur, for military purposes. The *Iliad* says II,852:

ἐξ ϝενετῶν ὅθεν ἡμιόνων γένος ἀγροτεράων. These Veneti lived in

[13] Istakhrī 168, b.Ḥauqal 224, Muqaddasī 473.

[14] Not far from it is a "camel-country," Dēh i Šuturūn, Ptolemy's *καμηλοβόσκοι*.

Paphlagonia, Strabo 5,1,4. On the other hand, *Il.* XXIV,279: "they harnessed the mules, the strong-hoofed, that pull in the traces, which once the Mysians had sent Priamus as a magnificent present." *Anacreon*, frgm. 25 Bergk, calls the Mysians "inventors" of mule breeding: *ἱππο-θόρον δὲ Μυσοὶ εὑρεῖν μίξιν ὄνων πρὸς ἵππους*. Lat. mūlus < *mus.los, through Thracian and Illyrian, means "the Mysian ass."[12] Strabo 12, C.539, calls Bagadaonia, situated towards Armenia, especially *ὀναγρο-βόρος*. Breeding of mules is not merely a human "invention": I once had bought, in 1912, at 'Ānah on the Euphrates, a beautiful mule, the father of which was an onager, wild ass; it had the reddish color of a deer. Pliny, in his chapter on mules, NH. VIII,44, distinguishes between hinnies: "equo et asina genitos mares hinnulos antiqui vocabant," and mules: "contraque mulos quos asini et equae generarent," and quotes the amazing belief "Theophrastus vulgo parere in Cappadocia tradit," whereas in other regions they did not propagate.

From the article "Esel" in Pauly RE. I learn that Brunnhofer, already in 1900, had explained Katpatuka-Cappadocia as Iran. ka*θ*wa plus Skr. toká [the word is attested in Iran. by the gloss *τυκά*]. Katpatuka is no Iranian name, but that of a region adjoining Armenia which the Medes applied to their new satrapy of Central Asia Minor in 585 B.C., after the Alyattes treaty. -tp- is no Iranian sound and represents what had become of Hittite -zv- in Kizvatna (last mention about 1200 B.C.) at that time, in the mouth of Armenians. The Persians retained the Median spelling; the Greeks transformed it to *Καππάδοκες*. The stem was kitpat-, a name known to the Assyrians in the 8th century as that of a town in Media, Kitpat(tia), which survived down to A.D. 1400 as Qahvaδ, between Zandjān and Kazwīn. kahvaδ < *ka*θ*wat proves that -tp- in Katpatuka was pronounced like -*θ*w-. The region is rich in minerals and viniculture, and the name preserves that of settlers from Kizvatna, Cappadocia Pontica. There was something right in Brunnhofer's wrong etymology: the ka*θ*wa-donkey is the "Cappa-

[12] J. H. Bonfante gave me the long history of this etymology, first advanced by G. Meyer, I.F. 1,232, elaborated by Schrader-Nehring, *Reall.dg.*Altertumskunde, 1929, 2,52. Schrader, as also Ernout-Meillet, *Diction.*, last edition, s.v., reject the assumption, equally improbable for zoological reasons, implied in Bartholomae's connecting of mūlus with Aw. muža in the n.pr. šāimuži of Yt.13, and with *μεχλόι* in Hesychios: "Phocean, ass for breeding." In Šāimuži the archet. can only have shown š for ž, and *μυῦν* may mean "Mysian" like mūlus, if it means such an animal at all.

docian donkey," as "mūlus" is the "Mysian ass." They were bred in Iran in *καυθωνική* and the Baḥrain donkeys descend from them.

The name of the wine is nothing else: qahwah is the Cappadocian wine, *ka*θ*waka > *kahva(g) > Arab. qahwah. Like bunduq the Arab. word is a loan from Middle Persian. In Middle Median it would be *kāfa(g), almost the form, Arab. qahwah assumed in the European languages. Our "wine" is an Anatolian word, and "coffee" comes from "Cappadocia, Kizvatna."

XXXII. APĀM NAPĀT

"ἄριστον τὸ ὕδωρ"

In countries poor in rainfall, like Iran and Ērānvēž, the original home of the Aryans, all agriculture depends on irrigation. This experience of the Aryans before their separation has left a mark in a special feature of their picture of the world: an outer dike, OI. sétu, Ir. hētu around the ocean Vurukrtam which encircled the round earth like a broad stream, a notion of people that had banked the two big rivers of their country, Vahvī and Ranhā, for irrigation. The surname of the Sárasvatī-harahvatī, "hētumant, with many dikes," at Alexander's time Ἑτύμανδρος, still today Hilmand—comes down from the Aryan period.

In *Yt.*13,9 the Fravarti support the earth "on which the waters flow in canals, θrōtastāčo āpo tačinti nāviyå," and in the *Mithra yasht*, 10,14, ārya.šayanam is the country "where the waters of broad canals work foaming, yahmiyā āpo nāviyå prθwīš χšōδahā θwaχšantē," a way of describing natural to people that lived in artificially irrigated lands. Ardvī has the epithet "āδu.fraδānā, increasing the canals" in *Yt.*5,1, and the first month of the Persian calendar, originally 21.III-20.IV, was called "ādukāniš, canal-digging."

*Vid.*3,4: "Where on earth is it best? Where one cultivates most, by watering unwatered land, yat an.āpam āi[1] āpam krnōti." In 213 Sel.=98 B.C., a bronze statue was put up for Zamaspes, stratiarch of Susa, and its inscription says:[2]

Δαψιλέσ[ιν] πα[γ]αῖς σ[νν]ενάγμενον [ἄφθονο]ν ὕ[δωρ]
Γονδ[είσου γαί]ας πλουσιόρουν ἔθετο.
Τῶν κλήρους ἀνέσωσε παλαὶ λειφθέντας ἀ[νύδρους]
Νέμασι Γονδείσου καρποφόρους θέμενος.

The contrast of āpa and anāpa is the dominating feature of the whole country. An.āpa "without water," becomes the general word for "desert," ἡ ἄνυδρος, however rich the soil may be. The frequent group dašt u viyāpān appears first in *Mir.Man.*III,28,18 and in *Draχt Asūr.*; viyāp alone in *Ayātk.Zar.*; in *Vid.*3 and 10 "vi.āpatama vi.urvara-

[1] Cf. Bartholomae, *ZAirWb.* 134. Perhaps pseudo-Aw. rendering of MP. ēv "if, when."
[2] F. Cumont, CRAI, 1931, 238-50, *Inscriptions de Suse.* Cf. Mém.Miss.Arch. Perse XX, 1928.

tama, entirely void of water and vegetation"; NP. "biyābān, desert, < Aw. viyāpa, without water." "Corn-land," Ved. and Ir. urvarā, stretches as far as one can conduct, fra.bar-, water.

One word for irrigation is √hrz-, cf. višhrzana under 'Vidēvdād, Harēva.' The spade used for digging the small ditches is called kāstram, kanstram, enumerated in *Vid.*14,11 among the tools of a vāstrya.fšuyant, farmer, with the descriptive adj. patišharzanam varzayantam, Pahl. "kās [kē] patiš kanēnd, bēl, spade for digging." bīl is still the usual word, also in 'Irāq; patišhrza < Ar. *pati.sṛg'ha.

Another word is √hič-, hinč-, "to draw" water, cf. Hübschmann, *Pers.Stud.* 10, not "to pour" (*Wb.*1727: giessen); one does not "pour," but "lift and conduct" irrigation water. In all Semitic languages, too, the term is dl', to draw, with a "Akk. dalū, Arab. dalw, bucket." *Vid.*5,5: "nā tat āpam hinčati avi yava.čarānyam, suppose a man would draw water on a barley-field. . . ." The same idiom had been used in the Akk. legend of Sargon of Akkad who was raised as apprentice of the "nāq mē, water-drawer," Aqqi—a name which itself means "I drew water" and is formed like Old Semitic divine names, a fact that, alone, shifts the origin of the institution far back into prehistory. The name Moses must have the same meaning, not as *Gen.*2,10 says: "She called his name mōšäh and spoke: for I have drawn him out of the water," for the participle is active, the "drawer," not the "drawn." In history, NarāmSīn (Ur n° 275) makes the captive king of Aleppo work at a water-wheel (with buckets), Akk. dali narabti, Arab. dāliya.

nāviya is still generally translated "navigable" by scholars who imagine the "Awesta-people" living without knowledge of agriculture as "nomads of the steppes" around Marw and Khvārizm. In Arabia, with similar conditions, the bedouins only "navigate" the "ship of the desert." Navigability is no quality of water, but of rivers, and nāviya is never used of rivers, but only of water. nāviya, a qualificative adj. like χāniya "water in springs," čātiya "in wells," paršuviya "in canals," variya "in ponds, lakes," means "water in nāv," and OIr. nāv, like NP. nāv, is "every long hollow tube, pipe, water-canal, especially 'canalis per quam aqua molam agens fluit,' the mill-ditch." The word is the same as Gr. *ναῦς*, Lat. nāvis, because the primeval form of a boat was

a dug-out. TPārs.: "nāy ē andar gawr ē zamīg, hollows (channels) in the bowels (gawr < Aw. garwa, uterus) of the earth."

*Vid.*14,16: The penalty for injuring an otter is "to turn, roll (fra.-rvisyat) seven beams (prtavo, not 'bridge')" and another penalty in 18,74 "to stretch, spread (frasčimbanoit) thirty frasčimbana, beams, over āpo nāviyå, irrigation ditches." A river spanned by a beam would not be "navigable." fraskamb, Arab. djassara, is "to bridge" water by a djisr, Akk. gašūru, frasčimbana, "beam," the usual bridge of Iranian and Irakian ditches, whence the proverb "yikhāf ki.man yarūḥ 'alā l-djisr, he is afraid like one going over a bridge," not that the bridge might break, but that he might slip off. In *Vid.*13,37, a dog falls "in a hole, a well, a cleft, the bed of a flowing river," rūδi=OP. rōta, and at the last in āpo nāviyå, not a "navigable river" where he would swim to the next boat, but the canis falls in a canalis, or worse, in the deep shaft of a qanāt. In *Yt.*10,14, no navigable "rivers flow foaming [upstream:] against the Hindūkuš," quite apart from the fact, often adduced as counterargument against Nearch's and Onesikritus' remarks on rivers in Persis, that there are no navigable rivers in Iran. In the repeated formula "with the power of a camel, a stallion, a donkey [read *χaranam for garīnām, mountains] and āpo nāviyå," this is "mill-trenches," for water-power is not measured by the number of ships it carries, but of the mills it turns. afš nāviyā means "irrigation ditch" everywhere in the Awesta.

The same at the only place, *Beh.* §18, where it appears in OP.: "The army of NidintuBēl held the Tigris, there they had taken up position, uta abiš nāviyā āha; Then I ordered my army to lie on goat skins. . . ." During the excavations of Assur, a great number of workmen, living on the eastern bank of the Tigris, did so twice a day, the usual thing where there are no ferries, and the only thing for an army without a fleet. The Akk. text is at variance: "They held the 'aba' [probably 'abba,' to abūbu, inundation, cf. Arab. 'ubāb], the Tigris was at high-water, ^{id}Diqlat māli." Assyrian annals mention occasionally the crossing of rivers at highwater, e.g. Salmanassar, *Obel.*27,34; "purāt ina mīlišu ēbir, I crossed the Euphrates at highwater," emphasizing the performance. Of the El. version two ideograms only remain: "MI^{id} [-].h ^{gis}MA^{id}.na," the second a gen. "of a boat." abis, ābiš, a^{n}biš in OP. is a hapax. Bartholomae compared, in *Wb.*178 and *Grdr.* §264,2, the meta-

plastic stems of Ir. āp-, afš, awž with OI. ámbhas, citing NP. ābiš.χvard as example for "suffix-ablaut." R. G. Kent, in JAOS 62,4, 1942, 269ff., explains OP. ābiš < *ap.bhiš, instr.pl., takes nāviyā as a fem.noun, "navigability," and arrives at "and on account of the waters there was navigability"; since it goes on "I ordered the army to lie on goat skins," the thread of thought would be: "unfortunately, having no boats, I ordered." Moreover, the Tigris is navigable the whole year through, even at low water, up to a point much farther upstream, almost to south of Samarra; at full highwater the ferries usually stop working. An instr.pl. abiš could be construed as another example for Andreas' theory, NGGW 1931, III,316: OP. raučabiš and viθbiš, instr. in form, nom.-acc.pl. in signification [wrong for viθbiš, a dative] "in der gleichzeitigen Volkssprache waren alle Pluralkasusendungen geschwunden bis auf dies -biš." But in view of NP. ābišχvard one can regard abiš or anbiš as nominative corresponding to Aw. afš in the metapl. system, at all events, OP. abiš nāviyā is Aw. afš nāviyā, and the clause says "and there was a canal, or were canals," Akk. version "high-water," a further obstacle.

āpo nāviyå is translated in *Vid.*14,16 and 18,74 by n'vt'k or n'yvt'k, which the *Frhg.Pahl.* explains by a NP. gloss: "nāvdānah, 'ubūr i ābgāh ki dar ān [āb] mīrīzad, pipe-system, passages of a basin through which [water] flows"; apparently a compound with -tāk, to √tak- "to flow," hence "pipe-conduit," cf. θrōtas.tāk "running in rivers" under 'Tištriya.' There is the topic name Nautaka in East Iran on Ptolemy's map. *Vid.* adds both times, explaining, "kts." In the *Frhg.Pahl.* this n'vyt'k is uzvāriš of the ideogr. ŠTMT',[3] following upon "QN'=kts." Sem. QN' "reed, tube, canal" is a full syn. of Ir. nāv. In western regions, Aram. QN' is the term for aqueducts of the Roman type, cf. topic names like Kanatha, Qanawāt in Syria. Arab. qanāt, pl. qinā, is used today in 'Irāq and Iran as term for underground canals. The *Pahl. Vidēvdād* understood āpo nāviyå=n'vt'k=QN' kts apparently as the Iranian subterranean type, while the Aw. references to "bridging" them prove that they were surface ditches. kts, the uzvāriš, has disappeared from mod. language; NP. is kahrēz, kārīz, Arab. şihrīdj, hence OIr. *kāθ-

[3] ŠTMT': S. Fraenkel, *Aram.Fremdwörter* 222, mentions a √STM "to shut," which might lead to "lock, sluices"; cf. de Goeje, BGA *Gloss.* 271, on Arab. is/ltiyām.—Better: √TMM, for regular ŠTMMT', cf. Hamza, ed. Gottwald 43: "Afrāsiyāb ṭamma al-qinā, obstruit canales," leading to "weir."

rēča and *čāθrīča, with the same ending as dihlīz < *dvarθīča, from *kaθra, *čaθra, to √kan- "to dig," čāt- "well."[4] These systems of qanāt or kārīz, visible at the surface by the row of their vertical shafts, serve for opening up as well as conducting water, and have been developed in Iran since the bronze age; they are first mentioned in history at the campaign of Antiochus II in Komisene, 209 B.C. In the Sasanian period, e.g. Ṭabarī 1,873: "during the seven years of drought under Pērōz, the rivers, qinā, and springs dried up." In Samarra there may be nearly a hundred miles of them.

Irrigation with dams and dikes on rivers, surface and underground conduits, "drawing" of water, presupposes the knowledge of all the primitive wheels and similar engines used in Egypt and Babylonia since prehistoric times: dāliya, sāqiya, shadūf, čerd ('Iraq.), drawn by oxen which go up and down a slope; in Southern 'Irāq I have still seen men drawing the primitive engine, as the king of Aleppo did at the time of NarāmSīn. I do not remember where, but I believe I have seen the largest of these engines, the so-called "Persian wheels or noria < Arab. nā'ūra" in Persia; they are typical for the middle Euphrates and the Orontes in Syria. The Ir. name dulāb is Sem. dul-, dl', plus Ir. āp, explained "like a wheel on which water buckets are strung."[5]

Ctesias, *Ind.* frgm.52M, described the bucket-chains in the royal gardens on the citadel of Susa. Aelian and Plutarch, both, misunderstood him in a curious way: the oxen did not draw a hundred buckets a day —which would be nothing—and refused the hundred and first, but drew chains up to a hundred buckets and became refractory when the weight was more. Aelian uses the words κάδους "buckets" and ἀντλεῖν "to pump," Plutarch περίακτα ἀντλήματα. Skylax mentions such ὀχετοί on the Indus, and Herodotus speaks of a legendary reservoir and sluices in Eastern Iran, called Ákēs, by which the water supply of several large provinces could be regulated. Though a legend, it proves the existence of large works in the fifth century B.C. and earlier, of the type of the

[4] As placename Arm. kt'rič or cit'arič, Syr. qiṯʰrīz or qīṯʰarīz, Κιθαρίζον, sixth century A.D., in Armenia IV, north of Amida.

[5] See B. Laufer in *Orient.Stud.Pavry*, 238ff. Arab. nā'ūrā cannot be derived from na'ara "faire jaillir le sang avec bruit," nā'ūr "veine d'ou jaillit le sang." The form indicates passing through Aramaic, as in "ṣāṭūrā."

famous "shādhurwān of Tushtar" and the "Band i Qaiṣar" in Sasanian Khuzistan.[6]

A long description of such a mythical work is in the *Gr.Bdh.* 82 (variants of the *Ind.Bdh.* in brackets):

> KN' YVM [MND'M] MN čšmk' y 'rdyvsvr hm'h ['MT] tčyn'd [tčyt] 'L nymrvč kvp y 'lbvrz TMH c M n'yčk [n'vč] y ZḤB'-(yn)yn krt' YKVYMVN.yt' ZK MY' P'N grmyh v čyhryk P'N ZK n'yčk [n'vč] QDM 'L hvgr y bvlnd 'ZLVN.yt' P'N b'lst' ZK kvp VT-y 'YT' BYN ZK VT ryčyt' yvšd'sr BR' Y'TVN.yt P'N M GBR' b'l'd MN ZK nyčk [n'vyčk] t'k-y vš'tk [gvš'tk] y ZḤB' (yn)yn pr'č' 'L kvp y 'vsynd'm ['vsndvmb] yḥyt' mdy'n zryh y pr'χvkrt' MN TMH b'χr-y yvšd'sryh zryh r'd pr'č 'L zryh ryčyt' b'χr-y P'N hm'k' ZNH zmyk P'N 'nmk 'pšnjk BR' YḤMTVN.yt' ['pšnjyt'] hm'k dḫšn'n' χvytyh byš'zynšnyh [byš'čyh] 'čš 'y'ptynd v χvškyh y 'ndrv'y BR' znyt' [only *Gr.Bdh.*:] čgvn YMNNVN.yt 'YK: hvgr y bvland MN hm'k svlk ZḤB'. yn' MNV ptš pr'č yḥyt 'rdvysvr y 'vnst' M vyr b'l'd.

"Daily, the water flows from the Ardvīsūr spring southwards to the Alburz. There, a hundred thousand nāyičak, nāviča, pipes, made of gold, exist; that water, because of its warmth and nature(?) [West: clearness] ascends through these pipes up to the High Hugar. On the summit of this mountain is a lake; it discharges into this lake, comes out purified; through a separate golden pipe it goes back, at a height of a thousand men, from that pipe an open conduit, tāk,[6a] of gold descends forth to mount Usindām in the middle of the ocean Frāχvkirt. From there, one part discharges, for the purification of the sea, into the sea; the other part diffuses over this whole earth for removing? the salt; all creatures obtain humidity and medicine from it, and it destroys the dryness of the atmosphere. As the Awesta says etc."

[6] šādurwān, šādrawān, etc., has at least two irreconcilable significations, "curtain" etc. and "fountain" etc., the first prevalent in NP., the second in Arab.; Armen. šatrvan, Hübschmann, *Armen.Gramm.* 212, combines both. It seems to have passed from MP. into Arab. and back into NP., where it coalesced with a word perhaps of Indian origin. Connection with OIr. čāt- is possible, on the other hand with čaθrugōlā > čārgōš "quadrangulum," čaθrusūka > čārsū, "quadrangulum, market," *čaθra.yūviya > čārjūy "divisiculum, castellum aquae," if one may assume *čatur-, not only čaθru-.

The rare Arab. ṣāṭūrā, used as name of the well, 120' deep, through which water was drawn, by a bucket-wheel, to the high level of the citadel of Aleppo, looks like a loanword from Iranian through Aramaic.

[6a] tāk can be the word for "arch."

The Aw. quotation appears also in *Gr.Bdh.*77: "MY' 'rdyvsvr 'čš frvt yḫyt' M GBR' b'l'." It is *Yt.*5,96 = 12,24, an old piece in inferior surroundings:

upa hukaryam brzo	on the high Hukarya
vispā.vēmam zaranēnam	the all- . . . , golden,
yahmāt hača frazgadatē	from which leaps down
ardvī sūrā anāhitā	Ardvī . . .
hazahrāi bršna vīrānām	from the height of a thousand men.

"yḫyt" is translation, or transcription "zgadēt" only, of frazgadatē, cf. frazyarati in *Yt.*5,4, and khotan. vi.zgad- "to dismount," Bailey, JRAS 1942. vispā.vēma: vēma > vēm would be "crevice, 'cleft,' e.g. *Vid.*13,37: the dog falls in a čāti 'well,' vēma 'cleft' etc. *Vid.*4,52: he shall be thrown into a vēma 100 men deep." In *Hajjiāb.*, the Pahl. vers. has vēm, Pārs. darrak, for the phantastic "gorge." But other Mss. have vispā.vamam, -avamam, and in 5,96 vispā.vahmam, hence *Wb.* "all-gefeiert; im Urkodex viell. Kurzzeichen für hm." The edition is right in annotating to 12,4: "ob vispā.bāmim?", the only correct passage with correct meter, *Yt.*15,15 has:

hukaryāt hača brzahāt vispā.bāmiyāt zarnēnāt.

The two epithets are those of the sun-wheel behind Mithra, "of diamond and gold," so to be read also in 12,24. The translation hm'k-svlk of the *Bdh.*, though not clear, supposes a text with "vēma," interpreted as "perforated" and used as a corroboration of the theoretical water-works.[7] Such a notion existed at a time considerably older than the *Bdh.*, for it is attested by the name "sūra zarnumant" in *Ny.*1,8, Pahl. transl. sūrāχ zarrēn. *Wb.*: "sūra, Loch, lacuna' nur mit zarnumant, Name eines Sees oder Teiches." The NP. translation, there, has "ālat, engine," and the name has water-works, not a pond or lake in mind.

The source for the beginning of the description is *Yt.*5,5:

ahyåsča čvanhå āpo	of one of these waters the overflow
apayžāro viǰasati	(would suffice to be) distributed
vispāiš avi kršvān hafta	over all the seven continents

[7] Cf. svl'k'wmnd, in the Yama myth, for Aw. suwrā, under 'Yama χšēta.'

ahyåsča ēvanhå āpo	of one of these waters
hamaθa ava.barati	an always equal quantity flows down
haminamča zayanamča	in winter and summer.

For the idea of "ascending water": since high antiquity crossing of river beds and ravines by canals was achieved after the principle of communicating pipes, with a vertically falling and a mounting pipe. This is a practical application of "pressure," a notion not yet recognized; perhaps this is what "čihrīg, nature" of the water expresses. The whole picture looks like a mechanized presentation of the pre-Aristotelean Greek belief, see under 'Sea.'

According to Aryan belief, the god ruling over the waters of springs, rivers, lakes was ApāmNapāt, like Neptunus in Italy before he became one with the Mediterranean Poseidon. In *RV*.II,35,9 a very old hymn the locality of which is Sárasvatī-Arachosia, he is the god of a fire born out of the celestial waters, the clouds, which flares up by itself. He clothes himself in the lightning, that means is the lightning, just as AhuraMazdāh with the heaven as raiment is Varuna. He drives with "stallions quick as thought," is called "warrior, kśatríya, procreates all living creatures," all characteristics appearing again in Iranian. He was one of the great ahura, entirely alive in the Veda. But Zoroaster eliminated him, and the Awesta preserved only one large fragment of a pre-Zoroastrian epical song, which found a place in the *Zam-yasht* 19,46-52: the myth of the fight for the hvarnah in the ocean.

45a: uγram ahvartam hvarno	the strong hvarnah that needs no food,
46: yahmi pati prtātē	for which fought each other
⟨spantasča manyuš ahrasča - - - -⟩	
aδāt ašte fraharzayat	then each of the two sent out
āsište katarasčit	champions (dual), the swiftest,
⟨spanto manyuš aštam fraharzayat - - -⟩	
āθram⟨ča⟩ ahurahya ⟨mazdā⟩ puθram	the Fire (acc.), son of Ahura,
⟨ahro manyuš aštam fraharzayat - - -⟩	
χrvīdrum ažim⟨ča⟩ dahākam	AžiDahāka (acc.) the - -

47: aδāt fraša ham.rāzayata
ātarš mazdå ahurahya

uti avaθa manhāno
ētat hvarno hamgrfšāni
yat ahvartam
āt hē paskāt fradvarat

ažiš θrizafā duždēno
uti zaχšaθram davamno
48: inja ōt ham.dēsayahva
ātar(š) mazdå ahurahya
yazi ētat niyāsāhe
yat ahvartam
fra θwam pati apāθa
noit apayā uzrōčayāi
zām pati ⟨ahuraδātam⟩
θrāθrāi ⟨rtahya⟩ gēθānām
aδa ātarš zastā pati
apa.grwyat
fraχšni uštāna.zinahya
yaθa ažiš biwiyāha
49: aδāt fraša ham.duvarat
ažiš θrizafā duždēno
uti avaθa manhāno
ētat hvarno ham.grfšāni
yat ahvartam
āt hē paskāt ham.rāzayata

ātarš mazdå ahurahya
uti vačōbiš ōjāno
50: tinja ōt ham.dēsayahva
aže θrizafan dahāka
yazi ētat niyāsāhe
yat ahvartam
fra θwam zaδaha ⟨pati uz⟩-
uχšāni

And he stepped forth upright,
the Fire, (the son) of Ahura(Mazdāh),
thus thinking:
This hvarnah I will seize
that needs no food!
But against him the dragon crept forth,
the three-mouthed, nefarious,
hissing such words:
Back, look out!
Fire, son of Ahura . . .
If ye dare to lay hand upon this
that needs no food,
I will blow ye out,
ye shall nevermore blaze up
on the earth
to protect the villages!
Thereupon the Fire his hands withdrew
bewaring of injury to his life,
for the dragon had shaken him.
And he crept forth, the
three-mouthed, nefarious dragon,
thus thinking:
I will seize this hvarnah
that needs no food!
But against him stepped forth, upright,
the Fire, - - -
speaking such words:
Back, look out!
three-mouthed dragon Dahāka,
If ye dare to lay your hands upon
this that needs no food,
I will (pass into) your bottom

zafar pati uz.rōčayāni — (and) blaze out from your mouth,
noit apayā āfrapatāi — ye shall nevermore fall
zām pati mrkāi gē*θ*ānām — upon the earth to ruin the villages!
aδa ažiš gavā pati apa.grwyat — Thereupon the dragon his claws withdrew,
fraχšni uštāna.zinahya — bewaring of injury to his life,
ya*θ*a ātarš biwiyāha — for the Fire had shaken him.
51: ētat hvarno frapinvata — This hvarnah swelled
avi zrayo vurukrtam — unto the sea Vurukrtam,
ā dim ha*θ*rā ham.grwyat — and at once seized it
apām napå arvataspo — ApāmNapāt with the swift horses,
tat izyati apām napå — This he desired, ApāmNapāt:
ētat hvarno ham.grfšāni yat ahvartam — This hvarnah I will seize that needs no food,
būnam zrayaho gufrahya — to the bottom of the deep sea,
būnē jafrānām varinām — the bottom of the deep lakes!
52: brzantam ahuram χšētam — The high ahura, the kingly,
χša*θ*riyam apām napātam — the χša*θ*riya ApāmNapāt,
arvataspam yazamade — with the swift horses we worship,
ršānam zavanasuvam — the male, he who helps who calls him,
yo nrš daδā nrš tataša — who created men, shaped men,
yo upa.āpo yazato — who dwells in the waters, is to be worshipped,
srut.gōšatamo yazamno — the keenest-hearing when worshipped!

The redactors have seriously retouched the beginning, but of the following stanzas only 48 f-g has been affected. In the strictly symmetrical composition this verse corresponds to 50g:

48: zām pati ⟨ahuraδātām⟩ *θ*rā*θ*rāi ⟨rtahya⟩ gē*θ*ānām
50: zām pati mrkāi gē*θ*ānām

Obviously, the mazdayasnian terms are interpolated; the same "zām ⟨ahuraδātam⟩" occurs in *Yt.*5,63 and 65, in the Pārva legend, see under 'Navigation.' They are as incompatible with the archaic myth as spanta and ahra-manyuš and other mazdayasnian terms interpolated in st.46. In the original, Ahura-Varuna and an adversary fought for the hvarnah,

not in person, but each by sending an "ašta." In Varuna's case it is his son Ātarš. The original may have called him "ātarš varunahya puθra." The name of the adversary is lost. ašte and āsište are certainly not "acc. pl. inflected like pronouns" (*Wb.*), but two duals; there were no more than two figures.[8] "Bote, messenger" does not render the peculiar military meaning of the word: they are "vices, champions" for those who sent them.

*Wb.*322 arranges apāθa in 48d under √āθ- "to ruin," in every respect doubtful; Geldner read *apata in regard to āfrapatāi in 50f. Not these words however correspond, but apāθa in 48d to pati uz.uχšāni and uz rōčayāni in 50 d-e, and āfrapatāi in 50f to uzrōčayāi in 48e. There is no other clue for the signification of apāθa but this opposition. 50 d-e speak of "zaδah, Steiss, posterior"[9] and "zafar, mouth, jaw," and pati uz.rōčayāni means "to blaze out of (the jaw)." Some punishments in hell, described in *Art.Vir.Nām.* explain this, e.g. "MNV čygvn m'r-y y prysp hvm'n'k P'N nšym BYN 'ZLVN.t V P'N PVMH byrvn Y'TVN.t." P'N PVMH byrvn is "zafar pati uz-"; P'N nšym BYN is "zaδahā (pati) . . ." Therefore, the "uz" of uχšāni is faulty, and pati is doubtful (ditography from the line before?). The sense must be "to pass, drive into," e.g. upa.vaz-, *važya-, *užāni. In parallel with this rude picture, apāθa must graphically express what the dragon threatens to do to the fire: to smother, blow out the fire, perhaps apa + √an- "to breathe," to āθra "breath," cf. *Yt.*19,44 "apana, expire, aushauchen (des Lebens)" and OI. "apāná, inspire, breathe into."

The Pahl. translation of ahvarta, "agrift, unseizable" is abstracted from this tale, but ahvarta can in no way be construed as meaning unseizable, it means "not needing food," MP. aχvarišnīk. That is the name of the eternal fires of the oil springs at Dāmghān. As a light, fire in water, we would say, it lives on liquid, on naphtha.[10] The whole

[8] In the Rχša myth, *Yt.*8,7 and 38, see under 'Mithra,' several figures are added in a similar way: adaptation to Mazdaism.

[9] *Wb.*1657 compares OI. hadati, also Gr. σχάζω. Speaking of Aži Dahāka's zaδah may hide a play upon words and perhaps help the etymology of dahāka, cf. the surname humayaka, bene mentulatus.

[10] Akk. naptu, explained by šaman iṭṭi, "petroleum," as far as I know not attested in high antiquity, might be, if not older than 15th century B.C., a loanword from Aryan, and does not

myth plays upon words: The fire says to the dragon: "if you dare to devour, hvar-, this hvarnah, that needs no food, ahvarta, I will burn your entire digestive organs," jaw "hvarna, wherewith one eats," and zaδah. It understands the name hvarnah as the "consuming" fire.

Ātarš, fire of the hearth, son of Varuna, is just as incapable of taking possession "ham.grfšāni" of the hvarnah, as is the dragon. But when the hvarnah "swells," extends as far as to reach the ocean Vurukrtam, ApāmNapāt who dwells in the ocean, seizes it without resistance and takes it down to the bottom of the deep sea, because it is his, who is born out of the waters of the clouds and clothes himself in the lightning. Here, ApāmNapāt is the adversary of Ahura-Varuna, and wholly Poseidon, not only Neptunus. It was Iranian and Old Ionian[11] belief that all springs communicated, deep underground, with the ocean. Thus, the oil springs, too, belong to the būna, depth of the ocean where ApāmNapāt takes the hvarnah.

The conclusion of the poem, the invocation of the god, is in perfect condition. "yazata, adorandus" appears here in a clearly pre-Zoroastrian context, and covered by "yazamna." As in the Veda, the god has the epithet χšaθriya, and "ršan, masculus" as creator of the naro, warriors. A "creator" ApāmNapāt can have no place in Zoroaster's doctrine.

In *Yt.*8,4 Tištriya, the star rising from the ocean, bringer of rain, is described as descendant of ApāmNapāt. Though perhaps not so old as "Ātar son of Varuna," this idea is a natural one:

⟨yahmāt⟩ hača brzāt hāusravaham apām nafδrāt hača čiθram

Wolff-Bartholomae: "(Tištriya verehren wir) vom dem her (yahmāt hača), dem erhabenen, der Ruhm (stammt), (aber) von ApāmNapāt (stammt) der Ursprung." Lommel: "von ihm (yahmāt hača) dem erhabenen ist der gute Leumund, vom Wasserkind (sein?) Geschlecht," note: "stammt Tištriya von ApāmNapāt?" Those are meaningless translations, wrong, because they failed to see that "yahmāt" merely serves to connect an old fragment with the preceding verses. Without it, the meter is regular, the sentence complete, though the name Tištriya

prevent etymological connection of Napāt and naphtha, Neptunus. Cf. AMI.IX,84ff. for an interpretation of the myth.

[11] Reason for the interest of the Greeks in natural tunnels, Strabo XI,14,8 the "bárathron" of Arsénē, and Pliny VI,126-28 on Aretissa-Thōspitis, and the "speculum" of Elegosine. Also the notion of underground connection of rivers like Indus and Nile.

is missing: the fragment stands with good reason in the Tištriya yasht: "from the high one is [Tištriya's] fame, from ApāmNapāt his kind."

Another fragment, *Yt.*8,34, makes ApāmNapāt rule over the distribution of water:

apām napās tā āpo ahve astvate šoiθrabaχtā vibaχšati

"ApāmNapāt allots to humanity the portion of water due to each farm."

The curious sandhi-form "napās-tā," for which the present shape gives no good reason, is due to the fact that the fragment is part of an old poem. It describes the activity of a "mīrāb," as they open and close, still today, the small irrigation ditches, day and night, by a cut with the spade, kāstra = bīl, after a plan of distribution, scrupulously, almost religiously observed.[12]

In Babylonia, where similar conditions created similar institutions, the weather-god Adad held the function of ApāmNapāt, with the title "gugal samē u erṣeti" or "ilāni," gugal of heaven and earth, or of the gods. He appears almost regularly on the kudurru, boundary stones and letters of franchise, of the Kassite and post-Kassite periods, in the second half of the second millennium. From the same time dates official correspondence on regulation and management of canals and sluices.[13] On the RittiMarduk kudurru, granted by Nebuchadnezzar I, one reads the typical curses (col.II,41): "^{d}Adad gugal samē u erṣeti bēl naqbi u zununi nārāti.šu limilla sakiki, Adad, gugal of heaven and earth, lord over springs and rain, shall fill his ditches with mud!" or (IV,3): "^{d}Adad gugal samē u erṣeti nārāti sakiki limili u tāmirāti.šu limilā puqutta sīr birā likabbisa šēpā.šu, may Adad, gugal of heaven and earth, fill his ditches with mud, and his fields may he fill with thorns, and may his feet tread down the vegetation of the pastures!". gugallu forms, more than once, a pair with mušērišu, "planter, cultivator," which belongs to irrišu, √erēšu, transl. of Sum. EN.GAR, e.g. in the title of Libit-Ištar of Ur, "en.gar.zi(d) Uri^{ki}.ma, just irrigator of Ur," who had built large canals, "just" because he had made a "Code" which certainly dealt with irrigation.[14]

[12] Cf. AMI.IX,89; *Altp.Inschr.* 324. [13] A. Waschow in MAOG.X,54.

[14] As far as I know the literature, San Nicolò and Ungnad have first recognized the meaning of gugallu in their *Neubab. Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*; cf. Pfeiffer and Speiser, AOB.XVI, n.41,6.—B. Meissner, *Stud.z.Assyr.Lex.*, MAOG.XIII,85 and *Beitr. z. Ass. Wb.* in O.I.Ch. Assyr.Stud. I.1, 1931, distinguishes "gugallu, fisher" and "gugallu, Garten-, bezw. Bewässerungsinspektor,

The gugallu is a well known officer in the Nuzi-tablets: "Opening and closing the canals was strictly regulated by a man called kugallu. There are many documents concerning the opening and closing of the canals." And "The [lu]šaqū were taking the water from the canals and pouring it into the gardens and fields."[18] The Nuzi-tablets are slightly older than most of the kudurru, back to near 1500 B.C. But it is significant that the office and its projection into heaven is limited to Nuzi-Arrapḫa, i.e. the northern East Tigris region, and to Kassite Babylonia, which included the southern East Tigris region, and Luristan as far as Hamadan. Before the Kassite period, the gugallu is not yet confirmed in Babylonia proper; in documents of the Achaemenian period, Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius (in Strassmeier), he appears often. Adad as gugallu seems to be not an old Sumerian god, but one of the Subaraean and Kassite population of the East Tigris regions.

Strabo, 15,1,30, quotes Megasthenes on India: "officers regulate the rivers, survey the land, inspect the closed canals from which water is distributed in the *ὀχετείας* (irrigation and water-engines), in order that, in the use of water, all get what they are entitled to," šoiθrabaχta. In the Talmud, *Taanit* 20a, the men that distribute the water are called ryšy nhry; at their side are ryšy krby, "field-watches," and guzīrpat, Syr. rēš gzīrāyē, these last two Iranian titles of officers not accurately defined, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Syr. Akten*. The Qur'ān says 54,28: "And announce to them that the water must be divided between them, every watering must take place alternatingly."

One short paragraph of the Iranian water legislation is preserved in *Nir.67*, where libations to the waters are treated with prolixity. The Nirang follows the usual classification of waters, best expressed in the verses *Yt.8,41* (see under 'Tištriya'): "Tištriya, by whom the waters count [the seasons], the still and the flowing, those in springs and in rivers, those in canals and in pools." Dealing with "moving waters" the *Nir.* says, in bad orthography and language [Pahl.transl. interlin.]:

der 2% der Rente erhält," from a third gugallu, the doubtful interpretation of which rests on a gloss "=alāridu"; whereas Ebeling in Reall.Assyr. 1,456 says nothing but "Beamter unbekannten Amtsbereichs auf den kudurru."

[18] Cf. E. R. Lacheman, in R. Starr, *Nuzi* 1,532. I doubt the last point: irrigation ditches are a little higher than the gardens and fields, and the water covers them as soon as they are opened. But the šaqū carries drinking water to the houses and yards where people work.

nāvyayāi iθa ape: āaṭ nāvyayāi avaēzo aētaŋhå frabarətā
kā 'N'P'K āw ētōn hāt: 'N'P'K āw avinās ān kē frabartar kē?
With 'N'P'K[10] waters (it be) thus: as to nāviyå (it is) without sin that of them the frabartar

dāstra.maso paiti.barō
nēmak.masak frāč barāt ēn ač apastāk pētāk.
half-as-much may bring forth, this is clear from the Awestic text.

The Awestic text does not speak—as the *Nirang.* does—of libations, but of canals, and the exegesis is anything but "pētāk, evident." It hinges upon the translation of dāstra.masah by "half-as-much." Bartholomae, not doubting, advanced *Wb.*739: "dāstra, n., eigtl. 'Teil,' zu δατέομαι, with a aus ɔ." The libation of "more than a part" cannot possibly be a sin; the part must be defined, therefore the Pahl.transl. says "half." But that is equally wrong, for neither can libating a little more than prescribed ever have been a sin. The ordinance did not refer to libations, and dāstra can be neither Teil nor half. All compounds with -masah—apart from havat.masah "just as much"—are formed with concrete things like house, handful, fist, buttock, rib, two ribs, up to the ear, mountain and half a race course, cf. OI. mitrámasas, and dāstra must be a concrete noun. In Sasanian script, monumental or cursive, d and k are similar or identical, and one must emend 'kāstra.masah, "as much as a cut with the spade." aētaŋhå, gen.pl.fem., "earum," refers to the nāviyå, "of the canals," so that the Aw. text says: "Without sin, the frabartar is allowed to divert from the canals as much as a cut with the spade." pati.bar- indicates the aim, namely "to the fields or farms," and "without sin" indicates an exceptional case.

frabartar: *Wb.* "eigtl. 'der herzuträgt,' näml. Brennstoff zum Feuer" merely thinks of his inferior role at the very late period of the *Nirang.*, entirely unfit for defining the real meaning of the office. In the Aw. text he does not deal with wood, but with water, and fra- is not "herzu" but "forth." fra.bar- is the general word for "transport," in the case of water not "to carry," but "to conduct," cf. aqueduct, conduit. In *Vid.*5,57 and 58, the ābrt,

[10] Very ambiguous signs, the usual rendering is a'yvt'k.

i.e. āp.brt "water-carrier" stands beside the frabartar, as the šaqū beside the kugallu, and in *Nir.*82 a third name joins them: dānazvāza. Duchesne, §99: "dānuzvāza, dānu + uz.vāza." uz.-vāz- is "to lift," dānu is not water as element, but the flowing river; thus *Dar.Suez*: "the Nile which flows, dān[vatī] in Egypt."[17] Pahl. transl. of dānuzvāza is "pa rōt vāzēnītārīh," hence dānu=rōt, vāza=vāzēnītan, as n.abstr., the activity of the man working at the bucket-wheel.

Another paragraph of water legislation is *Vid.*14,13: "čivat yavat zå . . . yavat ēša āfš biyārixti upa.θaršti fra.bavāt," speaking of zām karšyām rōδyām, clearance of arable soil, "How large shall the field be? . . . such that the [available quantity of] water fra.bavāt [lit. be in advance, ahead] be amply enough for two irrigations," of course not "im Jahre" (*Wb.*) but daily. Benveniste *Inf.av.* 30: "il faut autant de terre que cette eau se répande par double irrigation(?) par percement (du canal)." The last word means upa.θaršti, which the Pahl. transl. renders by "apar pa b'lyn," apparently "up to the highest level." Neither translation is right: upa.θaršti refers to time, "in due time," see under 'Fravarti.' This passage and that of *Nir.*67 belong to the legislation on āpo šoiθrabaχtå, *Yt.*8,34.

Duchesne §128 stresses the spelling of frabrtar, assimilated to ābrt, and distinguished from ham.bartar. But this appears only in the gen. of the n.pr. hmbrθrv(vnhv'm) of the memorial list of *Yt.*13, where only the consonants can be authentic, while as term of profession the word occurs only in texts of the Arsacid period. The vowels therefore have no authority at all. But of the greatest significance is the fact that *frabartar* corresponds to OI. *prábhartar* and Oscian *arsfertur*, see Meillet *Introd.*[8] 360. This priestly office comes down from Indo-European antiquity, in full agreement with the immemorial age of the institution.

The dānuzvāza works at the bucket-wheel as nāq mē, the frabartar conducts and distributes the water to the fields as kugallu, mīrāb; the ābrt is the šaqū, Arab. saqqā. In the *Nirang.* the frabartar has become a libation priest, just as the old nāq mē at the Neo-Babylonian period. But at the very beginning, frabartar and ābrt functioned in the cult of ApāmNapāt. Zoroaster abolished what remained of this cult, but the

[17] Cf. the names of the Russian rivers: Don = Tanaïs; Dnieper = Danapris; Dniestr = Danastris; the latter two in Ammian Marc., and Donau = Danuvius (Sallust).

indispensable institutions and laws remained, from time immemorial to our present day. The introductory chapter of the Hazār Dātistān[18] is entirely devoted to the legislation on the kārīz and the distribution of water.

If frabartar and ApāmNapāt appear in Aryan cult, arsfertur and Neptunus in Italic cult, and if frabartar and ābrt designate the mīrāb and the saqqā, then, the people that spoke Indo-European, the language to which these terms belong, lived in a country with subtropical climate.

Irrigation of an alluvial country with large rivers requires organized labor and government, a state of things reached in Egypt and Babylonia, and probably in Turkistan, long before the beginning of history, before 3000 B.C. Not only the Iranians, but their ancestors, the Aryans, were no longer "Steppenhirten," but agriculturists in the middle of the second millennium. In Iran, a more primitive agriculture, without irrigation works, preceded that phase back to the end of the stone age. I do not know who first expressed the thought, but, had agriculture been unknown to the gathas, as Nyberg 276 and similarly Hertel maintain, the gathas would belong to the fifth millennium B.C., a pre-Indo-European age, just as lack of acquaintance with iron, and copper as only known metal of the "Gatha-Gemeinde" would move this community into the fourth millennium. "Quod non est in scriptis non est in mundo" is no historical argument, and it is in scriptis. If for example the autumn "Herbst" is called "patišhahya," a form presupposing the existence of Ar. *patisasia, and meaning "harvest, hahuš, of the hahya, products of the fields," or if the god Mithra bears the archaic epithet "krša.rāzah, who cuts straight furrows" with the plough, as in *Odyssey* XVIII,375:

τῷ κε μ'ἰδοῖς εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην

—then, even neglecting all archeological evidence, agriculture was older than all remaining scripta. "kršivant, plougher" appears only in the Arsacid *Vidēvdād*, but the fem. kršivatī is, as Ass. karsibuti, name of a district of Gizilbunda (near Zandjān) in the annals of ŠamšiAdad V (823-810), and OI. kṛṣīvalá corresponds to it. OP. *kršva.karāna is ren-

[18] Bartholomae, *Z.Sas.Recht* III,40 and 1,29.

dered by Bab. girišvakarranu (g before r as in Her. Germánioi:Krmāna). The result that agriculture was unknown to the Gatha-Gemeinde proves the premises to be wrong.

Zoroaster says in the "Creation Gatha" Y.44,4:

"ko [drta] āpo urvarāsča, who holds (in space) water and plants?"

namely AhuraMazdāh; in pre-Zoroastrian concept the Fravarti. The thought expresses the astonishment at the observation that water always seeks the lowest spots—the fight against it is the art of irrigation, and that a grass-blade or a high tree stand upright. But the pair āpā-urvarē means especially the cereals of the irrigated fields.

Y.51,7:

dādi moi yo gām tašo	āpasča urvarāsča
amrtātā harvātā (follows:)	tavīšī utiyūtī

"give me, thou who hast formed the ox, waters and plants, immortality and integrity (of body) . . . force and longevity!" Here, the pair is increased to a triad "waters-plants-ox," as also in the *Fravarāni* Y.12,7: "I profess like the waters-plants, the ox." Amrtātā and harvātā are the "projection mythique du dvandva āpā-urvarē" natural to a people who live on agriculture with irrigation, and are transcendently opposed to the earthly pair, which, together with the ox that pulls the plough, clearly means agriculture.

In *Vid.*1,3, a poorly preserved but very old verse—"the āpo zmo and urvarā, waters, earth and plants are all sarta, frozen"—the soil is added as a fourth point. The sentence means: "the climate makes agriculture and cattle-breeding impossible," see under 'Vidēvdād.'

Thus, only one point is missing, "the labor," to make full the five points by which the share of the landowner and the peasant in the produce of the crops is calculated, even today: (1) soil, zam; (2) water, āp; (3) seed, urvarā; (4) ox, gav; (5) labor. This is θwaχšah, e.g. in Gath. vidans θwaχšahā gavoi. With the problem of this partition the verses Y.31,9-10 deal:

9:	hiyāt ahyāi dadā paθam
vastriyāt vā ā.ite	yo vā noit ahat vāstriyo

10: āt hī ayā fravarta vāstriyam ahyāi fšuyantam
ahuram rtāvanam vahoš ˚frasanhiyam manoš
noit mazdā avāstriyo dvanščina humrtoiš baχšta

Bartholomae: "als Du es ihm (dem Rind) freistelltest von den Bauern sich abhängig zu machen oder von dem der nicht Bauer ist, da hat es sich unter den beiden den viehzüchtenden Bauern als den gerechten Herrn . . . ausgewählt. Der Nicht-Bauer wird, o M., auch wenn er sich darnach drängt, keinen Teil haben an der guten Botschaft!"

The verses do not think of a Bos primigenius, and the "free choice" between becoming the slave of one or the other—between being shot or hung—would be bitter mockery. That the ox is property of man is not questioned, it never had a choice or chance. ā.ite with ablative is "going away from," not "to make oneself dependent"; and the verses are conditional: hiyāt, be it, suppose that:

"Suppose, Thou wouldst let the ox have its own way, to leave either the vāstriya or the one who is no vāstriya, it would choose between them for itself the vāstriya.fšuyant, since he is a good patron, a herald of Good-Will."[19]

One sees that cattle belonged partly to the peasant, partly to the landowner. The last line draws the inference, the moral from the hypothetical case: "Consequently, the bad-vāstriya, the one who is no real farmer, shall have no share, baχšta in the humrtiš!"

Cf. *Y.*43,15: "Noit nā poruš drugvato hiyāt čiχšnūšo! never shall one listen to the drugvant!", and *Y.*45,1: "noit dbitiyam dušsastiš ahum mrnšyat!, not shall a second time saying-things-immoral corrupt the human world!" Both are morals, inferred from preceding examples. dvanščina is obscure, but apparently it qualifies the negation just as "noit poruš, never!, noit dbitiyam, never again, nevermore!" hence "not ever!"[20]

humrtiš is neither "gute Botschaft" nor "gutes Andenken." The verses speak of good and bad farmers, peasants and landowners and their share in the profit. Along with √baχš- "to allot, share," √mar- can only mean "to calculate, reckon," like patišmar- in *Yt.*8,5,41, see

[19] For the last words see under 'Hāugava.'

[20] "dvans" may belong to "dva, two," certainly not to a hypothetic √dav- "sich drängen."

under 'Tištriya.' The initial hu-, therefore, is the same as in huyaχna = *hoyaχna, and in huzantu = *hozantu, an ablaut-form of *hm "together." *homrti is the addition, Germ. "Zusammenrechnung," settlement of account.[21] Hübschmann, *Pers.Stud.* 105, posited OP. *hamāra < *hamhmāra > NP. hamār, "computus, numerus, mensura," Arm. hamar "number, counting, account," and compared e.g. OI. saṃsmāraṇa "the counting over (of cattle)." The OI. word is "round-up, rodeo," and homrti would mean the same if applied to cattle only. The last line says: "(therefore:) the bad-farmer [owner who does not take care of his land] shall have no share (whatever) in the settling of accounts."

The harvest is counted in fifths. According to the number of the points furnished by either the owner or the cultivator, each one receives his number of shares. This partition, still valid today, is an Old Iranian institution. It went over into the Arab world probably before Islam, as the term "khammās, i.e. fiver" shows, translated by "farmer, métayer."[22]

Not many passages show which cereals were cultivated. *Vid.*3,4: "Where on earth, zam, is it best? Where one cultivates the greater number of cornfields, yavānām, pastures, vāstrānām, fruit-gardens, urvarānām hvarθabaryānām." And *Vid.*3,24: "For soil left untilled a long time is as unhappy . . . as a beautiful woman, a long time without child." Cf. Ammianus Marc. xxiv,5,1: "ad lucos venimus agrosque pube variorum seminum laetos."

The *Gr.Bdh.* enumerates 117 (*Ind.Bdh.* K20, fol.119s) under the category "yurtāk, cereals" among others: gandum, "wheat," yav, "barley" [oats seem to have been unknown], and brinǰ, briǰ "rice."

gantuma > gandum appears in *Nirang.*28. The placename in *NiR*, written g d^{a} u t v in OP., kan.tu.wa in El., has been connected with it, assuming a misspelling, easy in OP., of t^{a} for m^{a}. But the El. text is in both cases at variance: g d^{a} u m v would be *kan.tu.ma.ma, g d^{a} u t v = *kan.tu.tu.ma; both would be haplographies, but in order to find gantuma in gandutava one must assume two mistakes, and would still have the unfitting d for t.

[21] Cf. *Pap.El.* 'vpkrt, "upakrti, estimate of costs"; and "hankrti, addition" under 'Navigation.'

[22] Not yet recognized by Dozy, *Suppl.* 1,405 and Fleischer, *Stud. zu Dozy.*

But it would be strange if rice was never mentioned in the Awesta. Herodotus describes it in III,100 without giving its name. According to Athenaeus b.III,110, Sophocles spoke of *ὀρίνδης ἄρτος* in his Triptolemus. It was really made known to the western world by the scientific staff of Alexander the Great, who described it as they saw it in Syria (i.e. southern Mesopotamia), Babylonia, Susis, Bactria and India. Aristobulus' in Strabo 15,1,18 described how it was cultivated: "rice grows in enclosed beds, is inundated from dammed up ponds, and reaped at the time of the setting of the Pleiades"; similarly in Theophrast.[28]

The name is Skr. vrīhí, MP. brinǰ, briǰ, NP. birinǰ and gurinǰ, demanding OIr. *vrinǰ, *vriǰ; Arm. brinj (j=dz); Syr. bringā. To the forms with nasal the group Gr. óryza, Aram. arūzā, ōrez, Arab. ruzz < *ruz is opposed.

I believe the word occurs in *Vid.*8,86, see under 'Industries,' where one of the products of the long list of industries that used fire is called para.brǰya. It is made in an ōnya, a vessel of middle size, from urvarā, a cereal. The Pahl. transl. misinterprets the whole paragraph. It seems to be a drink brewed, possibly "rack," an alcoholic rice-brandy; the name para.brǰya of the drink would be to that of the rice itself, brǰya, like the name of the pressed hōma, para.hōma, to that of the plant. The passage is a late one, and the spelling with b for v would be accounted for by that late date.

In Y.1,7 and 2,7, an obscure brǰya is invoked beside nmāniya, personification of the "house, family." The Pahl. transl. observes: "mēnūk-ē apāk ušahin hamkār ē? ramak ē? žurtakān bē awzāyēt, a spirit which, together with ušahin [fifth and last section of day, from midnight to sunrise] increases the herds of [? or: and] the kinds of cereals." This relation of brǰya to cereals makes one think of rice as symbol of fertility. The passages are among the very latest of the Awesta.

Something concerning agriculture is also hidden behind the dark expression ‚fšōnibya vaŋθwābya aspanibya yōnibya'.[24] *Wb.* misinterprets "aspan, zu√sav-, nutzenbringend" and separates the dat.dual yavanibyā

[28] See Bretzl, *Botan. Forschg. des Alexanderzuges,* 202ff.

[24] *Wb.*: "dvandva bei dem jedes Glied mit einem Adj. verbunden ist, falsch zu X,268." For fšōnī vanθwā alone see under 'Ardvī.' In fact, two subst. dvandva stand side by side, in *S.*2,7 fšōni vanθwē with aspanāča yavīnō (the second pair alone in *Y.haft.* 42,2) and in *S.*1,7 fšōnibyā vanθwabyā with aspanibyā yavanibyā.

as "yavan-, Getreidefeld" from the acc.dual (not plur.) written yəvīnō.[25] "Barley-field" would be a more accurate translation, also of yavačarānya. Hertel, *Siegesf.* 102, explained yava.ni by "barley as horse-fodder" and aspa.ni as subst. "horse-breeding," in analogy to fšōni < *pasu.ni "Viehzucht," more exactly "sheep-breeding." fšōni is formed like pecunia. This view needs a modification.

Today, horse-fodder is "kāh u ǰaw, chaff and barley"; "ǰaw u gandum, barley and wheat," thus already in *Sūr Āfr.*: "vas asp mart ē ǰuvān, vas yav apāk gandum, many horses and young men, much barley with wheat." No oats. But the famous Iranian horse-fodder was MP. aspast. It had passed into Akkadian, as aspasti, already about 700 B.C., in the so-called "Garden-tablet" of Marduk.apal.iddin, and appears, even earlier, in the n.pr. of a chief of Uila, Nāiri country (NW Media) ašpašta.-tauk, third campaign of ŠamšiAdad V, 832-810 B.C. The book *Xusr.Rēt.* says the onager lives on "aspast u yav." Also in the *Kārn.Art.*, Nöldeke, p. 54, aspast is mentioned. Nöldeke explained it in ZDMG,32,408 as aspa + √ad- "to eat."[26] The Arabs explain aspist by fiṣfiṣa, lucern, purple medic, or clover, trifolium. It is medicago sativa,[27] and was so characteristic for Iran, that the Greeks called it simply ἡ μηδικὴ πόα, a name first appearing in Aristophanes' *Equites* v,606, in 424 B.C. Strabo says: "We call the plant which is the main fodder of the Nēsaean horses, because of its being plentiful there, simply mēdiké, medic."

aspa.ni may signify the pastures of *aspasta.

[25] ‚yavō.hva' in *Vid.*17,3, united with yvny- under yavan in *Wb.*, is on the contrary a separate word: "χrafstra . . . spiš nāma . . . yam martiyākā yavam yavahva nižgahanti vastra vastrahva," *Wb.*: "Getreidespeicher"; spiš, spis, after NP. spuš/s "Laus, Milbe u.a.," "the hrafstra named louse which eats the people's corn in the lofts and the garments in the closets." Those are no lice, but meal worms and moths. yavahva—in this ungrammatical passage—may be a flour-chest or pot.

[26] The init. a/i/u of NP. aspist, and i/u in the second syllable makes the etymology difficult: those vowels secondarily developed before init. sp-, but the a of aspa does not fall. The same unexplained case is OP. Aspadana (Ptolemy), but MP. spāhān, NP. Isfahān.

[27] Cf. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, chap. "Alfalfa."

XXXIII. TIŠTRIYA AND SATAVĒSA

"I'll sail upon the dog-star!"
—Purcell

MED. tištriya, OP. *tišθ'iya > *tišya[1] is the Iranian name of Sirius in Canis Major, the brightest fixed star and the nearest to our solar system.

It is the *ἀστὴρ ὀπωρεινὸς* of *Iliad* 22,26, where Achilles is compared with it; often simply called *τὸ ἄστρον*. *σείριος ἀστήρ* appears first in Hesiod, then the subst. *σείριος*, still before the star was included into the Canis configuration. *σείριος* is used for scintillating stars in general, and Eratosthenes and other astronomers interpret it by *διὰ τὴν τῆς φλογὸς κίνησιν*. Aratos of Soloi, first half of the third century B.C., says: *ὅς ῥα μάλιστα ὀξέα σειριάει*, the star shoots his rays. This has a bearing on the Iranian etymology. J. Markwart, *Südarmenien* 15*, explained tištriya as "star flashing rays," with reduplication as in OI. tiṣṭhāmi; Germanic strāla "ray," means "arrow," like the MP. NP. name of the star, tīr < tigra. The etymology, again, has a bearing on history: whether a linguistic correspondence exists between Ved. tiṣya, Ir. tištriya (OP. *tišya) and Gr. seirios, at any rate, the names are all based upon the same notion, and the star seems to have been one of the primeval IE. divi.

The eighth month of the Iranian calendar and the eighth yasht are dedicated to Tištriya. The last part of this yasht, st.50-61, deals with two themes, a dissertation on Tištriya's rehabilitation under Artaxerxes II,[2] and a short, archaic sacrificial rule, see under 'Mithra.' Leaving aside *Yt.*8,37-38, with the highly archaic invocation of mithrā-ahurā (also under 'Mithra'), a fragment of the Rχša myth—adequately inserted into this yasht since Rχša is Tištriya transfigured into an heroic "archer," šēpāk-tīr—two groups are prominent among the remaining stanzas, by form and content closely connected in themselves, but also with each other. They apparently once formed an old hymn, the mazdayasnian revision of which we own in *Yt.*8.

As in other old yashts, the invocation of the individual god was followed by a series of epithets, of which the present st.2 and 4 are a collection. St.2:

[1] Probably Gr. Tissaphernes < OP. tišya.hvarnah, MP. Tišfarn in the Mahrnāmak.
[2] It includes the st. 11, 15, 17, 19 and 24-25.

arušam rōχšnam fradrsram	The white, bright, far-visible,
v(i)yāvantam bēšaz(i)yam	? , healing,
rava.frōθmanam brzantam	snorting-in-running, high,
dūrāt vyāwāntam bānubyo	radiant from afar with rays
rōχšnibyo anāhitēbyo	bright, immaculate.

Not all the epithets are of necessity authentic. The first three, according to *Yt.*10,68, are in reality those of Mithra's horses; in *Yt.*13,81 they are misused to describe the "fravarti of AhūraMazdāh." "Snorting-in-running" is another epithet typical of horses, used in *Yt.*17,12 for the horses of Rtiš. They may have been actually applied to Tištriya, who could assume the shape of a stallion.

vyāvant appears twice, a repetition the more difficult to accept, as the word counts for three syllables at the first, for four at the second place, there connected with bānubya. This is covered by *Yt.*17,6, where the same group is a predicate of Rtiš, and by *RV.*x,6,2 bhānúbir vibhāva. Hence, the epithet is of Aryan antiquity, and its etymology is vi + √bā-, which may well express the twinkling of the star, agreeing with Eratosthenes' interpretation of seírios. One must read 'vyāwāntam or 'viwāntam; the fem. viwātī is the epithet of Ušā in *Yt.*5,62, Pārva legend. The first vyāvantam stands for this or a similar word of four syllables[3] which formed an octosyllable together with bēšaziyam, for this adjective is proved to be genuine by st.43 "he heals all creatures."

Another epithet, drva.čašman in st.12, usually translated "with his healthy eye," means "with the good" as opp. to "the evil eye." St.4:

tištriyam stāram rēvantam	We worship Tištriya, the star
hvarnahvantam yazamade	r. hv.,
afščiθram sūram brzantam	of water's kind, strong, high,
amavantam dūrē.sūkam	powerful, flaming far off,
(brzantam uparo.karyam yahmāt)	
hača brzāt hāusravaham	from the high one is his fame,
apām nafδrāt hača čiθram	from ApāmNapāt his kind!

The last two lines have been discussed under 'ApāmNapāt.' rēvant hvarnahvant are the standing predicates of the star, as raya hvarnahača of the fravarti. In the yazamade formula and where the words appear

[3] Cf. the double vyāχana in *Yt.*10,61. Such grouping of words all but identical in sound is a rule in Arabic style. For viwātī see under 'Navigation.'

in the nominative, they are metrical, tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå. dūrē.sūka is a variant of dūrāt viwānt in st.2.

It is only in *Yt.*8 that afščiθra appears in an authentic context, and zmasčiθra and urvaračiθra, in which "earth" and "plants" replace "water," appear also in st.39 of the same yasht. Thus, afščiθra seems to have been an original attribute of Tištriya. In *Yt.*8 "from ApāmNapāt is his kind" follows; therefore afščiθra designates Tištriya apparently as "son of ApāmNapāt," and subsequently assumed the general acceptation "stars kindred to water" in analogy to "stars kindred to earth, plants." The *Mēn.Xrat* interprets it as "increasing the waters."

St.4, with invocation and epithets, was the beginning of the old hymn, and just as in the original Mithra hymn invocation and epithets were followed by the god "driving out," thus here st.25 joins without hitch as to form and content:

yo avaδāt fravazatē	who drives out from yonder,
χšoiθniyāt *hača ušayāt	from the queenly Dawn (Ušå),
dūrē.rvēsām pati pantām	on the track with distant turning
baga.baχtam pati yōnam	on the course laid down by the gods,
fraθwarštam pati *zrvānam	in the appointed time.

We have studied this stanza under 'Fravarti' with its original, *Yt.* 13,53-58. There the fravarti show their course to the stars, waters and plants. bagabaχta is a term of the polytheistic religion, and so are other concepts revealed in the verses that form part of this old hymn. The mazdayasnian revision which the verses suffered during the Achaemenian period has not obliterated this fact.

Upon this introduction, st.4 (+ 2) and 25, followed the first part of the hymn, consisting of st.5, 36, and 41-42.

5: yim patišmarante pasvasča stōrāča	by whom count small and large cattle
martiyāča (paro) dršvāno	and men - - - in chains
kētāča (paro družyanto)	and sages - - - - -
kaδā no avi uzīrāt	When will he rise for us
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya, the rich, fortunate,
kaδā χå aspastavyahīš	when will the springs stronger than a horse

apām tačānti nava — of the waters flow anew?
36: yim yār.čaršo martiyahya — For whom the (fields) ploughed for men's harvest
ahurāča *ratugūto — and the calendar-making lords
arunāča garišačo — and the wild and frightful animals
siždrāča ravasčarāto — living on mountains and in prairies
uzīrantam hišpasante — look out whether he rises,
huyāryāča dahyave — whether he comes up for the provinces
uzjasantam dužyāryāča — as one with good or with bad harvest:
kaδā āryå dahyāvo — When will the Aryan provinces
huyāryå bavanti — have a good harvest?
41: yim āpo patišmarante — By whom count the waters,
armēštå fratačartåsča — the still and the flowing ones,
χāniyå θrōtastātåsča — those in springs and in rivers,
paršuviyå variyåsča — those in canals and in ponds,
42: kaδā no avi uzīrat — When will he rise for us,
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå — Tištriya - - -
kaδā χå aspastavyahīš — When will the springs, stronger than a horse,
apām γžāram awiγžāram — of the waters start to gush forth,
srīråsča aså šoiθråsča — and, flowing to the pretty villages and cantons,
gavyūtīšča ātačintīš — and pastures
ā varšajīš urvarānām — make the stalks of corn
sūra vaχšayante vaχša — grow with strong growth?

The pattern of composition in these three stanzas is one, and their sequence has not been disturbed in the present yasht; they are separated only by misplaced insertions. The verbs patišmarante "they calculate" and hišpasante "they look out," alternate, as do the subjects, pasū-vīrā in 5, with arunā-siždrā in 36; kēta "sage" in 5 with *ratugut "chronologer" in 36—incomprehensible as they appear to us separated by thirty-one stanzas. Further, yārčaršo "fields" with mountains and prairies in 36, with "waters" in 41. These heterogeneous beings are not arranged

according to inner relationship; on the contrary they are in thorough confusion: domestic cattle, several classes of men, fields, other men, wild animals and water—apparently with the intention of illustrating by such diversity the power of the star.

The first part of each stanza is a relative clause, the second a question: "When will he rise?" In 36, where the question is short, two accusatives of participles, uzīrantam and uzjasantam, are added to the verb, which have the value of the questions: will he rise, will he appear? Both refer to the beginning of the period of visibility, not to the hour of the rising in the single nights.

patišmarante—see under 'Arithmetic'—to √mar-, "to mark," has here, as in later language, already the meaning "to count, calculate." Answering the question "when?", it is the seasons regulating the life of these beings that are counted.

St.5b-c: Bartholomae: "die Menschen (die) früher Gewalttaten verübt haben und die kaēta, (die) zuvor böslich gehandelt haben, sehnen sich. . . ." Lommel: "Die Menschen, die früher Unrecht getan haben? und die kēta? die früher gelogen haben." Note: "Weshalb? Wird dem Tištriya eine sühnende Wirkung zugeschrieben?" The translation "sich sehnen" is wrong, and dršvan belongs to drzvan in *Yt.*1,27, √drz-, drang- "to make fast," cf. drzāna.pr*θ*a "incurring (the punishment of) chains," and handraχta, handungā, Arab. ḥabasa "to settle, Germ. festmachen" a waqf, and "to arrest, imprison." A martiya dršvan or drzvan is a man "in fetters" who has reason to "count" the months of his punishment to which the "čazdahvant, MP. amār vičārtar" has sentenced him (see under 'Last Judgment').

For kēta see under 'Arithmetic.' paro družyanto means the same as "yoi purva mi*θ*ram družyanti" in *Yt.*10,5, "who formerly committed a crime against Mithra" or—with mi*θ*ra= societates et amicitiae—"had become mi*θ*radruχš." There and here, the words, used as though meaning "punished for an old crime" or "kēta, criminals of old" are a reduced paraphrase of the full, genuine formula *Yt.*13,30:

an.āzartā čbyo nrbyo vahvīš yoi vo vahvīš gufrā
frasrutā vanat.prtanā noit parvā āzārayanta

"who are gracious, the good ones, to those men who never gave you, the good, deep ones, that—praised—grant victory in battle, reason to be angry," lit.: "not-wroth at those who do not make you former ones wroth."

paro družyanto is a wrongly inserted gloss and entailed the meaningless insertion of paro between martiyā and dršvāno. The whole sentence has lost its metrical form, which may have been

yim [vispē] patišmarante
pasū stōrāča kētāča
martiyāča yoi [or: martiyākāča] dršvāno

or more than that.

To 5f: Wolff-Bartholomae: "Wasserquellen (die) stärker" [and similarly in *Yt.*5,7 of Ardvī's arms], in st.42 "umfangreicher als ein Pferd(eleib) sind." aspa.stavyah does not refer to size, but to power, as in the frequent formula "power of . . . a horse, . . . a mill-trench."

To 36a: yār.čaršo martiyahya cannot mean a full year; yār must be a certain term of cultivation. 36b: The text has ahura χratugūto, *Wb.* "Ratschläge erteilende Eürsten," Lommel "raterteilende Herren." Princes and lords "command," have not only an advisory quality, and why should they, between fields and rapacious animals, "yearn" for Tištriya? In the original song they correspond to kēta. χratugūt is a clerical error for *ratugūt, "chronologer," with ahura "calendar-maker," see under 'Arithmetic.' For the pair "arunā siždrā" see under 'Ardvī.'

Lommel translates 36 e-i: "Nach ihm (blicken aus) die Länder mit guter Ernte, wenn er aufgeht, und die mit schlechter Ernte" with the slight change of the case of dahyave. Thus he makes the people look out, not before, but while the star rises, and whether the harvest (which comes after the star) had been good or bad, and makes the question "will the harvest be good?" unnecessary. Bartholomae has the right construction: dahyave is dative of purpose; huyāryā dužyāryā are possessive adjectives

"he who brings good, bad harvest," both in the instr. of quality "he rises as one with good harvest."

To 41 b-c: The second and third pair of waters specify the first "still and flowing." Duchesne distinguishes between *θ*rōta.-stāt, root-noun with t-enlargement in the second member (stāt =Lat. -stēs) "being in water-courses," and between *θ*rōtas.tāk, with root-noun as agent, only attested as acc. -tāčam [*Wb.* "mit auffälligem ā"] "running in rivers," cf. nāvi.tāk under 'Apām-Napāt.' In Y.68,6 paršuviyå and variyå "waters in canals and ponds, cisterns," are called "winter-waters" because they collect in winter.

To 42d: The figura etymologica γžāram awiγžāram has a similar meaning as the question in st.5: "When will they flow again?" 42e: In *Vid.*1, šoi*θ*ra and asah mean the province and its capital, cf. Isfahan as "most populated asah, town," in the commentary to *Vid.*2,23 under 'Ardvī.' In passages as old as *Yt.* 8,42, the words still designate the villages and the irrigated fields around them. Pahl. transl. is rōtastāk < *θ*rōtastāk, NP. rōstāg, Arab. rustāq. The stem of šoi*θ*ra, √ši-, is also that of šiti, šayana, all designating fixed settlements.

42g: The meaning "stalk, stem" of varšaji has been determined by Bailey, JRAS 1934, 505f., starting from the Pahl. transl. aδvān > ēvān; "Wurzel, root," as *Wb.* translated, is Aw. ru*θ*-miš, MP. rēšak. Therewith Bartholomae's translation of vaχšayante vaχša "sprühend benetzen" falls, the words mean "they make grow." The error entailed the more momentous misinterpretation of važdriš uχšyati, see below, and under 'Harvatāt.'

Between the stanzas in which all beings look out for Tištriya's rising, and the following ones which tell what he does after it, a connecting sentence, predicating that the star appears, is indispensable, and this sentence stands today in st.32 a-c:

32: us pati aδāt hištati	Up, then, he rises
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya, - - - ,
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt	from the sea Vurukrtam.

The remaining verses of 32 d-i deal with Satavēsa and are displaced.

The authentic form of the ablative zrayahaδa vurukrtāt is preserved only in st.47, and all corrupted forms must be emended accordingly. The rain comes from the zrayah, the "sea, Meer, See f.," not "lake, See m."

13: purviyå dasa χšapāno	In the first ten nights
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya
⟨krpam - - rēθwayati⟩	⟨he assumes the shape - -⟩
[āti] rōχšnušva vazamno	[comes] driving among the luminaries
narš krpa pančа.dasaho	in the shape of a fifteen-year-old man,
χšētahya spiti.doiθrahya	a lordly, clear-eyed,
brzato avi.amahya	high, very strong,
amavato hunaryåńčo	powerful, athletic one.
16: bitiyå dasa χšapāno	In the second ten nights
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya
⟨krpam - - rēθwayati⟩	
[āti] rōχšnušva vazamno	comes driving among the luminaries
gāuš krpa ˚zari.sruvahya	in the shape of a steer with golden horns,
18: θritiyå dasa χšapāno	In the third ten nights
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya
⟨krpam - - rēθwayati⟩	
[āti] rōχšnušva vazamno	comes driving among the luminaries
aspahya [krpa] arušahya	in the shape of a white horse
srīrahya zari.gōšahya	a beautiful one with golden ears,
zaranya.awiδānahya	with golden forelock.
20: āt pati avāti - -	Then he goes down
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya
avi zrayo vurukrtam	to the sea Vurukrtam
aspahya krpa arušahya	in the shape of a white horse
srīrahya zari.gōšahya	(as above)
zaranya.awiδānahya	
21: ā dim paθyanš niždvarati	Against him runs
dēvo yo apavrto	the demon Apavrta

aspahya krpa sāmahya
krvahya krva.gōšahya
krvahya krva.baršahya
krvahya krva.dumahya
dayahya awiδāta.trštoiš
22: ham tā.čit bāzuš baratō

tištriyasča rēvå hvarnahvå
dēvasča yo apavrto
tā yuδyaθō
θriayaram θriχšaparam
ā dim bavati awi.ōjå
ā dim bavati awi.vanyå
dēvo yo apavrto
tištriyam rēvantam hvarnah-
vantam
23: apa dim aδāt vayati
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt
hāθra.masaham aδwanam
sādram urvištram nimrūte
tištriyo rēvå havrnahvå
sādram mē - - urvištram
āpo urvaråsča baχtam - - -
26: āt pati avāti - -
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå
avi zrayo vurukrtam
aspahya krpa arušahya
srīrahya zarigōšahya
zaranya.awiδānahya
27: ā dim paθyanš niždvarati
dēvo yo apavrto
aspahya krpa sāmahya
krvahya krva.gōšahya
krvahya krva.baršahya
krvahya krva.dumahya
dayahya awiδāta.trštoiš

in the shape of a black horse,
bald, bald-eared
bald, bald-maned
bald, bald-tailed,
mangy, with a forelock of - - - .
The two lay hold of each other
with the forehand,
Tištriya - - -
and the demon Apavrta,
they fight,
for three days and three nights,
then he, the demon Apavrta,
overpowers him,
he defeats him,
Tištriya - - -

He chases him away
from the sea Vurukrtam,
a distance one hāθra long.
Woe, harm! shouts
Tištriya - - -
Woe to me! - - harm to you,
waters and plants, ill luck! - - -
Then he goes down
Tištriya
into the sea Vurukrtam.
in the shape of a white horse
etc. as above

Against him runs
the demon Apavrta
in the shape of a black horse
etc. as above

28: ham tāčit bāzuš baratō	The two lay hold of each other with the forehand
tištriyasča rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya . . .
dēvasča yo apavrto	and . . . Apavrta
tā yuδyaθō	they fight
[θriayaram θriχšaparam]	[for three days and three nights]
ā rapiθwinam zrvānam	till the time of midday.
ā dim bavati awi.ōjå	Then Tištriya
ā dim bavati awi.vanyå	overpowers him,
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	he defeats him,
dēvam yim apavrtam	the demon Apavrta.
29: apa.dim aδāt vayati	He chases him away
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt	from the sea Vurukrtam
hāθramasaham aδwanam	a distance one hāθra long.
uštātātam nimravate	Felicitation shouts
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya . . .
uštā mē - - -	luck to me - - -
uštā āpo urvarāsča	luck to you waters and plants,
uštā ā bavāt dahyavo	luck has come to you, lands,
us vo apām aδavo	the canals of your waters
apati.rtā ǰasånti	shall gush forth unopposed,
aš.dānūnāmča yavanām	to the fields with large-grained corn
kasu.dānānām(ča) vāstrānām	to the pastures with small-grained (grass).
gēθānāmča astvatīnām	- -
30a: āt pati avāti - -	Then he goes down,
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya . . .
avi zrayo vurukrtam	into the sea Vurukrtam.

The original order of the stanzas has not suffered. The st.14-15, 17, 19, 24-25, here omitted, are the interpolated tirades on Tištriya's rehabilitation, see under 'Dēva.'

In st.13c (and 16c, 18c) the text has, "krpam rēθwayati rōχšnušva vazamno," without meter, and made worse by the following narš krpa etc. *Yt.8,45*, another inferior passage, has "afščiθrēšva savištāi yo afščiθrēbyo / āti rōχšnušva vazamno"

"to Tištriya, the mightiest among the afščiθra-stars, who with the afščiθra comes driving among the luminaries." The double afščiθra reveals a systematic division of the stars in afščiθra and others, conflicting with rōχšnušva which includes all. The system is younger than the hymn. The first part of 8,45 is no verse, the second is; the beginning has been added to the end which is a quotation taken from st.13c. "āti" must be inserted into the gap of two syllables in 13c. It had to be suppressed, when krpa rēθwayati was introduced there. Whatever the primary meaning of rēθwaya be,[4] here it is a syn. of framita in *Yt.*19,29: framita aspahya krpa, "to transform, disguise." The authentic text was clearly "Tištriya [comes] among the luminaries in the shape of . . ." But a general predicate, "Tištriya rises up from the sea and assumes [three] outward shapes, in the first three nights one, in the next another . . ." is indispensable between 32c and 13a. The verse "krpam rēθwayati" is two syllables short and best filled by θraya "three" or tišro with plur. krpo. When this good verse, originally placed before the description of the three forms, was put into it, three times, the number tišro had to be omitted.

St.18f: I do not know of white horses with yellow mane and tail, but such was the imaginary picture of the Tištriya-horse. zaranya.awiδāna, Pahl. transl. zarrēn vaγdān, NP. expl.: "its ruχ, jaw, cheek (OI. srákva 'mouth') is of yellow color"; ruχ serves also to explain patidāna > MP. padām "which they bind round the jaw, bar ruχ mībandand, while singing prayers." OIr. awiδāna evidently belongs to OI. abhidāni "halter"; MP. vaγdān is not etymologically connected with awiδāna, but lives on in Osset. vidon, to which the significations "halter, rein, bridle, bit" are ascribed. This cannot be right, because a halter has neither reins nor bridle, and reins and bit are different things.

Darmesteter translated awiδāna by "caparaçon, saddle-cloth," Bartholomae "with (golden) bit," Lommel, who interprets also Aw. awi-

[4] *Wb.*: "*rēθwayati*, denom.pres. of *rēθwa* 'Vermengung,' related to Gath. *roiθwan*." Benveniste, *Inf.av.* 32: injonctif de vouloir: "que soient remplis" viz. the celestial spaces with light. Pahl. transl. vimēχt agrees with *Shahr.Ēr.* §38, flight of Spandārmat before Frasyāk: "andar ō zamīk gumēχt, after having mixed, concealed herself in (her) earth."

δāti in *Y.*9,26 by "Anschirrung," translates "with golden harness (Geschirr)." All this cannot be, for, just as Vrthragna in *Yt.*14,23 and 25 appears as a wild tragelaphus and ibex, thus Tištriya appears as a free horse, not as a broken saddle or carriage horse, and he could not fight Apavrta with bit, bridle or harness. A "halter" is tied round a horse's head, or the horse is tied to something by the halter. OI. abhidāni and Aw. awiδāna, therefore, do not belong to √dhā-, *τίθημι*, but to Skr. √dā-, di, Gr. *δέω δίδημι* "to tie," represented in OIr. by Gath. ni.dyā(tām) "to shackle," OI. ā.dyati. awiδāna and patidāna are closely related to Gr. diádēma.

Strabo 15,15 describes the padām which the priests "bar ruχ mībandand": *ἐπάδουσιν . . . πρὸ τοῦ πυρὸς . . . τιάρας περικείμενοι πιλωτὰς καθεικυίας ἑκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ χείλη τὰς παραγναθίδας*, and so they are represented in art from the time of the oldest pictures, the Median tombs and the gold sheets of the Oxus treasure,[5] down to the very last Sasanian coins. The tiara is like a Turkish bashlik, with its long tips tied around jaw—paragnathís—and mouth. The Sasanids wear it under their crowns, evidently made of silk thin as a veil. In *Yt.*5,123, where Anāhitā is described as drāžimnā, seizing with her hand, the patidāna, this cannot be (*Wb.*) "ein auf der Brust (unter dem Panzer) getragenes Brusttuch," but only such a veil, a *κρήδεμνον*. And in *Vid.*14,9, the list of the equipment of a ra*θ*ēštā, where it appears after "zrāδo, cuirass" between "kuriš, collaret?" and "sāravāra, helmet," it seems to be a felt tiara with cheek-pieces worn under the metal helmet or separate cheek-pieces attached to it. Like awiδāna, patidāna belongs to √dā, di, "to tie."

The opposite of the golden awiδāna of Tištriya is awiδāta.tršti in the description of Apavrta. The preceding verses paint Apavrta as black horse with hairless ears, mane and tail. It has the "mange," daγa, to √dag- "to burn." Thus, awiδāta.tršti has two qualifications: it must be something continuing the line "ear, mane, tail," and it must be opposed to zaranya.awiδāna. awiδāta means "wearing, provided with an awiδāna." Under 'Fravarti' roχšni.awiδāta, epithet of the fravarti, has been discussed: it corresponds to *λιπαροκρήδεμνος*, epithet of Demeter, and refers to the hair-dressing of the fravarti, forelocks and plaits at the temples. All Assyrian and Achaemenian sculptures[6] show the

[5] Cf. *IAE* figs. 313-315.

[6] Cf. preliminarily *IAE* p.lxxvii and lxxix.

horses' forelock artificially dressed and plaited, with ribbons, in some cases so unnatural that one may think of a wig, cf. the Victorian "bangs, Germ. Pony-Haare." The awiδāna of the horses are these dressed and plaited forelocks. rōχšni.awiδāta means "wearing rōχšnu 'light' as awiδāna"; in awiδāta.tršti it may be either "terror" or—fit for the demon of drought—"thirst."

St.21b: dēva, as adj. of apavrta, according to the original concept a serpent or dragon that keeps back the rain,[7] may signify "worm, serpent, NP. kirm"[8] but the deficient meter of all the verses in which dēvo yo apavrto appears makes it more likely that dēva replaced an older word of three or—since yo is dispensable—of four syllables.

To 23 and 29: "Woe to me, woe to you waters!" is genuine, but AhuraMazdāh with the mazdayasnian religion are notions younger than the myth, interpolated by the redactors. sādram and uštā are the exclamations themselves; the n.abstr. uštatāt is the action "shouting hail!"

St.29: a.pati.rta is "uncontested" viz. by Apavrta; cf. the syn. pati.prtati in *Yt.*5,50, Husravah's racing, under 'Poetry,' and apatiyārakīh "being beyond contest" as term for the state of the world after the victory of the good principle. Lommel translates aš.dānu and kasu.dānu by "with many, with few grains," which would imply good and bad quality, while the distinction can only be one of kind, fields with corn and pastures with grass.

The three times ten days are the month Tištriya. After these thirty days the star fights Apavrta. In the first round, which lasts three days and nights, Tištriya is defeated; he is victorious in the second round only, which ends "at the time of midday." One asks at once: of which day? The verse mentioning the day is lost, but the strict parallelism of the verses leaves no doubt as to its being "θriayaram θriχšaparam" as in st.22,[9] and that these words got lost when the invocation "O

[7] Reading and interpretation are due to Wackernagel, in *Festschrift f. Kuhn*, 158f.; previous reading apaoša, archet. *'pvar. Markwart recognized that in younger legends Frahrasyā represents this figure of the old myth.

[8] Cf. dēva as adject. to zarmyangura, a "harfstra," under 'Ardvī.'

[9] The same three nychthemera in the Pārva legend, see under 'Navigation.'

Zoroaster" was interpolated; the myth is pre-Zoroastrian. Tištriya appears three times ten days in the sky, fights Apavrta twice three days, and disappears on the 37th day in the ocean until his reappearance in the next year.

Therewith myth and hymn might be complete, in analogy to the fight for the ahvarta hvarnah in *Yt.*19, where, after two rounds between the Fire and the Dragon, ApāmNapāt carries away the hvarnah to the bottom of the deep sea. The Tištriya myth, however, did not end there, but had a continuation in a few stanzas, similar in form and content, which speak of the star Satavēsa.

Upon the setting of Tištriya in st.30 a-c followed next the rising of Satavēsa in 32 d-i, the stanza from which we have detached, above, the verses a-c, the beginning of the Apavrta fight.[10]

30a: āt pati avāti - - -	Then he goes down,
tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå	Tištriya - - -
avi zrayo vurukrtam	into the sea Vurukrtam
32d: us aδāt hištāt satavēso	Up, then, Satavēsa will rise,
rēvå hvarnahvå - - -	the rich, fortunate . . .
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt	from the sea Vurukrtam.
āt tat dunmān ham.hištanti	Then the fogs gather
us.hindavāt pati garoit	round the mount Us.hindu.
⟨yo hištate maδyam zrayaho vurukrtahya⟩	
33: ⟨āt tat⟩ dunmān fraša upayati	He makes come up fogs beyond [measure],
mēγa.karo ⟨rtāvano⟩	the cloud-maker [Satavēso].
fra purvo vātąm vazati	The frontal-one of the winds blows;
⟨yām paθo āti hōmo frāšmiyo fradāt.gēθo⟩	
aθra pasčēta vazate	thereto, backwards, the wind
vāto ⟨daršiš⟩ vāramča mēγamča	blows rain and clouds.

[10] us pati hištati tištriyo of 32a joins neither st.31—which must be entirely eliminated—nor st.30.

⟨fyahvamča⟩	⟨and hail⟩
⟨avi asā avi šoiθrā avi kršvān yāiš hafto⟩	
40: āt mēya us.fravānte	Then the clouds are blown near
yāhuvā āpo barantiš	in which are the waters pregnant
huyāryā rvātiš awrā	with good harvest, moving with rain,
prθu api viǰasatiš	traveling far along,
avi rvātiš hafta kršvān	moving over the seven kršvar.
47: āt āpo ava.barante	Then, the waters pour down,
zrayahaδa vurukrtāt	[coming] from the sea Vurukrtam,
tātā rvāθrā bēšaziyā	dripping, rinsing, healing.
tā avaδa vibaχšati	He metes them out,
ābyo dahyūbyo savišto	the very-mighty one, to those countries,
yaθa ēm bavati yašto	where he receives sacrifices,
χšnūto friθo patizanto	is obeyed, loved, honored.

St.33 a-b: Wolff-Bartholomae: "und dann kommen die wolkenbildenden, aša-heiligen Nebel herangezogen," that is nom. pl. and intrans. verb.—Lommel: "dann lässt er (Satavēsa) die frommen Nebel, die wolkenbildenden (? oder: der Wolkenmacher) herbeiziehen," that is verb caus. and acc.pl.—frašāupayati of the text is a wrong contraction of archet. PRŠ 'VPYTY; like the adv. frašam, this fraša is used with ellipsis; cf. *Yt.*10,8: Mithra "fraša upasčindayati, destroys beyond (repair)"; *Yt.* 14,3: the arrow "fraša āti, flies beyond (the target)," and the abstr.n. fraša.krti "making (the world) beyond (contest)." upayati, which *Wb.* attributes to a theme yā-, is, in view of the common act. upāti, certainly a causative. The subject is mēyakaro (thus inst. of -kara). In a hymn of high antiquity rtāvan is out of place as epithet of "fog"; it is a mazdayasnian substitute for a word of four syllables, subject of the sentence together with mēyakaro, probably "satavēso."

St.33: purvo vātąm vazati and pasčēta vazate are opposed like parva.nēmāt and paska.nēmāt in *Yt.*16,2, and mean two

opposite points of the compass; Lommel translates "Ostwind" and "westwärts." Stars and fogs arise from the zrayah, ocean, at the Ushindu, the "mountain in front of, opposite (the mouth of) the Indus," and the wind blows the clouds over the Aryan countries. Since the whole conception is connected with the stars whose appearance differs with geographic latitude, not longitude, purva and pasčēta can only mean "southwind" and "northwards." The gen.pl. vātąm in 33 is as doubtful as the form vāto in the function of a nom. plur. in several passages. purvo vātąm, in the Indian Ocean, should be one of the monsoons, called ul-hāvand, lit. "up-lord" (SW) and frōt-havand, "down-lord" (NE) in the Bundahishn (under 'Sea'). Iran lies outside the monsoon zone, but her winds and rains are indirectly connected with the monsoons.

uzīrat, uzīrantam—regular term for the rising of the stars—and uzjasantam in st.5, 36 and 41-42, mean the beginning of the period of visibility, for only visibility, not the changing hours of the nights, is relevant to the thoughts and hopes expressed in these verses. On the contrary, pati avāti in 20 and 26, the stanzas of the fight, means a single setting of the star, because it takes place for a special action. In st.30, as it stands in the yasht, no action follows. Why does Tištriya go into the sea?

us pati hištati of 32 recurs once more, in *Yt.*19, where it means the resurrection of the dead. Referring to Tištriya in 32a, to Satavēsa in 32d, it means the rising of the stars after their long period of invisibility. There is no connection between Tištriya's setting in 30a and his rising in 32a. The end of 30 "in shape of a white horse etc." must be expunged, as a mere repetition of 18, 20 and 26, for it is illogical that the star would assume a special shape to become invisible. Therefore, st.32 a-c stands in a wrong place, and its right place is, as in our text, before 13ff., the description of the three shapes the star assumes. There, the verses bring the fulfilment of the hopes expressed in the preceding verses, and at the same time introduce the three shapes of appearance.

The sequence of st. 30, 32, 33, 40, 47 is convincing as to thread of thoughts and syntax. In 30 a-c Tištriya sinks below the horizon for the current year, in 32 d-i, Satavēsa rises for his period. The text has "us

aδāt hištāt," which seems to be borrowed from 32a; the meter is wrong, perhaps "us āt pati satavēso hištati rēvå hvarnahvå." St.32i, yo hištati etc. "which rises in the middle of the sea Vurukrtam" is a gloss in prose, as is the inadequate line 33i on the path of Hōma. When Satavēsa rises, fogs, dunmān (32d) gather round the Us.hindu mountain whose place according to its name is "in front of (the mouth of) the Indus," cf. Pomponius Mela's "insula contra Indi ostia." St.33a repeats dunmān; the words āt tat, exceeding the meter, come from 32d and disconnect awkwardly the two dunmān. The mēyakara Satavēsa makes the fog increase "beyond (measure)" and the south wind drives them northwards. The final verse, again, contains the word mēya, beside vāra "rain." The text adds fyahvam "hail," out of place because the verses do not suggest destruction. St.40 begins with the wind blowing the clouds over the whole world. They are called "full of rain, full of āpo, waters that bring good crops," and this āpo is resumed in 47: the waters fall on the lands where Satavēsa is worshipped. The plur. fem. of the participles in 40 cannot possibly refer to the neutr. mēya, and instead of the unconvincing construction proposed by Bartholomae the difficulty solves itself by exchange of huyāryå and yāhuvā at the beginning of b and c; then, the participles refer to the fem. āpo.

Lommel who, on principle, regards all yashts not as the conglomerate they are, but as a unit of parts of equal value, interpreted *Yt.*8 as "the myth of the generation of rain by Tištriya": "Der Kampf des Sternenrosses mit dem daemonischen Ross ist der zweier brünstiger Rivalen um die Wasserstute. Nach Besiegung des Nebenbuhlers steigt der Sternenhengst in den(?) See hinunter und vollzieht da mit der Wasserstute [interpretation of st.8] die regenerzeugende Begattung, deren stürmische Gewalt das ganze Meer(?) zu wilden Wogen erregt [interpretation of st.31]. Es schliesst sich trefflich an, dass er danach aus dem See emporsteigt [st.32 a-b] ohne weiter auf den Regenfall und die Verteilung des Wassers einzuwirken. Das bliebt andren Wesen überlassen [st.33], unter diesen dem Stern Satavēsa."

Nothing compels the assumption of a "water-mare"; the myths of the hvarnah or of Indra-Vrtra, too, have no Andromeda figure. *Yt.*8,8 from which the mare is abstracted, is an excerpt, in ungrammatical language, of 8,46, and this again an imitation (with reminiscences of *Yt.*10,14; 8,31 and 33) of similar verses in *Yt.*5,4-5, which say, in correct

language: "vispē varīš āčarati . . . aspahe krpa arušahe, he visits all gulfs of the sea, in the shape of a white horse," disfigured in 8.8 to "bāδa varīm āčarati aspo.krpąm ašaonīm." This abortive phrase does not prove an old mythical concept of a "water-mare." And st.31, "ho zrayo ā-, vi-yōzati, ā-, vi-γzraδayati, ā-, vi-γžārayati" (reminiscent of, the rest quoted from, *Yt.*5.4) is at the best a grammatical exercise of a pupil, not the effect of the mythical mating. If there ever was such a concept, it would have been the climax of the tale, there was no taboo against plain speaking. Lommel continues: "In 32 ist es mit der durch die Vereinigung von Hengst und Stute vor sich gehenden Regenerzeugung nicht zu vereinbaren, dass auch Satavēsa zugleich oder unmittelbar nach Tištriya aus dem See emporsteigt. Da nun aber der auf Satavēsa bezügliche Satz in 32 aus dem Metrum fällt, so vereinigen sich formale und sachliche Kritik dahin, diesen Satz vom Text auszuschliessen." And yet he regards Satavēsa—thus eliminated—as the subject of st.33.

What he takes umbrage at is no "criticism of content," but application of the scale of human decorum of the twentieth century to the mythical animals. The meter, too, is no fit "criticism of form": the Tištriya verses are as deficient as those on Satavēsa. For instance, the standing epithets tištriyo rēvå hvarnahvå are metrical only where the formula appears in the nominative; narš krpa panča.dasaho is metrical, but the analogous "shapes" in 16 and 18 are not. In trying to restore the meter one would give to the verses an authenticity and an archaic character to which they have no claim. Lommel's investigation, if right, could only lay bare what the redactors thought when dissecting the old hymn in just the way they did. Meillet called such yashts an "ensemble de fragments que des rédacteurs dénués d'art et de pensée ont mis côté à côté." To uncover their thoughts is useless; what matters is solely the "fragments authentiques dont l'intérêt est grand."

In the present arrangement of *Yt.*8, Tištriya seems to be the subject of st.47, but no name is mentioned, and to whom the adj. savišta refers can only be inferred from the true connection of the stanzas. A glance at the existing translations is enough to show what the redactors have made of the beautiful hymn: the clouds are blown away because Tištriya wants to chase witches from the ocean, the rain falls because

he visits all gulfs etc. Therefore, st.43 too, although in its present position Tištriya seems to be its subject, must be attributed to Satavēsa:

43: vispāiš nēnižati simā	He washes off all illnesses,
apaya važdriš uχšyati	(with water?) he makes grow the healing herbs,
vispā(s.ta) dāmān bišazati	he heals all creatures.

These verses enlarge on the thought of 47c: tātā rvāθrā bēšaziyā. The edition gives važdriš with cod.F1, but J10 has vazdarš. *Wb.* interprets it erroneously as participle "(mit sprühendem Wasser) fahrend"; Lommel leaves it open: "er lässt *alle* . . . wachsen." "All," though not in the text, is right: instead of apaya, 'PY, one must read vispē, VSPY. Andreas interpreted vazdvar in *Yt.*14,29, tanuvo vispayå vazdvar as "leadership." It is related to Gath. vazdah in *Y.*49,10, dvandva vazdā avəmīrā, which, through "važdriš, medicinal herbs" finds its explanation as "nectar and ambrosia," see under 'Harvatāt.'

Likewise as physician, this time under his own name, Satavēsa is described in the poorly conditioned verses of *Yt.*8,9:

āt tå āpo frašāvayati satavēso	Those waters, then, Satavēso drives forth,
avi hafta.kršvariš	to the seven regions,
vyāhva yat jasati srīro	when the beautiful one arrives at child-birth
hištati rāmanivå	he stands (still) peacefully
huyāryå avi dahyūš	over the lands with-good-harvest
(kaδā āryå dahyāvo huyāryå bavanti)	

The question at the end is a meaningless repetition of st.36. The remark about the kršvar, ungrammatical in form, comes from st.40, apparently caused by "huyāryå," common to both and probably unauthentic. The words are preceded by "Tištriya goes into the sea and makes the waters surge up," i.e. the surf of the sea. Then: "Satavēsa drives these waters . . ." in fact other waters, viz. the clouds. The fissure is evident. Nor is there any connection with the following st.10. We have just a short disconnected fragment. Previous translations went astray in seeking a context of eschatological meaning. vyāhva (loc.) appears once more in *Yt.*13,10 (≅ 22 and 28), where the fravarti uphold the

embryos so they will not die in birth, vyāhva (see under 'Fravarti'). The same signification is possible here: the fragment said something about the star's favorable influence on childbirth. The god who has power over seed and crop is also a healing god.

Satavēsa appears only once more in the Awesta, in *Yt.*13,43-44.

43: tå hrzanti satavēsam	The fravarti let go Satavēsa
antar zām asmānamča	between earth and heaven,
tat.āpam zavana.srutam	him who pours rain, hears when called,
tat.āpam uχšyat.urvaram	him who pours rain, makes grow the grain
θrāθrāi pasvå vīrayå	for the protection of cattle and men,
θrāθrāi āryānām dahyūnām	for the protection of the Aryan provinces,
θrāθrāi gāuš pančahiyahya	for the protection of the five kinds of animals,
avahe narām rtāunām	for the help of the pious men.
44: vi antar zām asmānamča	Between earth and heaven
satavēso vījasati	Satavēsa travels along,
tat.āpo zavana.sruto	he who pours rain, hears when called,
tat.āpo uχšyat.urvaro	he who pours rain, makes grow the grain,
srīro bānuvå rōχšnamå	the beautiful, radiant, with intense light,
θrāθrāi pasvå vīrayå	for the protection etc. as above.
θrāθrāi āryānām dahyūnām	
etc. as in 43.	

zavana.srut, OI. havanasrút, also in *Yt.*10,61, has the thematic inflection of the late language, an indication that the verses are not of a high antiquity. In *Yt.*19,35, ApāmNapāt is called zavana.suvam (acc.) *Wb.* "helping," perhaps better "healing when called."

The two stanzas disclose the method of the redactors: st.44 is the very original, in faultless meter, narrative form, nominative of the third

person. The epithets in e are old and genuine. In 43, the same stanza is subordinated to the main idea of the Fravartīn-yasht: the fravarti "let go," put into motion the stars—and with them Satavēsa—like race-horses. The formula tā hrzanti causes a faulty meter in b. The effect does not go farther, because the accusatives, by chance, have the same number of syllables as the nominatives. Where this is not the case, as in e: srīram bānuvantam rōχšnamantam, they are dropped.

St.44, thus, has nothing to do with the fravarti. The song to which it belonged existed before the redaction of the Fravartīn yasht, and the verse was introduced into *Yt.*13 only to give one example more of the power of the fravarti. The fact that the name of Satavēsa appears in the Fravartīn yasht does not in the least prove that the star was known while the conception of the fravarti as spiritus moventes of the universe was still alive. Tištriya, who surely was known at that high, pre-Iranian antiquity, does not appear in *Yt.*13.

On the other hand, the verses of *Yt.*13,44 might well be part of the old hymn in *Yt.*8, where their place would be between "us hištati" and "āt tat dunmān" in st.37, or after st.47. There are other examples of fragments of old songs scattered over more than one yasht.

Not all the three formulae with *θrāθrāi* and the one with avahe are of necessity original. They may have been fashioned after the model of *Yt.*13,10 for use in *Yt.*13,43, and then been repeated in 44. But since the "Aryan provinces" appear in 36 in the question "will they have a good harvest?" the formula "for the protection of the Aryan provinces" in *Yt.*13,44 must be considered as genuine. Satavēsa, further, is connected in *Yt.*8 with the mountain Us.hindu "in front of the mouth of the Indus," therefore, Indus-Sind was reckoned among these Aryan provinces. It was a new conquest of Darius and remained part of the empire till the time of Alexander. Consequently the Satavēsa verses were composed between these time limits. The mazdayasnian redaction they have suffered cannot be older than 400 B.C., the composition goes back before this date.

That is all the Awesta has preserved concerning Satavēsa. He appears in a myth of the middle Achaemenian period as a star rising after Tištriya. Tištriya appears 30 nights in the sky, fights and defeats in 6 nights the demon Apavrta who keeps back the rains. After thus having

freed the waters, Tištriya sinks into the ocean. From then on Satavēsa rises and with him come clouds and rains. In scientific language that means: the heliacal rising of Satavēsa takes place on the 37th night after that of Tištriya and is the beginning of the rainy season.

This myth, as the entire yasht, describes Tištriya as the natural adversary of dužyāram, "bad year, bad harvest, famine," the work of Apavrta. The stanzas on Tištriya's rehabilitation express this thought by saying: "He fights parīkām yå dužyāryā yām martiyākā avi dužvačåho huyāryām nāma ōjate, the bad-fairy Bad-year, whom vulgar-speaking people call 'Good-year.'" In *Yt.*8,56 the same essential quality of Tištriya is the reason for his rehabilitation, see 'Return of the Gods':

"yat zi - - āryå dahyāvo *awi.šačyarš[11] dātiyam yasnamča vahmamča ya*θ*a hē asti dātiyatamo yasnasča vahmasča - - - noit i*θ*ra āryå dahyāvo franš hyāt hēnā noit voiγnā noit pāmā noit kapastiš noit hēnyo ra*θ*o noit uzgrfto drafšo, if the Aryan provinces would observe Tištriya's worship and praise as prescribed by the law, in the way the worship and praise strictly following the law (dātiyatama) should be, - - - neither hēnā, nor flood, nor cattle-plague, nor pestilence, nor the chariot of the enemy, nor the(ir) lifted banner would come over the Aryan provinces."

The author first speaks in a prolix official style, then, falls into verses or what were verses. dužyāram "famine," indispensable because of the relation of st.56 to 15, 53 and 55, and because of the entire tenor of the yasht, is here omitted. On the other hand, hēnā "hostile host," i.e. war, is overemphasized by adding ra*θ*o "chariot" and uzgrfto drafšo "banner." In *Yt.*14,48 where the same verses reappear, but addressed to Vrthragna, god of war, such emphasis and the omission of famine are justified. Hertel's attempt, in IIQF VII,157, to scan the verses as they stand makes only more apparent how badly they are preserved. hēnā and hēnayo ra*θ*o etc. cannot have been separated by all the intervening words; uzgrfta drafšo certainly was a compound adjective to hēnā, as in the only good passage where the word recurs, *Yt.*13,37: fravartayo puruspāδå uzgrfta.drafšå. When restoring dužyāram, indispensable in a

[11] *Wb.*1533 attaches awi.sačyarš to V sak- "können, lernen" (not attested with prev. awi-) with the hypothetic meaning "wenn sie dächten an." In view of awi.šak-, Gr. ἐπιστάμενος = awi + Vhak-, I prefer reading *awi.šačyarš "to observe." The frequent confusion of s and š goes back to manuscripts of the period after Ardashīr I, e.g. in the script of the Pahl. Psalter, medial s and š were scarcely distinguishable.

Tištriya hymn, and when replacing the negation noit by mā, as required after detaching the verses, we obtain as original form:

mā iθra āryā dahyāvo franš hyāt	(10) Not shall come here over the Aryan provinces
hēnā uzgrfta.drafšā mā raθo	(10) a hostile host with uplifted banners, not a chariot,
mā dužyāram	(4) not famine,
mā voiγnā mā pāmā mā kapastīš	(10) not flood, not cattle-plague, not pestilence!

Such a prayer, not addressed to any special god, and perhaps originally composed in verses of ten syllables, could easily be used with slight modifications for one or the other god. The yashts offer many analogies for such a procedure.

In the inscription *Darius Pers.d* one reads

manā ōramazdā upastām baratu	(12) To me Ōramazdā shall bring succor,
hadā viśēbiš bagēbiš	(8) with all the gods
uta imām dahyāum ōramazdā pātu	(12) and O. shall protect these provinces
hača hēnayā hača dušyārā	(10) from hēnā, from dušyāram,
hača drōgā	(4) from drōga!
abi imām dahyāum mā aǰamyā	(10) Over these provinces may not come
mā hēnā mā dušyāram mā drōga!	(10) not war, not famine, not drōga!

The Awestic verses speak of war, flood, cattle-plague, pestilence, and, originally, of famine, all naturally associated ideas. In the inscription it is war, famine and a religious-philosophical abstraction, drōga. That is not popular, all but incongruous. Drōga does not belong to this sphere, but has been introduced for the sake of a religious theory, which is also expressed, several times, in the Behistūn inscription, thus in §10: "drōga dahyavā vasē abava, drōga did as it liked in the country," or §54: "dahyāva imā tyā hamiθ'iyā abava drōga.diš hamiθ'iya akunoš tya imē kāram adružyaša, the provinces here, which became disloyal, drōga made them disloyal, because those (the men named in §52) made the people drug-ish." At last §58:

hača drōgā daršam patipayahvā	Beware strictly of drōga!
yadi ava*θ*a manyāhe	(8) if ye think thus:
dahyāuš.mē drvā ahati	(8) My land shall be safe!

There, too, the author, at the end, falls into verses. In *Pers.d*, voiynā "flood," one of the group war, famine etc. is lacking, and it is obvious that the not-pertinent notion of drōga supplanted voiynā. The original text once was: "mā hēnā mā dušyāram mā *vaiynā." That means, the Awestic passages and the inscription have a common source. Darius' scribes follow the same rules as the redactors of the Awesta: both introduce Zoroastrian notions into pre-Zoroastrian verses. But the redactors of the Awesta did not retouch just these verses, and thus it comes to pass that in this case the inscription is more Zoroastrian than the Awesta, which used the pre-Zoroastrian form at a time when Tištriya was reinstalled by the dāta (dātiya dātiyatama of *Yt.*8,5-6) given by Artaxerxes II. The designation parīkā dužyāryā "bad-fairy" for the neutr. dužyāram reveals an even later shifting of the original concept, scarcely older than the gloss "whom people of vulgar language call huyāryā." As in the analogous passages of the *Vidēvdād*, the vulgar language means Pahlavī as opposed to Old Iranian, and the gloss belongs to the Arsacid period.

While there is general agreement about Tištriya being Sirius, the identity of Satavēsa is still an object of controversy. M. P. Kharegat[12] recognized in Satavēsa the star Canopus, a result accepted by Sayyid H. Taqizadeh.

The name Canopus, Gr. kanṓbos, is of Egyptian origin; the Greeks saw the star in Rhodus, under 36° 20′ N. lat. The Indians called it agastya; Iranian satavēsa means "with a hundred slaves" similar to MP. hazārbanda, "with a thousand slaves." The Babylonians called it ^{mul}NUN^{ki}, "Eridu-star," because it represented that port of the Persian Gulf in their macrocosmic system. The Arab. name is Suhail. It is the brightest fixed star after Sirius, in the constellation Carina of the Southern hemisphere.

Recently H. Henning contested Kharegat's identification and went

[12] In his dissertation *The Identity of some Heavenly Bodies mentioned in the Old Iranian Writings*, The Jamsheti Jejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Volume, 1914, 116-158, a book, the copy of which I owed to the friendship of the author.

back, as J. J. Hess[12] before him, to Saussure's old equation Satavēsa = Antares in Scorpius, on the strength of one positive and one negative reason. The negative reason is the great southern declination of Canopus, which is not visible north of about 37° N. lat. "The scholars who are inclined to find the 'home of the Awesta' in northeastern Iran, (e.g. in Merv), will be unable to accept Kharegat's opinion."

The Awesta, resembling the Bible in that it took about a thousand years to grow, has no "home." The home of its redactions were the studies of scholars, and it is irrelevant where they lived. Those who speak of the "home of the Awesta" do not see clearly the essential difference between two unconnected things, epical and religious material. Epic and similar tales, of which the Awesta preserves fragments, have a fixed place on earth; the oldest, pre-Iranian stratum has places outside Iran. But hymns and prayers are not bound to a specific locality, and the periods and regions of their origin must be determined in every single case for intrinsic reasons. Those are the unknown quantity, the probandum, and if in our case the identity of Satavēsa and Canopus-Suhail can be proved, the declination of the star has the ascendency over the inclination of modern scholars: al-'ālimīna sharafahum al-Suhailu.

Iran extends between 25° and 37° N. lat.; in Susa (32°) and Persepolis (30°), one sees Canopus even as in Babylon and Memphis. The Satavēsa verses date from the middle Achaemenian epoch, and since the mention of the name in *Yt.*13 does not link it to the old-mythical concept of the Fravarti, and there is no common name in Skr. and OIr. for this star, nothing supports the assumption that the Aryans had known it in prehistoric antiquity. Thus the negative objection is of no consequence. Kharegat, foreseeing it, wrote p.21: "An object need not be visible throughout a country to be taken notice of by its people. The knowledge of terrestrial objects such as mountains, rivers, etc., is not confined to the region in which they are visible, and a different rule cannot apply to a celestial object."

Like Tištriya, the cloud-maker and rain-bringer Satavēsa rises from the sea Vurukrtam, in which stands mount Us.hindu; of Tištriya it is also said that he sinks into the same sea, from which the rain comes. The scholars who search for the home of the Awesta in northeastern

[12] Cf. *Orient.Stud.Pavry*, 137ff. and *Le système cosmique ario-iranien*, J.As. 1923.

Iran or beyond, consider the sea to be the Caspian, and yet locate the home of the Awesta in Marw, Sughd or Balkh, where the Caspian is just as invisible as Canopus, and where one could only form the belief that the stars sink into that sea, but never that they rise from it. Only people living round Astrachan at the mouth of the Wolga could form such a notion. And the Us.hindu mountain alone forbids the identification of Vurukrtam and Caspian.[14]

Henning's positive reason is: the name satavēsa enters into that of the 17th Sogdian moon station, mγn-sdvys, which corresponds to the 17th Indian station mūla and the 19th Arabic station shaula "sting of the scorpion," as recognized by E. Sachau.[15] Henning says: "Although Sgd. mγn is not known, we may safely infer that mγn-sdvys is a kind of appendix to that star (or constellation) that bore the name Sadvēs." He concludes: "Satavēsa is scorpius, or its main star Antares."

This conclusion is not safe. If Sadvēs had ever been the name of the entire constellation, mγn could not mean "sting," for Sadvēs does not mean "scorpion." The analogy rests merely on this impossible meaning of mγn; hence, there is no reason to assume that the constellation of Scorpius was ever called Satavēsa. The Greeks too did not deal with it under a single name, which means that the concept of one great constellation is not that old. mγn can be any qualification to Sadvēs, e.g. one distinguishing the star from the real Satavēsa, as Kharegat assumed where he deals with the equation mγn=mūla=shaula: "The names Satavēsa and Sadvēs are the same, but I do not think that the stars are the same," with reference to names of stars occurring twice and more times in Arabic and European astronomy. The Arabs count, I believe, five Suhails, distinguished by qualificative adjectives.

General reasons, most of them adduced by Kharegat for his identification are: *Gr.Bdh.*: "The seas of the southern quarter are under the protection of Satvēs, just as the seas of the northern quarter are under that of Haftrang (Ursa Major)." As chief of the southern stars, Satavēsa must be a very bright star, and Canopus is second only to Sirius-Tištriya, with whom he is linked in the yasht, and to whom he is near in time and space. The star was also venerated by Egyptians, Babylonians,

[14] See under 'Sea.' Only Hertel is consequent in transferring all these names into heaven. But in history such celestial conceptions are projected from earth into heaven.

[15] *Albiruni's Chronology*, transl. 288. Sdvys is Iranian, and as an Iranian word mγn would be "naked."

Arabs and Persians—Anwar i suhailī! The Arabs call Sirius one of the "Sisters of Suhail," the other one is Prokyon in Canis Minor. The Indians ascribed to their Agastya the power of purifying the water, as the Iranians similarly did with their Satavēsa. At last, a cogent proof in itself, the "sea Satavēsa" was part of the Indian Ocean, see under 'Sea.'

A star as southern as Canopus cannot have been known to the Aryans in their aboriginal home, the Duāb of Turkistan, but only in their new abodes, India and Iran. Therefore it cannot have a common name inherited from Aryan antiquity. If the names of the star were etymologically the same in Skr. and OIr., it could not be Canopus; but the names differ, and the triple identity of Agastya = Satavēsa = Canopus is therefore possible.

In his refutation, Kharegat made his calculation for Lambda Scorpii, not Antares, a difference not important for our problem. Lambda Sc. rose heliacally, in the latitude of Iran and about 500 B.C., about five months after Sirius. Canopus, on the other hand, in 25° N. lat. 34 days (July 9-Aug. 12), and in 30° N. lat. 41 days (July 14-Aug. 24) after Sirius. The Apavrta myth makes Satavēsa rise on the 37th night after Tištriya. A calculation for 400 B.C. and 30° N. lat. (Persepolis) would reduce the small difference between 41 and 36 days by half a day. That fits, whereas the five months' difference between the rise of Tištriya and Scorpius would make the whole concept of the myth impossible.

Furthermore, Lambda Sc., and so Antares, are zodiacal stars, and Satavēsa was not one of them, for Vand-Hormizd says in the Šāy. nēšāy. 14,6: "If one of the zodiacal stars is visible besides Tištar, Vanand (Wega) and Sadvēs, the day-period (gās) is to be kept on, otherwise it is to be given up." It is not only in this passage that the three great stars are opposed to the zodiacal stars. The idea behind the rule is: they remain visible when the twilight has already extinguished the zodiacal stars. Therefore Satavēso cannot belong to the constellation of Scorpius.

The definition of Vand-Hormizd is the remark of a late astronomer; for the people who formed the myth and arranged their peasant's life in accordance with these stars there was no such distinction, only a divine rain-bringer in the sky. Kharegat quoted reports from modern

gazetteers, e.g. that of Kacchi:[16] "The stars by which the cultivator is guided are Katti, Brah. Paur (Pleiades), whose appearance in the early morning in June heralds the period when floods may be expected; Treru or Trangar (Cassiopeia) which appears about the 27th of Sanwar (July) and bids the cultivator hasten his preparations for sanwari sowings; Ludho, Brah. Ludav, appearing about the 15th of Bhaira (August), a signal to the cultivators that the season of Juar sowing is over; and Sohel (Canopus) with its forerunner or 'witness,' shāhid or agawan, which warns the cultivator [Y.44,5: yā manōθrīs čazdahvantam arθahya] that the end of summer is near, and that his buffaloes will shortly cease to soil in the water. Thus Katti and Treru govern the Juar cultivation, the principal sanwari crop, whilst Ludho and Sohel are the stars which guide the cultivator in all matters relating to the wheat, the principal crop of the Sarav harvest. Sohel is believed generally to bring three showers of rain in its train. . . . The cultivators believe these conditions to be universal on the whole earth."[17]

Unintentionally and unknowingly, this picture is almost a paraphrase of those verses of the yasht in which everything is counted by the rise of Tištriya. Anaxagoras said: "Cane ascendente messem, descendente vero terrae cultum homines exordiuntur." The conditions in southern Iran today are the same as those the Iranians encountered when immigrating. One cannot import them from one home under a different sky to another climate. The conception must be that indigenous to the country.

There was an old rain-god in Elam whose cult still lingers on in the sanctuary of Nabī Daniel at Susa, situated between the palace mound and the river.

[16] By Major C. H. Minchin, p.65.

[17] Kharegat corrected: "The names in Kacchi are Sindhi, in Makrān etc. Balōchi. Katti, from Skr. kṛttikāḥ, are the Pleiades, Bal. Paur from Ir. paro, parvīn; they rise heliacally in Balōchistan on the 6th or 7th of June. Treru, Trangar, Bal. tirband, i.e. 'girdle,' is not Cassiopeia, but the row of three stars forming the 'belt of Orion.' The date, 27th of July, is too late about a fortnight, reason: shifting lunar months. Ludho, from Skr. Lubhdaka, the 'hunter,' is Sirius. Date, 15th of August, is probably too late about a fortnight, same reason. Sohel is Canopus; in Las Bela it is called Aith < Skr. agastya." In §28 he remarks: "Sohel-Canopus-Aith, heliac. rise in 25° N.lat. 23,VIII, in 30° N.lat. 3,IX, seems to be the principal star of Balōchistan. It gives its name to the autumn season consisting of September and October; to one of the nine periods of 40 days each into which the agriculturists and flock-owners divide the year. The Brahois give the name Sohel to the month corresponding to Hindu Aśvin, the Marris call the autumn crop Soheli."

The Syriac Chronicle Nöldeke-Guidi, A.D. 670-680, tells: "The Arabs took Susa. They occupied the house there, called the house of St. Daniel, seized the treasure kept and guarded in it by order of the kings since the time of Darius and Cyrus, and they took and broke the silver sarcophagus, in which was lying an embalmed body which many believe to be that of Daniel, others that of Darius."

Tabari 1,2566: "abū Ṣabra [leader of the first Muslim conquerors] was told, there is the body of Daniel in this town! He answered: What does that matter to me? and left it in the hands of the inhabitants." Tabari 1,2567: "abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī [abū Ṣabra's successor in 18 H./639 A.D.] wrote to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about it, who ordered the body buried. Abū Mūsā wrote back: The corpse had a signet-ring, we kept it! The caliph answered: Use it! And on this stone was the figure of a man between two lions."

Balādhuri, 278: "Abū Mūsā saw in the citadel of Susa a curtained room and was told that it contained the body of the prophet Daniel" [a later variant, used already by Sir William Ouseley, adds "a prophet, though a minor one"]. This relic was believed to have the power of bringing rain. Balādhuri and Tabari speak of it and all the later sources amplify and confuse their stories. Balādhuri adds: "abū Mūsā had the tomb dug in the river bed."

Istakhri, about 340 H./950 A.D.: "I have been told—Allāh knows best—that in abū Mūsā's time a sarcophagus was found in which they say lay the bones of the prophet Daniel. The people of a book [Christians and Jews] used to move the coffin from one to the other of their temples in order to obtain rain through its blessings, wherever there was drought [detailed stories]. But abū Mūsā [objecting to the continuous removal of so venerable a relic] took it, carried it to the river at the gate of Susa, diverted the river through a canal, constructed three tombs of brickwork in its bed, and buried the coffin in one of them. After having shut and covered the tombs, he opened the water-gates and let the river flow over the top of their vaults. Thus it does to the present day. But he who dives to the bottom of the water finds there those tombs."

Benjamin of Tudela who visited Susa between A.D. 1160 and 1173, dwells, as all the others, on the miraculous power of the tomb and the rivalry of the inhabitants of the two banks for exclusive possession of these blessings. He refers the burial wrongly to Sindjar Shāhinshāh,

i.e. the great Seldjuq who died in 552 H./1157 A.D., and built the present shrine.[18]

The excavations of Susa[19] have brought to light a burial of the Achaemenian period which fits exactly that description: a skeleton with rich ornaments in a bronze sarcophagus shaped like a bathtub. The engraving on the seal, a man between two lions, is the most common iconographic type of Achaemenian seals. The description of the Arabs proves that the sanctuary they saw had a tradition back to the Achaemenian period, but it was much older. At Dēr, modern Badrai, on the road from Susa to 'Irāq, main town of that region in the 4th millennium, the snake-god MUŠ, son of the main goddess Nanā, "queen of Dēr," and "mār bīti, heir" of Dēr—who is closely related to the main god of Susa, Inšušinak son of Innana—had two temples, one "ša pān bīti, in front of the (main) temple," the other "ša birit nāri, in the river."

The burial of Daniel under the river was apparently no spontaneous idea of abū Mūsā. It is an old Muhammedan belief that Joseph—until Moses carried him off—was buried under the Nile, in order to let both shores of Egypt partake of his blessings, barakāt, the motif of the stories of Benjamin of Tudela. Alaric, king of the Goths, was buried under a river: "Nächtlich am Busento lispeln bei Cosenza dumpfe Lieder."

On the whole, the story is a good example of the law of the permanence of places of worship: an immemorial cult of an Elamite weather-god has been continued, in transformations, from religion to religion. The last time the minor prophet exercised his power was during my visit in 1928, when Rizā Shāh Pahlavī asked me to show him Susa. He decided to rest one day at Dizful, and Farmān Farmā, Fīrūz Mīrzā, Ṣārim al-daula, Timurtash, minister of the Court, Dāwar, minister of Justice—raḥimahum Allāh!—drove over, that day, to Susa. After walking over the ruins we had an opulent picnic in the vaulted passage around the tomb-chamber, overlooking the boundless eastern plain. I felt strange and saw a black cloud, the size of my hand, on the horizon. So I proposed returning, which we did at once. The cloud came up and in less than an hour invaded half of heaven and earth like a wall of sand and dust, blacker than the thickest London fog. In the early afternoon it was dark night. Then a thunderstorm broke loose with a deluge of

[18] Cf. Ars Islamica IX, 1942, 34f. and fig. 69.
[19] Mém.Délég. en Perse VIII, 1905, pl.II, fig. 67ff.

rain, like unto the end of the world. It was the end of the journey of the Shāh. Next day, the whole Aryan province of Khuzistan stood several feet under water. I did not tell anybody of Daniel's power, not wanting to be accused of having provoked the rain-bringer's wrath by our irreverent luncheon: āzarto ēbyo nrbyo yoi parvam āzārayanta.

The mythical thinking of the peoples in new surroundings absorbs local notions without abandoning older ones. If, then, we find overlapping and contradictory ideas, if, in Iran, ApāmNapāt, Ardvī, Tištriya and Satavēsa all are active in the same field, it is because the concepts of different phases and regions coexist without having been brought into a system. Everywhere local conditions are believed to be universal, as the gazetteer remarks.

The concept of Satavēsa as rain-bringer is autochthonous and Elamite. The Iranians associated it with their picture of Tištriya. Satavēsa is not a name or a figure of the "Aryan Period," but had been known to the Iranians since the Achaemenian time.

That is long before in A.D. 1000 the name mγn-sdvys appears as that of a lunar station in the Sogdian lists, clearly as a term of scientific astronomy. Sadvēs is a Persian name; possibly mγn, unknown in Sogdian, is Persian too. Such scientific terms cannot be projected into high Sogdian antiquity, especially not in this case, for the idea of lunar stations is not an old one. But just as the Arabs multiplied their name Suhail, so the Sogdians, who could not see that star, may have admitted its name, qualified by mγn (not="sting") as a second Suhail into their nomenclature, when they took over Hellenistic and Persian astronomy.

In spite of the objections raised against it, Kharegat's identification stands: Satavēsa=Canopus=Suhail, and the region and period in which the hymn was formed is determined by this identification, not by the inclination, the bias of modern scholars, to find the non-existing "home of the Awesta" in northern Iran: al-suhailu sharafa l-'ālimīna.

XXXIV. ARITHMETIC AND ASTRONOMY

MAN has always counted. The faculty may be one of the fundamental distinctions between a human and an animal's brain. Numerical systems based on 4, 5 and 10 are derived from peculiarities of the human body, and are primordial. Not without reason, numbers are the most persistent words in all families of languages. Epicharmus said: *ὁ βίος ἀνθρώποις λογισμοῦ καὶ ἀριθμοῦ δεῖται πολύ.*

At the end of the stone age, property marks appear all over the world on pottery. Mason's marks and other fabrication and trade marks are invented for calculating the payments. The cattle was branded with marks, Ir. daχšta, Akk. simmanu, Arab. wasm, in order to facilitate the counting. Slaves and other possessions, too, had marks: Cain bore the "ōth" of God on his forehead. Property marks and calculating precede writing and are the origin of script. Deliveries were noted by notches—"kerben, carving, scribere"—on the tally—"Fr. taille, Germ. Kerbholz"—or "chalked up, angekreidet." Until our time, "boumaerke" were the legally valid signatures of peasants in Nordic countries. The marks develop into letters, the tallying, "ritzen" becomes "writing." The oldest prehistoric written documents, of the fourth millennium, the proto-Elamite tablets of Susa and of Tepe Siyālik as well as the proto-Sumerian ones of Jamdat Naṣr are all accounts, deliveries to temples and similar lists. The great bulk of their contents are numbers.

Iranian had many words for reckoning, e.g. OP. √van- "calculate." In Median and Achaemenian Iran people counted everywhere, the army—hence the numbers of dead and prisoners in the Behistūn inscription; the post—hence the milestones, parasangs; the financial offices—hence the clay tablets of Persepolis and the bills of Murašū Sons, the banking house of Parysatis.

Aw. han.kāraya > Arm. angarem, MP. NP. angārdan is "to enumerate, tell, tale," cf. Hübschmann, *Arm.Gramm.* 97. In *Yt.*1 it means "the yasna is celebrated for the account (dat.) of those mentioned." The prev. ham-, like Lat. cum, Got. ga-, enters for the abandoned IE. distinction between determined and undetermined action of the present- and aorist-stem of the verb: OP. dārayami "I hold, own," ham.adāraya "I have taken possession of." The noun han.krmo in *Yt.*5.9, derived from ham.kāraya, with the dative "χšaθrāi āryānām dahyūnām" means "he

who counted to, incorporated in the empire of the Aryan provinces," see under 'Mithra.' han.krθa, in *Yt.*19,56, Pahl. transl. "u.š hangārtakīh, and its sum is (3 lines, 4 ranks, 5 ratu)"; also han.krti "addition, account," cf. upa.krti in *Pap.El.* "drawing up of an account, estimate of costs," under 'Navigation.'

√mar-, šmar-, orig. "to mark, note," assumes the meaning "to count" not only in MP., but has it already in hamārakara "accountant" in Ezra and the Papyri > MP. amārkar=Arab. 'āmil "subgovernor of a district"; equally Gath. homrti, see under 'ApāmNapāt,' "settling of accounts." Hübschmann quoted OI. "sąsmāraṇa, counting over (of cattle)"=roundup; Wackernagel Skr. "śmāraṇa, recalling, counting over." In the song to Tištriya, *Yt.*8,5 and 41, "yim . . . patišmarante" means "by whom count, reckon"; it would be bad if it meant as one translates "to yearn for," for in *Yt.*5,11 the immaculate Ardvīsūrā "driving on the chariot" would then "yearn for men (coll.sg.)," whereas she "counts, remembers" the many "who praise me, bring offerings." Likewise, Mithra's scouts who sit on their towers along the roads, in *Yt.*10,45, do not "long for," but "count" the passersby. Herodotus describes this traffic-control after Hecataeus. Aw. patišmar- persists without semantic change in Sogd. pčmrtyt (plur.) "counted."

Mazdah is the best accountant, sahvar.mārišto, Y.29,4, and in the Tištriya yasht not only gods and men, but animals and inanimate nature count the seasons by the rising of Sirius. Thus already the stargazers of Ammi.ṣadūqa looked out for the rising of Venus for their calendar calculations in old Babylon, or the Assyrians in Kaneš for the "plough-star." Since times primeval observation of the stars has been needed for cultivation, and its practical result is the calendar.

Therefore, in the verses *Yt.*8,5 and 36, we find, among the men that look out and count, the kēta and 'ratugūt.

χratugūt—of the text—is a fault, an assimilation to χratukāt "philosopher" in *Yt.*13,16 for 'ratugūt, with ratu "apportioned space of time" and gūt- to √gū-, whence OP. abi.žāvaya, Tpahl. aβgūdan, NP. afzūdan "to increase," opp. vigav- "decrease." When—as in in- and decrescere—the preverbs abi- and vi- make the verbs antonyms, the simplex (cf. *Wb.* √²gav- "verschaffen" and ²gōna) must express, like "to

grow," the notion of changing size or of measure, near to that of number. Cf. Gath ǰavaro in *Y.*48,8: vahoš manyoš šyōθnānām ǰavaro, *Wb.* 605: "etwa 'Abwägung' der guten Taten der Menschen beim Jüngsten Gericht." *ratugūt means the "time-measurer, chronologist, calendar-maker."

The signification of kēta, with which it stands in parallel, has been determined by the newly discovered TPahl. words qydyq'n v m'rygr'n, Henning in BSOS IX,84. mārēgar is "conjuror, charm-maker." Henning connected qydyg with kēta in *Yt.*8,5 and kēδān in the *Kārnām.Art.* There the sense comes near to "astrologer," though MP. stār.šumār was hardly a MP. neologism, but already in OIr. the general term, and the real meaning of kēta remains unknown as long as its etymology is not determined.

Zoroaster did not admit sun, moon and stars, the old "heavenly dēva" into his AhuraMazdāh. This rejection of the heavenly bodies as a group recalls the same rejection in old Israelite and Muhammedan religion, and seems to have had similar reasons: not to adore something "created," and not to allow similar cults of foreign nations to infiltrate. Astronomy flourished in Babylon, and Zoroaster's rejection had the effect that occupations like that of observing the stars fell into disrepute. The gathas say little about celestial bodies. Only in *Y.*30,10 we find a term hitherto misunderstood.

*Y.*30,10: adā zi ava druǰo bavati skando spayaθrahya

"Then, collapse of the spayaθra of the Druχš will come to pass, but those will partake of the promise of the good abode of Vahumano, Mazdāh and Rtam, who in (their) good renown are deemed worthy (of it)," see under 'Myastra.'

The following etymologies have been advanced for spayaθra: Bartholomae, *Wb.*: "Gedeihen, Erfolg, Glück; Zusammenfall von *spaǰa- zu √*sav- und *sphaǰa- zu √*spā-" Andreas, NGGW, 1911, 10: "spāyaθra (für spay°-) um Bartholomae's guter Kombination mit *sphāy- gerecht zu werden." Salemann objected that, according to Zoroastrian conception, the Druχš could have no "luck." Hertel, *Siegesf.* 98 and 190, speaks only of √sū-, and remarks: "spayaθra bezeichnet, wie θwaēšah, im Awesta nur [both are hapax] das daēvische Himmelsfeuer," and *Beitr.*

111: "Feuer, Licht, im Sinne des jaw. 'finsteren' hvarnah der druǰ." *θwačšah* is "earthquake."

The passage adā—spaya*θ*rahya, in *Y.*30,10 opposed to the "celestial abodes," is repeated in *frgm.Westerg.*8, cf. Hertel, *Venus* 20f. These late verses speak of the "month of cold," of the "winter mahrkuša" [month markheshvan] threatening the world and banished into the "ahu, world, of the Druχš," of the star mrzu who sets out "from his χša*θ*ram"=Akk. bītu "house," and of the triumph over the winter. Then comes the quotation "thereupon the skando spaya*θ*rahya comes to pass." The notion is plainly connected with climate, meteorology, seasons and the rotation of the sky.

skand- is used with the prev. avi- and fra- for phalanges, buildings and the like; upa.sčindaya with fraša in *Yt.*10,18 means "shatter beyond (repair)." The noun skanda is used in the gatha with the verb bū-, in Aw. with kar-. H. W. Bailey, "Būm-čandak=Earthquake," BSOS VI, 822f., deals with the passage in the *Žāmāspnām.*: "būm čandak vasīkār bē bavēt u vas avērānih bē kunēt, there will be many earthquakes and will cause much destruction," with the same verbs bū- and kar-. Cf. čandišnī in *Šk.Gum.Vič.* MP. čandak, to √skand-, is a syn. of the Gath. noun skanda. MP. būm čandak would be Aw. būmoiš skando; spaya-*θ*rahya skando is an equivalent of it.[1]

The Manichaean hymns, while telling the death of Mani after the model of the Gospels of Luke and Mark, say instead of "there was darkness over the whole earth": qdg 'sm'ng 'mbst 'v byh 'rg zmyg vlvrχ'd, "the house of heaven collapsed completely, the earth shook." The words 'v byh 'rg are written 'L LBR' ŠṬR' in the Pahl. text of Haǰǰiābād, Pārs. byryny, where they mean "beyond (the target)." Here they mean "beyond (repair)," as fraša upasčindayati in *Yt.*10,18,[2] "beyond all measure." The figure of the collapse of the sky must have been so familiar that the authors preferred it to the darkening.

SPYTRHY counts for four syllables in the gatha, hence spaya-*θ*rahya, or, in analogy to dēnā, *spē*θ*rahya. The Pahl. transl. has

[1] *θwēlah* in *Yt.*11,4 maso āpo maso vā *θwēlo* and similarly in 11,5, is another word for "earthquake, σεισμός" by etymology, not "Furcht" (*Wb.*) Skr.transl. renders skando:čandak by canca, cancalata, cf. Arab. zalzala.

[2] Cf. fraša upayati in the Satavēša verses *Yt.*8,33 under 'Tištriya.'

SPYŠ, i.e. spēhr [not spāh, *Wb.*1613]. Spaya*θ*ra is TPahl. 'spyhr, in BPārs. normally spelt SP'HL for SPYHL.[3]

MP. NP. spihr has never been linked to spaya*θ*ra. Lagarde considered it as loan from *σφαῖρα*;[4] Spiegel as Aw. *θ*warta; Nöldeke: *spi*θ*ra to √spit- "to be white." Quite recently, Henning in JRAS 1942, 239 reverted to Lagarde's opinion, dating the loan in the time when the Babylonian notion of the "sphere of the ecliptic and the planets" was introduced in the older Iranian conception of heavens, and regarding the -h-, in view of the Man. Mir. spelling 'spyr as unetymological. In his *Mir.Man.*I-III 'spyr appears only in the stories of Mani's death and of Ohrmizd's fight. There, Henning explained it as N.T. *σπεῖρα*, transl. "Kriegerschar." But in F. W. K. Müller II,86=Salemann 48,4, there is 'sp(yh)r in the sense "sphere of heaven."

*Mir.Man.*III,17,3: "Uzzi, who in that night was allowed to stay with Mani, described to the whole community what he had seen 'ndr 'spyr," in the place where Mani was imprisoned. III,45,11 and 46,1: The wind demons enclose the god like 'spyr 'stft, a solid 'spyr, and the helping god "splits, shatters" this 'spyr. In *Ayātk.Zar.* §§41-42, Jāmāsp makes Vištāsp promise and Vištāsp swears "however fatal be the truth which the sage will announce, nē žanēm, nē ōžanēm, nēč pa sp'hr dārēm [cf. 'ndr 'spyr], I shall not beat him, not kill him, not hold him in sp'hr," which can mean nothing but "prison." In Arabic there is a distinction between ḥabs, a normal prison, and muṭbaq (ṭabaqa IV, "to cover") a dungeon, often an underground vault. There was a "house of darkness, *οἶκος τοῦ σκότους*," built by Xusrau II in Ctesiphon,[5] as treasure house—where the cross of Christ was deposited—but also as prison—where Xusrau

[3] In *Vid.*3,42 sp'ɪ, i.e. spahr, stands for Aw. *θ*wāŋa, i.e. *θ*warta, *Wb.* "Luftraum, atmosphere." sp renders Aw. *θ*w also in āθwiya:āspikān; in rapiθwina sp or tv. ɪ (instead of ɪ) for -hr- as in mɪvk:mahrōk, pɪvm:pahlum etc. Spiegel, with regard to this passage, believed *θ*wāŋa to be spihr etymologically. This involved the equation "*θ*warta=Russ. tverd'" (in nebesnaja tv., firmament) which Salemann questioned, *Mél.As.*IX, 1886, 237. Tedesco informed me that Russ. tverd' belongs to tverdyj "fixed," Litt. tvericè "to seize, hold, enclose, fence in; to form, create." *θ*warta is important for Andreas' theory of the Aw. character ɪ < Aram. VAV, NOW 1931, III, which is graphically irrefutable, only, the ligature contains, it is true, initial v—cf. the Aw. characters w < v + r, ɪ < v + δ—but the sign is used for hr (without vowel), not for uhr.

[4] Etymologically connected with Aw. skarna "round."

[5] Theophanes, Bonn, 502; cf. Chron.Pasch. Migne 1019; Nöldeke-Guidi, *Syr. Chronik;* and *Thron des Khosro*, in Jahrb. Preuss. Kunstslg. 41, 1920, 19.

himself was imprisoned. The name describes it as an underground vault. That is also the meaning of the Arab. term for "barrel-vault," āzādj, from Ass. bīt azakki < Sum. Ē.AZAG, "house of darkness, cellar," see under 'Architecture.' In *Y.*46,6 Zoroaster calls the spaya*θ*ra of *Y.*30,10 "druǰo hē*θ*ā, prison of the Druχš" (not, *Wb.*, "zum Verband gehörig"). The spaya*θ*ra of the Druχš, opposed to the "abodes of heaven," is her underground vault, dungeon.

The meaning of spaya*θ*ra > spihr thus being determined, its etymology remains to be found: from a pres. stem spaya-, √spā-, spi-. *Wb.*1615 unites apparently forms actually belonging to more than one √spā- all under this root, without any etymological connection, giving it the signification "iacere, abicere" (thus occasionally the Pahl. transl.) OP. √sā- was not yet known to Bartholomae; Benveniste recognized "frasahiy" as s-aor. pass. sah- of √sā-, to Aw. √spā-, spāh-, which requires a correspondent *śvā- in OIndian. *Dar.chart.Sus.*: "upari imām *θ*ikām hadiš frasahī" means "upon this gravelling the palace was put, projected, spread" or the like, a meaning which fits that of some Aw. vocables.

Among the verbal forms: *Yt.*19,56 (repeated in 59 and 62) "Frahrasyā dives three times into the ocean after the hvarnah, mayno apa.spayat vastra, naked, having 'thrown off' his garments." vastra to √vah- "to put on, cover, clothe"; since spayat assumes the negative meaning "to throw off" by the prev. apa, the simplex must be a synonym of √vah-, "to cover," or the like. This would also fit fra.sispimna in *Yt.*17,10=5,127 "bedecking themselves with jewels." *Yt.*10,30, see under 'Mithra': "houses, ništarta.spayå niδāta.brzišå, with coverings, coverlets out-spread, with cushions laid-down."

Closely related to spaya*θ*ra and (ništarta)spaya is fraspāt, in the repeated formula of *Yt.*15, where the royal worshippers are standing in prayer:

zaranēnē pati gātōu	at the golden throne,
zaranēnē pati fraspāti	at the golden fraspāt,
zaranēnē pati upa.starnē	at the golden cushions.

The first term, gātu, is a throne in form of an estrade, klínē, Arab. sarīr. The third term, upa.starna, has been determined as "cushion, mattress" under 'Hospitium.' The second, fraspāt, is NP. farasp, afrasb, farisp, recognized by Darmesteter, to which NP. dictionaries give two meanings: (1) a girder-beam, šāh-tīr, on which one puts (pušīdand "to cover, pull on") the roof. "Beam" is the usual signification of frasp in MP. (2) colored woven stuffs, ǰām, which one draws, kašīdand, over houses, walls, shops and roofs at festivals. This is still the custom and one uses any kind of rugs and carpets for the purpose. frasp "beam" and "cover" are the same word, ceiling and blanket, like Germ. "Decke." With prep. pari, *pari.spāt > MP. parisp is "wall, enclosure, Gr. perí̇bolos," syn. of "vāra, wall," to √var- "cover." Athenaeus 12, 514B, after Heracleides of Kume: *ὁ δὲ θρόνος ἐφ' ᾧ ἐχρημάτιζε καθήμενος χρυσοῦς ἦν ὃν περιειστήκεσαν τέσσαρες κιονίσκοι λιθοκόλλητοι χρυσοῖ ἐφ' ὧν διετέτατο ἱμάτιον ποικίλον πορφυροῦν.* "διετέτατο ἱμάτιον" is literally "ǰām kašīdand," both translations of fraspāt, which is not "Kissen, Pfühl, Lat. pulvinar" (*Wb.*), but "tent, awning," tent to Lat. tendere, "to spread, span over," the meaning of Ir. √spā-.

Descriptions from early Muhammedan time give a clear notion. Qazwīnī, *'adjā'ib,* 1,321: "Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī (the poet, brother of al-Ma'mūn) visited al-Amīn (it is a story like the "Glück von Edenhall") who was sitting under a ṭārima, made of aloe and sandalwood and adorned with green, gold and red silks and brocades and Sulaimān b. al-Manṣūr sat with him under the qubba." A similar description is in the book of Esther. ṭārima, mod. Baghd. ṭārma, is an open colonnade with awnings, loanword from MP.; "qubba" describes their form as cupola. Similarly *Burhān i qāṭi'* describes the "tent" of the royal umbrella, čatr < Ind. cchattra, as "something round like a gumbadh," qubba.

Kit. al-Aghānī 6,187: "Ḥusain b. al-Dahhāk tells of his visiting the vizier Ḥasan b. Sahl (the Barmacid): he was sitting on a sarīr [gātu] of ebony, with a qubba over it, above which was a ṭārima of yellow brocade." These are descriptions of thrones of the type pictured on Persepolis reliefs and in Persian miniatures. On the rock-sculpture of Ardashīr I at Naqsh i Radjab, the queen is standing under a canopy. Hesychios calls these canopies *οὐρανίσκος*. Plutarch, *Alex.* 37, tells how Alexander, during his four months' sojourn, in winter, at Persepolis,

sat down for the first time on the royal throne under the "uraniscus."

fraspāt in *Yt.*15 is the uraniscus, the canopy, covered with brocade and supported by four golden columns, Uranos, varuna to √var- "to cover"; *Yt.*13,2: "avam asmānam yo imām zām āča pariča bavāva yo hištati manyustāto, the heaven there which is all around the earth here, which stands built into the air"; *Gr.Bdh.* 221 paraphrases "āsmān apē.-stūn pa mēnōke ēstišnīh, the heaven, without columns standing in the air." fraspāt = uraniscus, canopy, tent and spaya*θ*ra = uranus, dome, vault belong together. The spaya*θ*ra of the Druχš is her underground vault; MP. 'spyhr, 'spyr, sp'hr are dungeon, muṭbaq; NP. spihr, the celestial vault, the canopy of heaven.

A fragment of the *Had.N.* (*Wb.*1168 s.v. mānō) speaks of "four māna, stations, of the stars, moon, sun and the space of light that has no beginning." This is the Iranian concept of four spheres, later replaced by the Babylonian "seven spheres." *Yasht* 12, follows in the arrangement of its st.26-37 still the older tetradic system: vanant, tištriya, haftaringa, afš-, zmas-, urvara.či*θ*ra and spantamanyava stāro form the first, the "star-sphere." Māh gōči*θ*ra is the second, the moon sphere, MP. gōčihr. The *Ind.Bdh.* explains this name as "the seed of the primeval ox preserved in the moon," and a gloss to *Yt.*17,1 says: "tōχmak ē gōspandān māh pāyak ēstēt." Hvarχšēta arvataspa designates the third, the "sun sphere," and anaγrā rōčā, vahištam ahum, gara.nmāna is the fourth, the "paradise sphere."[6]

In an enumeration of stars in *Yt.*12, partly borrowed from *Yt.*8,12, Tištriya and the tištriyēnyā, parvya and the parvyēnyā, haftaringa and vanant are invoked.[7] Tištriya is Sirius in Canis Major. tištriyēnyā is a

[6] A shorter allusion occurs in passages as late as *Y.*1,16. In *Mār.Čatr.* §22, the movements of the figures on the circular chessboard are compared with the "vartišn ē ākhtarān u girtišn ē sp'hl, the turning of the constellations and the rotation of the celestial vault." In the microcosm chapter of the *Gr.Bdh.* "āngōn čigōn andar gētīh . . . ē stārpēlītak mēnōkāntālīt ān spēhr sāχt ēstēt m-tāk andar IV grih, just as in this world . . . that spēhr, adorned with stars, timbered in heaven, has been made with three times four knots, thus the (Zoroastrian) humanity wears the belt round the middle, with three times four knots." The belt is said to consist of 72, six times twelve threads. In astronomy the terms orbis and nodus are exchangeable: properly speaking the ecliptic and the moon's way are the two "orbits," their intersections the nodi, Ir. grih, Arab. al-'uqdatain. The macrocosmic responsion is not clear to me: the zodiac has 12 configurations, but not 12 knots.—For the representation of gōčihr see W. Hartner, in Ars Islamica v,113f.

[7] Geldner in KZ.25,467 and Lommel in ZII.IV,59f., discuss the meter of these "verses" which consist of nothing but the various names plus ča yazamade. Such passages would be prosaic

fem.adj. formation in plur., recalling the Arabic name "sisters of Suhail": Suhail is Canopus = Satavēsa and his sisters are Procyon and Sirius. Thus, the tištriyēnyā are probably Canis Minor with Procyon.

In upa.paryya Andreas recognized Aldebaran in Taurus, enumerated by Bīrūnī, *Chron.*240, under the name Bāparv in the list of Sogdian moon stations. The parvyēnyā, another fem.plur., NP. parvīn, Soghd.-Khwār, parvī, are the Pleiades in the same constellation, Arab. thurayyā.

The haftaringa are Lat. septentriones, hence Ursa Major. Hertel, *Siegesf.* considers them to be the Pleiades. The haftasruvo "seven-horned,"[8] invoked together with the mrzu star, would have better claim to be the Pleiades, like the Babylonian sibitti, seven stars. Vanant, as the last, is Wega in Lyra.

*Vid.*19,42 (cf. *fragm. Westerg.* 8):

> nizbayemi mrzu purvo hvaδāto yuδišto manivå dāmān
> nizbayemi hafta sruve bāmiya hvåho puθråho

"I call here mrzu, the primeval self-created one, the greatest fighter among the heavenly creatures; I call here the seven-horned, the radiant, his? sons!"

Hertel postulates the nom. mrzuš in 19,42, entirely possible even if his reasons, based on erroneous notions of history of script, do not hold good. The language is decadent and the spelling mrzu, -zvi, -zva of no account.[9] The *fragm.Westerg.* says: "From the Druχš the deadly winter comes here, then, mrzu comes here out of his domain, 'χšaθrāt ā'; the annihilating mahrkuš will die," and quotation of the spayaθra verse Y.30,10.

In mrzu.jīva, short-lived, mrzu is Gr. *βραχύς*, not *RV.* bhṛgu "radiant," epithet of stars, as Hertel assumes for the name of the star which he identifies with Venus. The Pahl. transl. is missing; NP. has "gāh." *Burhān* gives gāh as name of Capricornus (without evidence) and of "the star close to the northern pole," i.e. Polaris. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Gāh-šumārī,* 330f., established the right reading of the MP. terms gāh and

and unmetrical even if chance would have it that they would consist of 8 syllables. Neither is it permissible to make use of these and similar passages for establishing metric rules, or to use the meter for correcting such passages.

[8] For "horn" = "corner, point" see under 'Kršvar.'

[9] M3 āyati mrzvī, K15 mrzva; χšaθrata is χšaθrāt ā.

mēχ i gāh (MYX not MS) for the Polar star. In *Kārn.* the Polar star is also called mēχ i miyān āsmān, which properly speaking would be the pole itself, the zenith, while mēχ i azēr zamīg is the nadir. mēχ, OP. mayūχa, is "nail, peg"; gāh is also explained by Arab. "watad, pole of a (round) tent." Henning insists on the translation gāh and considers mrzu, since this furnishes an etymon for East Ir. mažwai, mōžai "peg, pole," to be Polaris, an Iranian translation of Gr. pólos. It may well be that the name, and with it mrzu "dorsal spine" in *Yt.*10,71, belongs to this group.

But in *frgm.Westerg.*8 mrzu "comes out of his χšaθram," that is in Babylonian astronomy "from his bītu." H. Winckler interpreted in his lectures the saying in *Matth.* 14,57 (*Mark* 6,4, *John* 4,44) *οὔκ ἐστιν προφήτης ἄτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country and in his own house" as "the prophet, n'bō, announcer-star, is without influence when in his own house," it must come out. No fixed star comes out of its house, and mrzu must be a planet, but rather Nebo-Mercury than Venus, and the Pahl. transl. gāh may be inaccurate.

The Iranians may have contributed to astrology, goëtics and mantics, but these sham sciences are not Zoroastrian; their origin and development is mainly Babylonian. In the western world magic, magus became the word for it, but these words came by way of Babylon during the Achaemenian and Hellenistic periods, as the term Chaldaei, used for astrologers in the Mediterranean world, shows. Already the book of Daniel calls them Kasdāy.

The word kēta > kēδ has so far not been linked to any Iranian or Babylonian word. The *Gr.Bdh.* says in its genealogical chapter, 230: "[frasyāk ē pašang u] karsavasp kē kētān χvānēnd u agrērat har si brāt būt hēnd, Frahrasyā, son of Pašang and Karsavazda(h) whom they call kēδān, and Aγrēraθa, were three brothers, and Pašang and Vēsak were two brothers." The Awesta gives a certain support to a similar genealogy, but none to describing the second as kēδān.

A few more Aw. words are grouped around kēta, namely kaγaδa, kāδya, kaχvarδa and kaχūžī, which the Pahl. transl. renders by one and the same and vague expression "farrah-kāstār, impairer of hvarnah." Evidently, without being able to determine the terms accurately, one

saw in them something disreputable and even forbidden: the disrepute of things of foreign origin, "three *κάπηα κάκιστα*." As to the shape of these words, it is striking that they all begin with ka-.

kayaδa and kēta were both spelled KYT in the archetype, and the different Aw. vocalization, of the fourth century A.D., is no reason to discriminate between them and to search an etymology for kayaδa, like Schwyzer's "ka + OP. √yaδ-, what an (OP.) offering!" *Yt.*10,2:

mrnčate vispām dahyāum	the miθradruχš ruins
maryo miθradruχš - - -	the whole province, (gloss:)
yaθa satam kayaδānām	like a hundred kayaδa,
avāvat rtāvaǰačit	he is that deadly for the orthodox!

There is no objection to forming names of wizards with the vituperative ka-. kaχūžī is evidently ka-χūžī "what a (bad) Xūžī-woman, Elamite," meaning "gypsy." In *Vēs u Rāmīn* the nurse of Vēs is a sorceress called "Xūzānī from the šahr i Xūzān, land of the Xūz." Aw. ka.χvarδa (only in Y.61,2, very late, gen.pl. m. and fem.) > Arm. kaχard "poisoner, wizard" but may be connected with Aram. ḫarṭom "magician" in Daniel.

kasdāy for Chaldaei in Daniel, Syr. ḫaldāyā, Arm. k'ałdeay, reflects the changes of lt > s, r before dental > s in Assyrian, and of all sibilants before dental into l in Babylonian. Hübschmann asked, *Arm.Gramm.* 318, "Wie verhält sich k'audeay 'Wahrsager' zu K'ałdeay?", and Markwart answered by the equation: Arm. χoyt', ethn. χut'acik < *χaut' < *χalt' < Urart. χaldini. The *Kārn.Art.* combines kēδān and kōδāgān[10] with abstr. ending in the *Ayātḵ.Zām.* Messina, chap.13,2 "scienza occulta, magica" in opposition to "ākāsīh, conscienzia" or "zērākīh, perspicacità." I am inclined to see the Chaldaei in kōδāgān.[11]

Henning identifies the appell. kēta with the name KYT' in the *Kārn. Art.*, "erroneously interpreted as n.pr. Kaid by Firdausi." The context is: When Ardashīr was in doubt whether he would be able to restore the monarchy in Eran, he sent for advice to the greatest sage of the period, "the KYT', kēt ē hindūkān, one of the kēδān u kōδāgān, sages? and Chaldaeans of India." The copyist and even the author may well have taken KYT' and KYT'N for identical, but he must be a certain figure with some historical background.

[10] Pāz. kōδāg. Not kundāgān, since kun- would be spelled with double v/n.
[11] With al > ō through Armenian?

Formerly I was mistaken in connecting KYT' with Kaniška,[12] on account of some Indian traditions which I have no means to check. Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, quotes, from the old *Muhamm. History* of Elliot, 1,108, the Indian *mudjmil al-tawārīkh*: "In Sind there were [at the time of Alexander] three kings until the time of Qfnd [var.l. qyd without diacr. dots] who conquered them all; Qfnd was not a Hindū; in the Čačnāmah he is called a Hindū. His brother Sāmid expelled Mahra the Persian (a Śaka) from Manṣūra with the help of Hāl. His successors were Rāsal (son) and Ruwāl and Barqamārīṣ (two grandsons). The last one killed his brother and subjected all India." Hāl is known as one of the Śālivāhana dynasty in the first century A.D., and brqm'ryṣ, read 'brqm'dyṣ, is Vikramāditya of Ujain, of the same family, who removed the Śaka from India. Qfnd (qqyd), Qnd (qyd) is probably Qaid, for Kaid (Firdausi).

The modern Gakkar of Taxila and Mānsera claim descent from one Kēd, who was no Indian, but had come, a few centuries after Alexander, from Tarān (Tūrān), country of Afrāsiyāp. These examples, not connected with the Shāhnāmah, disprove the assumption that it was merely a mistake of Firdausi to use Kaid as n.pr.

Ya'qūbī, *Hist.*97, names three famous "kings" of India: (1) Fūr, i.e. Pōros, the adversary of Alexander; (2) Kaihan, KYHN, a sage and physician, installed as Pōros' successor by Alexander; (3) Dabšalīm, for whom Kalīla u Dimma was written. Since these are figures not of historical but of belletristic tradition, one can neglect their unreal chronology. The name Pōros can come from no other source than Pseudo-Callisthenes, a form of the Alexander romance. Ya'qūbī's kaihan is certainly related to KYT' (*Kārn.*) and Kaid (*Fird.*). If authentic, the name would be old *kaiθana, and KYT' can be read KYTN < *kaiθana.

Ya'qūbī's Dabšalīm is "dēvasārm vuzurg šahriyār ē hindūkān šāh" of the Book of Chess, *Māt.Čatr.*[13] The *Kārn.Art.* assumes that chess was

[12] BPārs. v = n, d' = l, hence kvd'k'n = knlk'n, kanilkān "son of Kanilka." Bīrūnī and Ḥaidar Rāzī use Pāli "Kanikk."

[13] *Pahl. Texts* 1,166ff. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Pers.Stud.* II, Sb.K.Ak.d.W. Wien, CXXVI,XII, 1892, 20ff.: *Das Pahl. Buch vom Schachspiel*; J. Markwart und de Groot, *Reich Zābul und d. Gott Žūn* in

part of the education of a young nobleman already at Ardashīr's time, and Mas'ūdī, *murūdj* 1,157, says: "One relates that Ardashīr b. Bābak was the first to play Nard." Nard is abbreviation of nēv-ardašīr—against Nöldeke's unnecessary scepticism—hence is called after Ardashīr and not invented, as the chess-book says, by the vizier of Xusrau I. The chess-book as we have it transfers a story originally told of Ardashīr I to Xusrau. To emend the name of the king into Yaśodharman, a contemporary of Xusrau, as Markwart did, is therefore off the point, and it is still farther off to continue and construe more historical connections, as Tavadia does. These are no problems of history, but of widely popular romances.

The chess-book says: "In order to test the intelligence and the wisdom of the Iranians," Dēvasārm, the emperor of India, sent a game of chess to Xusrau, with the challenge: "Since you as king of kings claim to be also our king of kings, your sages should be wiser than ours; therefore, explain the sense of this game, if not, pay us tribute!" The bearer is T'TLYTVS "who was pa.vičīn[14] among the Indians." At the end of the three days' respite, Vuzurgmihr e Bōχtagān (according to the opening sentence of his Pandnāmak "hargupat šapistān ē Vēhandēvχusrōy darīkpat, tax-collector-general, grand-eunuch of the harem of Antiocheia-Chosroou") stands up, having solved the problem. He beats the Indian in the game, and Xusrau shouts enthusiastically "si bār žīvā T'TLYTVS!"[15] and orders to pay him 12,000 dirham, a third of the sum, the offended Firdausī gave to the bath-attendant. Vuzurgmihr, then, invents the nēv-ardašīr, Nard, a much more difficult game, described as a circular chess-board,[16] and the Indian is incapable of playing it.

Iran was threatened by the greatest danger, namely, being forced to pay. At the moment of his tax-collector's victory in chess, Xusrau feels himself as conqueror of India, Iskandar i zamān, a second Alexander, and therefore shouts "Our Aristotle, three cheers!" In his new role he needs an Aristotle, known to him from the romance of Alexander.

Sachau-Festschrift. 1915, 257; Tavadia, *Zum Mp. Vičārīn ē Čatrang*, 19. Intern.Orient. Congr. Rom, Sept. 1935 (Augustin).

[14] Formation like pa.nihān, pa.dīd, pa.drōd, pa.dātistān etc. In *Mēn.Xr.* Andreas, 69,6: vēhtar u pa.vičīntar, comparative.

[15] Thus al-Mu'taṣim said to abu Dulaf: aḥsant aḥsant thalāthā!

[16] With concentric circles. One ought to take the trouble of comparing the Pahl. text with the Arabic original of the excerpt published by E. G. Browne in his *History of the Seljuks* in JRAS.

T'TLYTVS is Aristoteles, not more corrupt than Greek names in Pahl. texts used to be. The Arabs write RST'T'LYS.

This interpretation seems to go to disaster on the fact that the Indian player bears the same name. It cannot be his name, because that would spoil the point of the story. The man who wrote for Dēvasārm the immortal book Kalīla u Dimna, was Bīdpāy, Skr. vidyāpati, in *Y.*9,27 vāiδyapati, epithet of Hōma, alcohol, i.e. "master of all science," universal philosopher. His name remains unknown. The bearer of the chess sent by Dēvasārm is the Indian "pa.vičīn, selectus," the unsurpassed champion and sage, likewise anonymous. The chess-book, in calling him "Aristotle" replaces the original appellative "universal philosopher" by the name embodying the notion. But in the original story Bīdpāy was the bearer, and came with the chess not to Xusrau, but to Ardashīr, and the *Kārn.Art.* calls the greatest sage of India at Ardashīr's time kēta, KYT', KYTN. Bīdpāy, the author of Kalīla and Dimna, is the historical figure behind the legendary Kaid.

kēta, kayaδa therefore must be a word fit to express the notion of Bīdpāy < vidyāpati and Aristotle = philósophos. There is no reason to believe that it had, from the beginning, any vituperative connotation, no more than dēva, tkēša and others. Though the kēta in *Yt.*8,5, like the *ratugūt, look out for Tištriya, the word does not contain the notion of observation of stars.

A general word for philosopher occurs in *Yt.*13,16:

åhām raya hvarnahača	(the fravarti) by their r. and hv.,
us nā zayati vyāχano	will be born the orator
vyāχmōhu gōšayat.uχδo	whose word is listened to in the assemblies
yo bavati χratu.kāto	who becomes a philosopher,
yo nāδyaho gōtamahya	who comes off victoriously from the
pari.yå parštoit avāti	disputation with the nāδyah Gōtama.

Hertel, *Siegesf.* 140, discusses the verse *RV.*4,4,14 "the great ones I smash by words on behalf of my descent; that I have inherited from my father Gōtama," and remarks: "möglicherweise ist der Gōtama von *Yt.*13,16 der Vater des Sängers des rgvedischen Liedes, höchst wahrscheinlich aber ein Mitglied seiner Familie." Therewith he takes up the old problem, discussed under different and erroneous presumptions by Haug, Darab Sanjana, Darmesteter and Windischmann, whether

the Gōtama of *Yt.*13 be Buddha or not.[17] A record, preserving the name of the adversary, but having forgotten the name of the hero, cannot have been transmitted in Iran from rgvedic antiquity. Buddha, on the other hand, cannot have remained unknown in Iran since northwestern India belonged to the empire at his period. The language of the verses is good, but the character of the prophecy is not archaic. This Gōtama is Buddha.

Wb. interprets χratu.kāt wrongly as "um Weisheit angegangen": kāt- is root-noun with -t-enlargement, active meaning, literally "philosopher." The disputation is between two philosophers, one of them Buddha. A synonym is χratu.činah "wisdom-seeching," Pahl. transl. χrat kāmakīh rāδ. kāt is related to kati in *Y.*9,22: "yoi katayo (naska.)-frasåho åhanti, who 'as kati' are studying, love studying." *Wb.*433 refers to OI. kātay, √kā-.

Like tkēša to √kēš, kēta is the noun "thinker, meditator" to √kēt-.

[17] Cf. A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster* 177, and *Wb.* sub gaōtama and nāiδyah.

XXXV. THE SEA

ἰνὰ στορεχῇσι θαλάσσῃσι
κυδαίνοιτο παὶς τῇς ἁλιάς Θετίδος

THE notion of the earth being round, prθwī, and encompassed by a sea, zrayo vurukrtam, is pre-Iranian, Aryan, and apparently pre-Aryan, since the Greek epics too figure the *γαῖα ἀπείρων* surrounded by the *ὠκεανός*. The vurukrtam is called "āpo prθu.zrayo, water (forming) wide seas" in *Yt.*8,2; it forms also the "two rims of the earth, uvā karānā zmo" *Yt.*10,95, the northern and the southern halfcircle, dašinam upa karānam in 10,99; OI. dakšina=Dekkan. The *ὠκεανὸς* is distinct from the *θαλάσσῃ εὐρύπορος* and so is the zrayo vurukrtam from the other "vari."

*Vid.*19,3: "I call here AhuraMazdāh, the earth, the sea vurukrtam, the heaven, the luminiferous sphere without-beginning, and the paradise!" The whole composition of the Rašn- or "Ordeal"-yasht 12 is founded on this concept. The introductory words: "I ask Thee, AhuraMazdāh, in correct language (i.e. Awestic), answer me, Thou knowest!"—followed by eight of the worst passages of the Awesta—do not allow a dating of the verses long before the *Vidēvdād* passage, which belongs to the beginning of our era. But the single items of the list are taken from older passages. St.9-38 are filled by an invocation of Rašnuš which can be reduced to the formula: "We call you wherever you are!"[1] The places are *A.* st.9-15: the seven kršvar; *B.* 16-17: zrayo vurukrtam, with the sēna tree vispābiš; *C.* 18-19: the waters of the Ranhā, the sanaka of the Ranhā; 20-22: border, center, or any other place on earth; 23-25: the encompassing mountain harā with its summits hukarya and tēra; *D.* 26-32: the sphere of the stars vanant, tištriya, the afš-, zmas-, urvara-čiθra and spanta.manyava stars; *E.* and *F.* 33 and 34: the spheres of moon and sun; *G.* 35-37: the luminiferous space without-beginning[2] and the whole paradise. In 9-24 the metrical form can still be perceived, the rest comes mainly from *Yt.*8. The elements must have been arranged into this system between the dates of *Yt.*8 and 12. The "four spheres" are a notion older than the "seven spheres," see

[1] Cf. the "Song of the Caravan" under 'Post and Travels,' where Uštā is called "from the western and eastern half."

[2] Cf. Eudemus of Rhodus, in Damascius, *de prim.princ.*: *μάγοι . . . οἱ μὲν τόπον . . . καλοῦσι τὸ . . . ἠνίκατον ἐξοὶ διαχρισθῆναι . . . φῶς καὶ σκότος*, as zurvanistic thought.

under 'Astronomy,' but not really old; thus, the "luminiferous space without-beginning" may be as old as them, but both are younger than the concept of the Fravartīn Yasht, where, in st.57, the "luminaries without-beginning" conflict with the "creation of the stars." But there is no reason to assume that the concept of the vurukrtam in *Yt.*8 was no longer that of the old-mythical passages in *Yt.*5, 13 and 19, where hvarnah dwells in the vurukrtam, 99,999 fravarti guard the ocean, and Arǰataspa sacrifices at its shore.

Among the categories "seven continents, mountain encompassing the earth, spheres of stars, moon, sun and paradise," zrayo vurukrtam, mentioned between the first two, can only be the outer ocean that forms the rim of the earth, no inland lake. Only, in the oldest passages the concept rests, as in the Greek epics, on myth and hearsay, while in the Frahrasyā legend and in Husravah's fight (see below) people had seen the sea, and in still younger passages it had become a general experience. In *Yt.*13,65 clouds of rain rise from the zrayo vurukrtam, in the Tištriya yasht especially from mount Us.hindu in the Indian Ocean. In *Vid.*21,4 vurukrtam is the hamǰaγmanam, assembling basin, of all water.

Without the prejudice that the far northeast of Iran was the "home of the Awesta," the error formulated by Bartholomae in *Wb.* could not have come into existence: "Welcher See (lake) ursprünglich so genannt wurde—das Kaspische, der Aralsee?—ist nicht mehr festzustellen etc." These words sanctioned the misunderstanding for a long time, e.g. Nyberg 251: "Wir haben [i.e. *Wb.*] zwischen zwei Möglichkeiten zu wählen, entweder ist vourukaša das Kaspische Meer und Raha die Wolga, oder vourukaša ist der Aralsee und Raha der Jaxartes." He then "chooses free"—*Y.*30,6—"between those two not even the gods chose the right one"—Aral and Jaxartes, and makes the name migrate, 402: "Im westlichen Zoroastrismus [his term for chapters like *Yt.*12 and *Vidēvdād*] wurde vourukaša das Kaspische Meer." We have no choice at all: zrayo vurukrtam means never anything but the ocean.

vurukrta is a descriptive name, always spelled -kaša; vuru is *εὐρύ*, kaša is krta; MP. always fraχvkrt,[8] substituting the syn. fraχv- for obsolete vuru-, as in fraχvgoyūt for vuru.gavyūti. The play upon words

[8] Only *Dραχt Asūr.* and *Mēn.Xrat* have, each once, vlkš, a mere transcription of vurukaša.

in the *Bdh.* (see below): "made so vast that . . ." shows that vuru.krta was understood as "wide-made."

The Greek ōkeanós, in the original conception equally a broad stream encompassing the round earth, has the epithets *βαθύῤῥοος*, *εὐρύκολπος*, *εὐρυτενὴς* and moreover *ἀψόῤῥοος*, *ἄψοῤῥος* which, like *παλίῤῥοος* is believed to mean a closed circle and thus resembles Ir. fra.rvēsya, epithet of the circular mountain. The mere existence of such rigid epithets of similar meaning documents the high antiquity of the notions and historical contact or common descent. But while Homer pictures the stars rising from and sinking into the okeanos, for the Aryans in their pre-Iranian home-land they do this behind the high Harā, the exterior dike, hētu, of the okeanos, on which gods abide and the vault of heaven rests.

This last image appears in Assyrian literature in a much misjudged geographical text attributed to Sargon šar kiššati, *KAV* n° 92.[4] The passages belonging to the redaction of 700 B.C. make the old king cross the Western Sea (Mediterranean) to ana.ku(g) and kaptara. The second island is Crete; the first therefore should be Cyprus, the "copper-island," but the name is "tin-island." Akk. anaku is plumbum album and nigrum, tin and lead, but there are no "lead-islands," while the "tin-islands" are famous. Pliny, *N.H.*36,16: "Homer calls plumbum album *κασσίτερον*," and 7,56f.: "plumbum (tin) ex Cassiteride insula primus adportavit Midacritus."[5] This figure is the Phoenician god Melcart-Hercules, a name that evokes at once the association of the "pillars of Hercules," Gibraltar, the Atlas mountains and Spain. The fact that the sequence anaku-kaptara runs against the enumeration from east to west natural to Assyrians, proves that the text is not based on any Assyrian experience, but on hearsay, with Phoenician sailors as the source. Therefore, unique in the entire Assyrian literature, the "šadū siḫip samē, mountain of the lying-on of heaven," the west point of the horizon, appears in this text: the Atlas. It is the time after Phoenician

[4] Only a few results of a full discussion in an unpublished Ms. can here be given. The two main chapters, one on routes, one on distances, stem from an incomplete Assyrian original of the time of ŠamšiAdad I of Assur. A redactor, living at the time of Sargon II, about 700 B.C., added an introductory and a concluding passage and connected the two old fragments by a short sentence; he took the material for these additions from a version of the Sargon legend more explicit than those we know.

[5] A different location in Stephanus Byz., quoting the Bassarika of Dionysius: *κασσίτερος· ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ τῇ Ἰνδικῇ πρόσεχής.*

sailors had started going to Spain (see under 'Navigation'). Sargon II transferred the image to the Bīstūn mountain in describing it "mount Simirria, the top of which supports the heaven, the root of which reaches the center of the netherworld."

The Greeks became a seafaring nation and the true knowledge of the seas came to them with the epoch of their great voyages. To the Iranians who of old had settled in Turkistan, then in Iran, it came with the vast expansion of their empire. That is the period when the old mythical notions were transformed into scientific theories.

The *Zam yasht* 19, 56-64 and 82, contains the fragment of a younger version of the myth of ApāmNapāt. Husravah-Cyrus replaces the Fire and Frahrasyā the Dragon. In the fragment preserved in the Awesta, Frahrasyā dives three times in vain to catch the hvarnah in the zrayo vurukrtam. Each dive causes an apaγžāra of the ocean: (1) the vari hōsravah, (2) the vari vahyazdā, (3) the vari awždānva. The idea is that the overflowing of the ocean forms permanent seas; vari means "gulfs," cf. εὐρύκολπος. The hvarnah escapes, taking refuge "avi vy'n vita.āpam, on a V. from-which-the-water-has-gone-away," apparently a sandbank or cape: vy'n might be "nose," Nord. "naze."

This legend existed in Dino's time, middle of the fourth century B.C., from whom Cicero quotes it, *de divin.* 1,23,46. There it is Cyrus-Husravah who dreams of seeing at his feet the sun which he tries to catch three times in vain. The interpretation that the dream presaged three decades of reign is preposterous. The fragment of *Yt.*19 and Cicero's tale have a common source, the great epic, which evidently told how, after Frahrasyā's failure, Husravah dived three times, the last with success, after the hvarnah. The first two failures would correspond to Tištriya's first failure, and the tripartition of the hvarnah is a feature of the Yama myth: it leaves Yama in three parts, assuming a bird's shape, and Mithra, Θrētōna and Krsāspa each catch such a bird. Husravah apparently caught the three parts of the hvarnah: three decades of reign, 559-529 B.C.

The legend of Frahrasyā-Husravah is no longer the naïve myth, but tries to explain the existence of three great seas which were thought to be connected with the ocean around the world. Its relation to the old myth resembles that of the thoughts of the early Ionian philosophers to

Homer's. It is worth noting that the seas are not regarded as something simply existing, but that came into existence, just as the mountains are imagined to have grown into the originally flat earth out of the encompassing Harā brzatī, later out of the upārisēna > pārsēn. As in the Babylonian legend of the flood, the idea is derived from observations of nature extremely aggrandized.

From the Iranian idea of the seas as gulfs of the ocean, Eratosthenes developed his theory (in Strabo II,121) that the ocean sends forth into the oikouméne four gulfs, the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. Herodotus knew, I,202, that "the Caspian Sea is one by itself, not connected with any other one," because the Greeks in the colonies on the northern shore of the Pontus had told him so, whose caravans passed north of the Caspian, as Marco Polo did 1,700 years later with a Venetian caravan.[6] But Strabo says (XI, c. 518): "There is no common consent on the point whether one ever did sail from the Indian Ocean to the Hyrcanian Sea; Patrocles said it was possible." Patrocles introduced the wrong notion because he did not complete the exploration of the Caspian with which he was charged by Antiochos, see under 'Ērānvēž.' Ptolemy delineated the Caspian again as a closed sea because he knew from merchants of his time of the overland route north of it. But Eratosthenes' theory had a long life; Ḥamdallāh al-Mustaufī, at the Mongol period, speaks still of the "seven gulfs, khalīdj, of the great sea ōqiyanūs."

Hōsravah, the first of the Ir. names of the three gulfs, is vrddhi adj. of husravah; vahyazdā resembles the n.pr. vahyazdāta; the third, awždānva is problematic: if to √dan- "to flow," the name would mean water in motion, what motion not being expressed, e.g. a sea dreaded for currents, or a "quietly flowing stream" ἀκαλαῤῥείθης, like the oldest Greek notion of the ōkeanós. Both concepts would contradict the Iranian classification of seas and lakes as "still" waters: they do not flow, but "stand, hištanti, MP. ēstēnd" like a NP. āb i istāda, "stagnum." The all but identical variš awždānāho in Y.42,2 does not contain √dan-, but √dā-, and means "water (forming) basins."

These three names have left no traces in later language, unless there

[6] Gisinger, in Pauly *RE* s.v. "Skylax" remarks incidentally that Scylax's periplus might have contained, in an introduction dealing with the "Outer Ocean" a remark on the Caspian as gulf of the ocean. But Scylax must have known the facts as well as Herodotus.

were a connection with the three obscure names of seas in the Bundahishn. Three seas or gulfs in the Iranian horizon must be the Caspian, the Black Sea or Mediterranean, and the Persian Gulf or Indian Ocean. The popular name of the Black Sea must have been, since the Median epoch, aχšēna "dark, black," for Gr. ἄξεινος (e.g. Apollodorus Rhod., *Argon.* B 984) "inhospitable," later euphemistically εὐξεῖνος, presupposes Med. aχšēna.

In the myth oceanologic things are not the field of ApāmNapāt, but of Ardvī as goddess of celestial waters. *Yt.*5,4 (repeated in Y.65,4):

yōzantē vispē karānā	All the shores are tossed up
'zrayahi vurukrtahya	at (of?) the sea vurukrtam,
ā vispo maδyo yōzati	its whole mid is tossed up,
yat hīš awi fratačati	when to them runs,
yat hīš awi fražgarati'	when to them rushes
ardvī sūrā anāhitā	Ardvī, the strong, the immaculate,
yahē hazahram varīnām	which holds a thousand seas,
hazahram apaγžārānām	a thousand apaγžāra,
kasčitča ēšām varīnām	each one of these seas is
čaθwarsatam ayar.barānām	forty days to ride
huvaspāi narāi baramnē	for a well mounted horseman.

With *Bdh.* and *Zātsp.* I take the loc. yahē in 4g as referring to vurukrtam, not to Ardvī, and as quantitative "which holds." The last three verses seem to be a gloss. Even assuming only 37.5 miles per day, the circuit would be 1,500 miles—the *Bdh.*, see below, arrives at a much larger number—the dimension of a sea, not of an inland lake. The descriptive terms karāna, maδya, √yuz- are also used for battles, cf. *Yt.*10,35; 13,39, under 'Mithra.'

apaγžāra is a difficult word. *Wb.* translates "Abfluss" of a sea, inconceivable to me.[8] In *Yt.*5,4 apaγžāra refers to the gulfs

[7] In *Yt.*12,24 fraγaδate; the script of the original text distinguished d and r only by a diacrit. book; thus, the hapax fražgarati is not beyond doubt.

[8] Based on the signification of prev. "apa, off," which does not appear with γžar- "to flow" as verb. Though the word occurs at least seven times with short a- in the Awesta, one may consider—since the archetype did not distinguish the quantity of initial a—whether *āpa.γžāra ought to be restored. Cf. the topic name apa.χšīra, which is certainly not "from which milk is off," but āb e šīr "sweet water," hence āpa-χšīra; -γzarta is the second element of yaχšart, laxartes, the first is "ĕχa, ice." NP. šāšār, "overflow of water, waterfall" < *āpa.γžāra.

produced by "overflow." St.10 says: "at the apaγžāra of each sea Ardvī has a palace with a hundred windows, a thousand pillars, ten thousand beams etc." This architecture puts the verses into the fifth century B.C. Referring to every single sea, apaγžāra seems to mean "surf." In *Yt.*8,31, Tištriya makes the sea "surge to and fro, aγzrādayati viγzrādayati"; √γzrad-, which *Wb.* compares to πλήθω, is related to γžar-. In *Yt.*15,27 apaγžāra refers to a river: Krsāspa brings offerings upa guδam apaγžāram ranhayā. If Ir. guδa is OI. gudá "bowels," it would mean a peculiar riverine formation (see under 'Ērānvēž'), and apaγžāra perhaps the area liable to inundation or reached by irrigation; the Pahl. transl. ašinjītan is also the normal word for irrigating.

*Y.*8,46 speaks of srīra apaγžāra and nimrōka of the ocean, where nimrōka is the antonym. √mruč-, in *Y.*53,7 with parāča ōrāča, Pahl. transl. andar šavēt bē āyēt, is a movement to and fro, cf. usča—ōrā in the Pārva legend, and MP. ul āyēt frōt šavēt, words for high and low tide (here below). Thus, ni + √mruč, nimrōka is the down movement, the ebb, and apaγžāra when applied to the sea an up movement, high tide. Applied to rivers it is their periodical highwater, to springs their fulness. It corresponds to πλήμμυρα. In *Yt.*8 high and low water are regarded as effects of Tištriya who rules the seasons, the calendar.

Real tides cannot be observed at the Caspian or the Black Sea, but only at the Persian Gulf. Since the verses are not older than 500 B.C., all the terms can apply to the tides. The remark in *Yt.*5,5, discussed under 'ApāmNapāt,' on the always equal quantity of water in the seas, explained by the equal influx of celestial waters, is the beginning of the theory of the circulation of water. Some verses on this subject have been worked into a long incantation in *Vid.*21. The old fragments are (*Vid.*21):

2: yayata dunma yayata
frāpam niyāpam upāpam
The fog floats, it floats
up and down over the waters.

3: vivāranti vivārahu
nava afš nava zā nava
The rain pours down,
new (becomes) the water, new the earth,

urvarå nava bēšazå	new the plants, new the healing herbs.
4: [yaθa?] zrayo vurukrtam	— the sea vurukrtam
āpo asti ham.ǰaymanam	is the assembling-basin of the waters.
us.hišta ham.yayatahva	Rise! float together,
yōnamča avi zāmča	to your course and to earth,
zāmča avi yōnamča	to earth and to your course,
us.hišta pari.hēzahva	rise, roll around,
yahya zanθāiča vaχšāiča	you for whose birth and growth
yōnam daδāt - - - -	- - - - have laid down a course!

In the last gap the text has "ahura mazdå," wrong meter, replacing a non-Zoroastrian word, in view of "yōna bagabaχta" (e.g. *Yt.*10,5) probably "bagåho" with the verb in plural. Three stanzas in bad condition, 5, 9 and 13, follow: "rise, sun, moon, stars over the high Harā!" after which each time the verses with pantām—yōnam—āfvantam of *Yt.*13, 53ff. and the entire st.4 are repeated, yōnam being replaced by "zām, earth" for the sun, by "vaχšam, growth" for the moon, and by "uzīram, rise" for the stars.

The verb yat- in st.2 means an up and down movement in several places; in *Yt.*5,65, Pārva legend, it means the rolling of the ship. The other verb, hēz-, is a hapax, but the prev. pari makes the circulating movement clear. Darmesteter translated yōnam by "airway": in *Yt.*13,57f. it is the determined course, the "orbit" of the stars, here the circulation of the waters. The early Ionian philosophers, and still Plato, explained that the sea water became heavy and salty by evaporation; and it was only Aristotle who recognized that all evaporated water comes back from the clouds as rain.

*Vid.*5 deals explicitly with the sea. The chapter starts: "Parts of corpses, displaced by animals, wind, and water, cause no contamination; if someone dies by drowning or burning, it is not the water or fire that kills him, but fate, baχt." All that in long queries and answers. "In winter, dead bodies shall not be exposed, only after the rainy season." Exposition of corpses and rain evoke the association of clouds, wind and sea, and that is the subject of §§15-21.

As we have the text, Zoroaster would ask AhuraMazdāh: "Is it true that you dismiss the water from the sea together with wind and clouds?" and "unto the corpse, . . . unto the place of corpses . . . , etc." Darmesteter remarked: Zoroaster wonders why the god does not observe his own laws; one rivāyet asks straightway why men are forbidden to carry a corpse near water, if the god makes it rain upon the daχma. AhuraMazdāh answers in 17: "It is exactly as you, Zoroaster, say, I am doing all this" and in 21: "with this speech the orthodox AhuraMazdāh set at ease the orthodox Zoroaster." The compiler discloses his way of working plainly enough: the material was not the subject of a dialogue between Zoroaster and the god. The redactors only connected the old verses on sea, wind and rain with the problem of exposing the dead.[9] The verses treated self-purification of water in a scientific way, without any religious coloring. The sentences appearing in the dialogue in 2nd person in the question, in 1st pers. in the answer, were originally a narrative in 3rd person. Small metrical deficiencies are caused by the adaptation to the context of the *Vidēvdād*.

15(17): - - - *āpo *zazāte — - - - the water separates itself
*zrayahaδa vurukrtāt — from the sea vurukrtam
haθrā vātamča dunmānča — together with wind and clouds
Pahl.transl.: āp zzv'ʙ (or: gīrēt) . . . ač zrēh ē fraχvkirt
apāk vāt u abr.

Bartholomae compared √zā(y)- with OI. jáhati "to desert, forsake," but was forced to twist the meaning to "dismiss" on account of the wrong subject "AhuraMazdāh." The verb was a middle, meaning "secedere, to separate"; it fits the verbs yat- and hēz- in *Vid*.21,2-4, stanzas of the same poem. The sequence was apparently *Vid*.21,4—5,16—21,3—5,20—21,3.

16(18): ahaθyam frafrāvayati — what does not belong is washed away
avi zrayo pūtikam — to the sea Pūtikam
19: tē hištantē γžaryžarantīš — These (waters) are constantly moving up
antara arδam zrayaho — and down in the interior of the sea;

[9] A cursory reading of the paragraphs on penalty for injury to an otter, into which entirely disconnected things are packed, more than corroborates this view.

yōždaya tačinti āpo	purified the waters run
zrayahāt hača pūtikāt	from the sea Pūtikam
avi zrayo vurukrtam	back to the sea Vurukrtam.
20: ⟨tē haθrā⟩ vivāraya(mi)	- - - (it) rain(s) heavily
hvarθamča narē . . .	food for men, pasture for cattle
vāstramča gavē . . .	

Pahl.transl. (18): an.āškārān [or: nēpāvakān "impurities," hast kē aržānīkān [means nē-arzānīk, im-proper] gōyēt; frāč fravānim [or: -vēnim] apar ō zrēh pūtīk. (19): avēšān ēstēnd M'LH [NP. purr] andar ālak ē zrēh pa yōšdāsrīh tačēnd āp ač zrēh ē pūtīk apar zrēh ē fraχvkirt. Commentary: "[hast kē ač satvēs u tištar kōstak āp āyēt] ō rapiθwintar-rōn puhl apāč ēstēt kē.š satvēs tun(d) kund pērāmōn apāč ēstēt pūtīk ač kōstak ē satvēs ēstēt ēn kutār kōst ēstēt man nē rōšnāk āp pa vāt ō satvēs rasēt."

To 19: γžarγžarantīš means the circulating motion, hištanti=ēstēnd as auxiliary verb the continuity. The Pahl.ideogr. M'LH, Ass. mīlu "inundation, highwater," NP. purr, is the word for "flood," ant. ebb. The purifying movement takes place in the depth of the pūtikam. To the commentary: puhl, NP. pūl, from OIr. prθa, √par- means "to equalize, compensate, exchange." apāč ēstēt, NP. bāz istādan "to stand back, retineri and remanere"; kē.š, MNV.š, as often, for 'YK.š ku.š or 'MT.š kā.š; tun(d) kund NP. tun u χund, tār u mār, "topsy-turvy, medley." West's translation "the water stands back 'in mist' and the 'blue body' of Satvēs stands back" is erroneous. The commentary says:

"[Others say: it is from the region of Satvēs and Tištar (viz. instead of Pūtikam) that the water comes] towards the south; an exchange is withheld, since Satvēs withholds itself from the medley all around; the Pūtīk lies at the side of the Satvēs, at which side is not clear to me; the water reaches the Satvēs by (action of) wind."

The Pahl. *Vidēvdād* was probably written under Xusrau I, and the theories expounded in the chapter on the seas in the *Gr.Bdh.* are of the same character because they come from a contemporary source. *Gr.Bdh.* Anklesaria 82ff., *Ind.Bdh.*K20, fol.100f.:

"zrēh ē fraχvkirt pa kōst ē nēmrōč kanārak ē alburz si-yak ē ēn zamīk dārēt ētōn fraχv kirt ku.š hazār var andar dāšt ēstēt [=*Yt.*5,4: yahē hazahram varīnām], the sea fraχvkirt (forms) in the southern

quarter the shore of the Alburz [old harā brzatī as hētu of the ocean]; it covers one third of this earth, so 'wide-made, fraχv kirt' that it can hold a thousand seas. It is also called (*Gr.Bdh.*) "v.yy'v.y.vl, var.l. "v.yb.'v.yv.l, (*Ind.Bdh.*:) "v.yk.vl," very ambiguous and perhaps none of the variants correct, possibly a transliteration of Gr. ōkeanós.

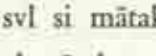
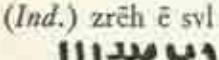
"har var-ē rād āp.χān-ē hast kē āp patiš apar āyēt andar ē var rēčēt har var-ē rād har āp.χānīk (*Gr.Bdh.*) andčand pahnād u drahnād hast (*Ind.Bdh.*:) hast kē mas hast kē kas hast kē čand, Each sea has a spring from which the water gushes and discharges into the sea; (*a*) (each) spring of each sea is according to its width and breadth; (or *b*) each sea has a spring, there are great, small and middle ones."

The early Ionians and even Plato believed likewise in springs and subterranean connection of all seas and waters: the rivers flow back from the sea to their springs, losing the salt on the way. Aristotle first denied springs of seas and stagnant lakes.

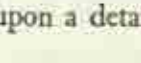
"kā huvasp mard tačēnēt (*Ind.Bdh.*: kā mard-ē apāk asp) pa čihil rōč-šap pērāmūn bē gartēt kē? bavēt 1800 (*Ind.Bdh.*: 1700, *Zātsp.*: 1900) frasang ē mas, when a well-mounted man canters he [or: a man on horseback] needs forty days and nights to ride all around it, namely 1800 (1900) great parasangs."

Forty itself means "infinite," but the calculation is: 40 nychthemera = 960 hours at 1 double parasang = 1920. The passage translates and interprets *Yt.*5,4. The day's marches are taken as 24 hours in order to reach 1900—equivalent to about 6500 miles—another expression of "infinite," cf. the 900 and 1000 missiles on Ardvī's chariot in *Yt.*5,120.

Then follows the description of the mythical engineering work discussed here under 'ApāmNapāt,' after which the *Bdh.* deals with the seas on earth:

(*Gr.Bdh.*:) "zrēh ē svl si mātakvar hast ēvak  (*Ind.*) zrēh ē svl si hēnd mātakvar . . . ēvak pūtīk ēvak kmlvt ēvak  (both:) ač har si pūtīk mas kē purr u (*Gr.*) 'v^{k}/$_{g}$'l (*Ind.*:) 'pg'l patiš, *Gr.Bdh.*: There are three seas salty by nature, one is the - - -" (*Ind.*:) "Of salty seas there are three, by nature, - - - 1. the pūtīk, 2. the kmlvt, 3. X." (*both*:) of these three the pūtīk is the largest, in which there is high tide and ebb.

svl—cf. below "har stafrīh u sūrīh u nāpākīh, all solid substance, saltiness and impurities"—must mean salt, but I do not know the word unless it be šūrah "saltpetre," cf. daryā i šūr as name of the Urmiya Lake. In the *Gr.Bdh.* the names pūtīk and kmlvt of the *Ind.Bdh.* are omitted in the first sentence; but upon a detailed commentary on pūtīk follows:

"zrēh ē kmlvt pad apāχtar ˚pa turkistān vitīrēt (*Ind.*: pa taparistān vitārēnd); ān ē (*Ind.* ) hrōm, the sea kmlvt is the one in the north; it passes (vitīrēt) to Turkistān (vitārēnd: one crosses it to Tabaristān); X (is the sea of) Hrōm, Byzantium."

The verb vitārēnd, ideogr. 'BRVN, is better than vitīrēt, but Turkistān is better than Tabaristān, because, coming from Iran, one need not cross the water to reach Tabaristān. I know of no name similar to kmlvt for the Caspian and yet it is difficult not to identify them. The sea of Hrōm would be the Black Sea.[10] The names might refer to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but at all events both are northern seas.

The description of the Pūtīk goes on: "hamkōstak ē zrēh fraχvkirt ō zrēh fraχvkirt patvast ēstēt; miyān ē zrēh ē fraχvkirt ud ān [ē] pūtīk pahlūk(aš?) zrēh-ē dārēt kē var ē satvēs χvānēnd, having one side in common with the sea Fraχvkirt, it is bound together with the Fraχvkirt; between the seas Fraχvkirt and Pūtīk, at (its?) side, there is a sea called var ē Satvēs." Zātsparm says: "Satvēs is a gulf (side = bay, arm) of the Fraχvkirt."

"har stafrīh u sūrīh u (*Gr.Bdh.*) nā.pākīh (*Ind.*: gandakīh) ač zrēh ē pūtīk ō zrēh fraχvkirt (*Gr.Bdh.*) varrāvēt (*Ind.*: kāmēt) šutan ⟨pa⟩ vāt ē vazurg ē buland ač ān var ē satvēs apāč žanēt har čē pāk u rōšan andar ō fraχvkirt čašmak ē ardvīsūr šavēt ān ditigar apāč ō pūtīk rēčēt, all thick, impure stuff which seems (*Ind.*: wants) to go from the Pūtīk to the Fraχvkirt, a strong, high wind from the var e Satvēs drives it back; all that is pure, clear, goes to the sea Fraχvkirt, the source of Ardvīsūr, but the other stuff flows back to the Pūtīk."

[10] A. Freiman's article "Le nom de la mer Noire dans la Perse pré-islamique" in Izdatel'stvo Akademiy i Nauk, sssr 1930, is now inaccessible to me, where he is said to have discovered MP. χšēn < uχšaina (postulated by Vasmer) in the *Gr.Bdh.* This would be .

"bōd ē ēn zrēh ō māh ⟨vāt⟩ patvast ēstēt pad afzāyišn u kasišn ul āyēt u frōt šavēt čē.š gartišn(īh) [only in *Gr.Bdh.*:] ō nēmrōč; bōd.ič ē var satvēs ō satvēs stārak bast ēstēt kē.š zrēhihā ē kōst ē nēmrōč andar pahrakīh [*Ind.*: panāhīh] ōgōn čigōn haftrang kōstak ē apāχtar andar pahrakīh, the life[11] of this sea is tied up with the moon with whose waxing and waning it comes up and goes down, according to the moon's revolution. The life of the var ē Satvēs is bound to the star Satvēs (Canopus), under whose protection are the southern seas, just as the northern region is under the protection of Haftrang (septentriones)."

"About the tides they say: ač pēš ē māh hargas du vāt hamē vāžēt kē.šān mānist andar var ē satvēs ēvak frōt-hāvand ēvak ul-hāvand χvānēnd. kad ān ul-hāvand vāžēt purr, kad ān frōt-hāvand 'vg'l bavēt. pat apārīk zrēhihā ač ān čigōn.aš gartišnīh ē māh patiš nēst purr 'vg'l nē bavēt, From the moon blow always two winds which have their house in the sea Satvēs; the name of the one is 'up-lord,' of the other 'down-lord.' When the 'up-lord' blows, high-tide (purr) results, when the 'down-lord,' ebb. In the other seas, since the revolution of the moon has no power over them, there is no high tide and ebb."

In *Vid.*5,19 the ideogr. M'LH, NP. purr (both "fullness") render Aw. γžaryžarant; M'LH belongs to Akk. mālu "to inundate, submerge,"[12] noun mīlu "highwater, overflow," and purr is the NP. word for high-tide. The antonym 'vg'l hence must be ebb tide. It appears again in an unclear passage of *Mēn.Xr.* (Andreas p.47f.): "hamōgēn āp ē andar gēhān rēčišn ač arzah kišvar anōd ku χvaršēt ul āyēt ut (u.š?) [illegible] (or corrected: [illegible]) ō savah kišvar ku χvaršēt frōt šavēt. āp andar zrēh ē pūtīk ut ač zrēh ē pūtīk apāč ō zrēh ē C-vēs šavēt, the rēčišn of waters on earth comes up from the kišvar arzah (W.) where the sun rises (sic) and their 'β'lšn goes down to the kišvar savah (E.) where the sun sets (sic). The water goes into the sea Pūtīk and from the Pūtīk back to the sea Satvēs."

rēčišn, to rēχtan, linquēre, corresponds to purr in the *Bdh.*; 'β'lšn to its antonym 'vg'l. The "Heavenly Wisdom" or "Transcendente Vernunft" did not want to say that all water on earth flows in one and the

[11] bōy < bōdah "perceptivity, consciousness, senses."
[12] Cf. the correspondence on regulation of canals etc., H. Waschow, MAOG.X,1,44ff.

same west-eastern direction. The passage is corrupt. Only one inference can be drawn from it: the ul-hāvand is the wind blowing from where the sun ul āyēt, the NE. monsoon, and the frōt-hāvand the SW. monsoon.

In analogy to IPārs. 'vb'm, IPahl. 'bgm < *awi.gāma, one can posit: 'vg'l, 'βg'l < *awi.gāla to Skr. gālati,[18] to flow, drip. The name of one of the Baḥrain islands, in Yāqūt and the Chronicle of Arbela (Sachau), ōwāl, is 'vg'l, cf. "islands in the lee or the luff."

The Bundahishn connects the phenomenon of the tides with the moon and believes at the same time that the monsoons start from the moon and transmit its effect to the sea. In the Mediterranean the tides are weak and it has no monsoons, thus the Greek started from similar notions. According to the doxographers, Aristotle taught that the tides entered the Mediterranean from the Atlantic where wind pressure caused them. The great navigator Pytheas of Massilia, contemporary of Aristotle and probably a pupil of Eudoxus of Cnidus, was the first to recognize the connection of the tides with the position of the moon in the sky, on the basis of observations made on the Atlantic coast of Spain. Eratosthenes saw in the tides a proof for the unity of the ocean. Seleucus of Seleucia explained, correcting Aristotle, that the moon exercised pressure upon the atmosphere, which participates in the rotation of the earth, and transmitted this pressure to the sea: a precursor of the idea of attraction. Poseidonios who learned a lot from Phoenicians, studied the problem on the Atlantic at Gades. He established the direct connection between the tides and the course of the moon: its rising to the meridian causes high tide, descending low tide; the highest floods come at new or full moon; the augmentation therefore is caused not by the moon alone, but by the conjunction of moon and sun. All these facts had been discovered when the Awestic verses on the sea Pūtika were embodied into the *Vidēvdād*.

Resuming the main points of the Iranian theory we may state: All seas are connected with the ocean, the southern quarter of which stretches to the shore of the Harā brzatī, its hētu, dike, the border of the earth. To the northern "regions," continental masses, the southern

[18] Cf. pati.gāla > piyālah under 'Hōma' and 'Ardvī.' The *Gr.Bdh.* writes always 'v.ʁ.'l with a small disconnected k which can be g: 'vg'l; the *Ind.Bdh.* usually 'v.g'l with diacr. dots of g, and once 'p.g'l with p = β, 'βg'l (l = r).

"seas" are opposed. While the seas in the north have no tides, the Pūtikam has, and likewise Satavēsa. The two sentences are not contradictory, for the two are partial names of a unit. Pūtikam has one side in common with Fraχvkirt, and so has Satavēsa, also called a "gulf" of Fraχvkirt. Besides Pūtikam and Satavēsa have a side in common. Since Fraχvkirt extends in the south to the very rim of the earth, the two others must be its northern parts, and the imaginary limits are:



The only point unanswered is: which of the two lies east, which west.

Satavēsa, governed by the star Satavēsa-Canopus, protector of all southern seas, is the home of the monsoons, ul-hāvand and frōt-hāvand, which are believed to cause the tides by transmitting the power of the moon to the waters; the tides again are believed to cooperate in the purification of water in the seas. This last thought is expressed already in the Awestic text of the *Vidēvdād* and with more detail in the Pahl. translation and the Bundahishn.

The first Greek to speak of the monsoons was Nearch, Alexander's admiral, quoted in Arrian's *Indica* 21,1. He calls them "Etesian winds, that blow during the whole summer from the sea (Africa) against the land, preventing navigation." Native sailors must have known them since the fourth millennium. In the first century A.D. the Romans were fully informed about them and made use of them for direct navigation between Egypt and India. Pliny *N.H.* VI,26, 101 and 104, says the ships sailed when the "Hippalus" blew, in Epiphi (July), from Ocelis or from Cana in South Arabia, and reached India (Muziris, at Pliny's time Barace) in 40 days. The Hippalus is the SW-monsoon [monsoon = Arab. mauṣim, "season"] and comes from the "promunturium quod aliqui Hispalum scripsere," viz. Cape Guardafui on the Frankincense shore; the wind is also called Gr. libanōtós, cf. Hebr. l'bōnāh "frankincense." The Hippalus is the frōt-hāvand of the Bundahishn.[14]

[14] Arab. sufālat al-rīḥ is the lee side (Ir. frōt), 'ulāwat al-rīḥ "luff" (Ir. ul), and it seems unavoidable to connect hispalus with Arab. names asfal, suflā', sufāla, although Pliny prefers the form hip(p)alus. D'Herbelot advanced sufāla "lowland or lee," sufālat al-dhahab "gold-coast," name of a place of the Zanǧ, as probable origin of the name Sufāla for the whole coast from which the Hispalus blows. The Arab terms lead back to Ass. šāru elū "upper,

Ptolemy IV,7,12 calls Ἵππαλον πέλαγος the part of the ocean south of the south coast of Arabia as far as 'Umān, in the *Itiner. Alex.* 48 hippalum mare. The African cape and the sea are called after the wind, not, as the author of the *Periplus Mar.Er.* §67 assumed, the wind after a captain Hippalus who remained unknown but would have been the first to sail straight from Egypt to India. Such voyages are much older.

The Red Sea branches off from the Hippalum mare, which is the zrayo Pūtikam. The eastern part of the ocean is the Satavēsa, the sea south of the south coast of Iran, and from it starts the Persian Gulf. They are the two northern "sides, gulfs" of the Indian Ocean which is the southern quarter of the Fraχvkirt, the zrayo vurukrtam.

Justi, probably thinking of the "stinking sea" of the Alexander romance and other fairy tales, had derived the name pūtika from puyati "to be putrid, putrescent." Bartholomae rejected this and derived it from *pūti "purification": "für die awestische Theologie ist das Meer 'das reinigende' (*Wb.*909)." What Sasanian theologians may have imagined does not count. The concept of the Aw. text, that everything putrid comes back purified from the pūtikam, is not theology, but a scientific theory. On Perīm I was told that the yearly average of sea temperature there is above 80° F., fit for cleaning. MP. distinguishes between the n.pr. pūtīk and the adj. pūtak < *putaka, NP. pūδah "putrid." This is a genuine word. I do not believe that at the same time *pūtika could have been the word for "purified." The initial error is that everything Awestic must be theology. Without this bias, the name pūtika of the largest salt sea in the south of Iran, which had tides and monsoons, and where water purified itself, would never have been interpreted otherwise than "Sea of Pūt." Pūtika is the regular adjective of Pūt.

The land Pwn.t had been known to the Egyptians since the Old Kingdom. Georg Ebers identified the name with Pūṭ of the OT., and Brugsch Pasha and G. Schweinfurth located it in the regio cinnamomifera, the "Frankincense Coast" on both sides of the Gulf of Aden. Glaser shifted it to the north, inside the strait of Bāb al-Mandab (Perīm). Philological objections were raised first by P. Jensen, who, in *Asien und Europa* (directed against W. M. Müller's book of the same

northern" and šāru šaplu "lower, southern direction, wind, quarter" etc. The very origin of the term is Sumerian: the Euphrates running north-south, up-down.

name) *ZA*.10, 1893, called the equation pwn.t=pvṭ "schlechterdings ohne Analogie," an objection resting on the wrong premise that it would be an Egyptian change of sound. Second: G. Posener, *Première domination perse en Égypte*, 1936, 186, who writes: "l'identification pvṭ=pwn.t doit être, croyons-nous, définitivement abandonnée." Posener proves there that the name ṭmḥw in the list of Darius' Suez inscription is Libya,[18] but there is no reason for equating ṭmḥw with OP. pūtiya, on the contrary, the mention of Pūṭ and Lūb in Genesis and Jeremiah (see below) rules it out.

Pūṭ appears twice in OP.: (1) *Dar.NiR.* §3, list of provinces, and hence, as legend above the corresponding figure among the throne-bearers; this repeated on the tomb of Artaxerxes at Persepolis. The form is OP. pūtiya, El. putiia(p), Akk. pūṭa. (2) in the list *Xerx.Pers. daiv.*: OP. pūtāya [El. imitates p.u.t.ta.a.ia], Akk. pūṭaia.

In both cases the name is one of a group appended to the 21 names of satrapies. The full group in *NiR.* is pūtiya, kūšiya, mačiya, krka; in *Xerx.daiv.* abridged: pūtāya, krka. The kūšiya are the Nubians. The mačiya or maka are the Arabs of the "land Qädäm," Southeast Arabia; the Akk. version is in *Xerx.daiv.* mak, else qadū < ʿqaduwu < ʿqadumu, ethn. qadumaia, cf. *Gen.*10,30 har hā.qädäm, easternmost region of South Arabia, bᵉnē Yoqtān; *Gen.*29,1 'rṣ bny qdm (Elohist); Skylax wrote Mykoi. The Krka are the Carians of Bannēšu, the naval station near Muḥammira on the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. Altogether they are the people living along the sea route which Darius had opened by building the Suez canal. The Pūtiya are obviously the inhabitants of the Frankincense Country, of Pwn.t. The final proof is furnished by the Persepolis sculptures[19] where they are represented not as negroes—Nubians and Libyans were negroes—but as pure Arabs, of the very same physical type as the Arbāya and Mačiya, only distinguished by peculiarities of attire. They bring a chariot with two Arab horses and an antelope delineated like an ibex with screw-formed horns.

The linguistic problem is: Akk. pūṭa in *NiR.* §3 is the form from which OP. pūtiya (imitated in Elam.) is derived. Akk.

[18] "lybia," from lubi, not libu-, would be the right spelling.

[19] The figures on the tombs and the tripylon-thrones (end of Darius' reign) are mutilated; the others are in perfect condition: great tribute procession of the Apadāna (478 B.C.) and thrones of the Hall of a Hundred Columns (Artaxerxes I, early years).

pūṭāja in *Xerx.daiv.* may be an Aramaic form; OP. pūtāya (and El.) imitate it. The official OP. name is either a loan from older Babylonian style or a contemporary popular form introduced by Babylonian scribes into OP. chancery. The OT. uses also the Akk. form pūṭa, *Gen.*10,6: "Kūš, Miṣrayim and Pūṭ, sons of Ham." In *Gen.*10,13 LVD must be emended in 'LVB, Libyan, son of Miṣrayim, see Stade, *De populo Javan,* Giessen, 1880,5. The same emendation in *Jer.*46,9, prophecy of conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar: Kūš, Pūṭ and Lūb, i.e. pūtiya and ṭmḥw.[17] The OP. inscriptions and the Bible use the same form of the name in the same stylistic application, and pūṭ is a Semitic transformation of Eg. pwn.t.[18]

The Awesta mentions the name twice: (1) in the codicil to the memorial list of *Yt.*13, among other foreigners, 'kyt pvt'n'm, akīt (hyakinthos, yāqūt) of the Pūta (Akk. pūṭa), transcribed into Awestic with δ < t as puδa. (2) *Vid.*5,16 (18) awi zrayo pūtikam. These forms follow the official OP. style. It is no contradiction that a product of the country itself, object of commerce, the coffee-bean, is called *πουτικὸν* < puntikam.

It was Darius who ordered at the very beginning of his reign the exploration of the Indus and the Indian Ocean and the building of the Suez Canal, a plan of almost unbelievably wide vision at that period for a man of under 25 years of age.[19] He says in the Suez inscription: "I ordered the building of this canal from the Nile, Pirava, that flows in Egypt, to the sea that comes from Persis; it [was built] as I had ordered, and [ships] sailed from Egypt through this canal to Persis, the like of which had [never been before]." The hieroglyphic version, according to the rests on the stelae of Maskhūta and Kabret, was more detailed: "His Majesty has ordered that a kbn.t ship sail to explore the water . . . from Egypt, 8 *ỉtrw* (over 50 miles) . . . no water in . . . order for the commander . . . sail from Egypt . . . let the boats. . . ." I prefer

[17] *Isaiah* 66,19: Taršīš, *Pūṭ (LXX: φουδ) and Lūd, [Tubal and Yavan], expresses, with "rhetoric paronomasy," the general notion of distant barbarians. No inference is to be drawn from *Ez.* 30,5, desolation of Egypt, = *Jer.* 46,9; *Ez.* 27,10, mercenaries of Tyre = *Isa.* 66,19; *Jer.* 38,5, invasion of Gog = *Jer.* 46,9.

[18] Cf. gbn.t, later kbn.t "Gubal ship," and gubi, gubin with Gudea. Also the not identical case of Hoddū < OP. hindū in *Esther* 1,1 and 8,9.

[19] Cf. Herodotus II,158.

the first interpretation of Golenisheff to that of Posener. A kbn.t, Byblos-boat, is a big seaworthy ship of the Egyptian navy, unfit for exploring, as Posener assumes, whether there was still water in the old canal begun by Necho. The water to be explored is the Red Sea. The "ravitaillement des voyageurs en eau potable" refers not only to the short distance of the canal, but to the entire voyage to Persis, which had never been undertaken before. One ship explores, later a whole fleet of 24 or 36 ships sailed for Persis. The town "Sb," mentioned two, perhaps four times, therefore, is not an unknown place in the canal zone, but Saba in South Arabia; this is also more probable than Ptolemy's Σαβὰτ πόλις on the African coast of the Red Sea, as Brugsch proposed.

O. Schrader had advanced, in *Sprachforschung und Vorgeschichte* (3rd ed. 220 and 247) the theory that the Aryans, as a people without agriculture and with an exclusive meat diet [wrong presumptions] had recognized the importance of salt later than the more western peoples of IE. language, who have a common word *sel; p.221 has the headline "Unbekanntschaft mit dem Salz." He adduced that salted food was excepted from Old Indian sacrifices (Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda,* 412[2]) and that, according to Athenion (in Athenaeus 14,661) the bowels, in Greek sacrifices, were not allowed to be salted. Finally: in the Rgveda and the Awesta there is no word for salt. If those prohibitions were historically connected, the IE. speaking people must have known salt; if not, they cannot predicate anything. The absence of the word in the Awesta had a certain significance as long as one believed in a mythic-mystical "Awesta-folk" in faraway antiquity and an unknown land. But this country was Iran, and it took a full millennium to create the Awesta. The absence of the word would be no more than an especially improbable chance: the word for "bread," too, had not been recognized, yet nobody ever said that bread was unknown to the "Awesta-people."

A third of the country consists of salt; the whole central kavēr is salt. There are more regions without water than without salt. Tiglath-Pileser III mentions more than once the "house" or the "desert of salt," bīt, ṣēr ṭābti, which his troops reached near Bustiš, Agazi, Ambanda and the Ru'a mountains, between Kum and Isfahan. Esarhaddon speaks of the northern end of the kavēr in his description of Patuš'arra at the

foot of mount Bikni, Demawand. Beside the salt desert there are salt mountains, of which Onesicritus wrote, in Strabo c.726. All agriculture in Iran is a fight with the salt. All Iranian lakes are salty, in various degrees; one of the saltiest is the Urmiya Lake, Čēčistā, or daryā i šūr, of which it is said that no fish can live in it. The strange notions of the "purification" of water mean above all the reduction of the salt. It is pathetic to read what the Bundahishn writes about the holy lake Kansavya, the Hāmūn in Sīstān: essentially it is sweet, "When the fraškirt comes, its water will again be sweet."

The problem is the interpretation of the words written uruyāpa and urvāpa, epithets of lakes and seas:

*Yt.*8,46, Tištriya descends into the ocean

zrayaho vurukrtahya	ǰafrahya ruviyāpahya
the wide-made, deep	with - - - water

*Yt.*10,14, Mithra looks over ārya.šayanam

yahmiyā ǰafrā varayo	ruva.āpāho hištantē
where deep lakes	with - - - water are lying

*Yt.*5,49: Husravah brings offerings

pašne varoiš čečistahya	ǰafrahya ruva.āpahya
on the lake Čēčista,	the deep, with - - - water.

Bartholomae interpreted uru- as a form of composition of vuru- and uruya to OI. uruyā́ as uru to vuru, believing in the authenticity of such phonetic detail in the Awestic text. But the archetype can have had no more than RV- and RVY-, and alone the fact that the "form of composition" is exclusively used before -āpa, contradicts his theory and shows that those who invented the Awestic script saw in this element something differing from vuru-. Darmesteter, *Ét.Ir.* II,179, had seen that the words must import something more characteristic than the trivial "with wide water," namely "with salt water," and had put uruya, urva to Skr. lavaṇam "salt." Duchesne, *Comp.av.* §60 and 201, resumed this and connected with it, in §105, the name of the mountain urunyō.vāiδimiδkā, but recanted it in the postscript p.71 and joined Bailey who connected both words with √rav- in OP. rautah "river," Aw. urvant "flowing," because this interpretation had the advantage of tying up with a root known in Iranian.

The argument does not hold good. Proving the existence of a root hitherto unknown can be the greater advantage in view of the scantiness of Awestic material. The name of the sea awždānva has been explained as "containing a stream, flow of waters," possible as to form, but uncharacteristic and contradicting the Iranian classification of seas under "standing, stagnant" waters, and therefore inacceptable. To explain the two epithets as "flowing with water" would be equally uncharacteristic and moreover pleonastic if applied to the "wide-made ocean," and contradictory in the case of stagnant lakes. Entirely correct as far as linguistics go, the interpretation is yet wrong, and the words mean "with salt water," like Skr. lavaṇoda and Gr. *θάλασσα*, Akk. nār marratum.

urunyō.vāiδimiδkā of *Yt.*19,5 is arranged in *Wb.* under ru-, as a compound of (u)runya + vāδi + miδka.[20] The many variants of spelling show how poorly the name is attested. Some inferior mss. do not have the δ in miδkā, but all have the i. The δ in vāiδi appears also as d, but not as t. Thus we have a not too sure rvnyv'dmyt?k'.

The name is the only one in dual form between ten names in singular. In the preceding paragraph, five simple names (not compounds) appear in dual, and must be understood as occurring twice, not as names of pairs of mountains. But such a long name could appear more than once only if it had a current appellative meaning. Spellings with an unetymological δ,t, mostly in joints of false compounds, are always suspicious.[21] Instead of being a compound of three elements, the name may be another type of compound, e.g. a dvandva rvnyv' + d?myt?k', the first part of which would be *runyavan "salty." I should prefer to make the cesura after rvnyv'd, or with transposition -'vd or -vd', and to recognize in the first part of the long name the Ir. equivalent of Skr. lavaṇoda "saltwater, sea," *runya + uda; with the remaining myt?k' as an independent name.

[20] runya, doubtfully compared with runya "Gefäss," for liquids, kind of bucket, possibly "copper (vessel)"; Bartholomae notes nothing to vāδi; with miδka he compared mita, either "pillar" or "measured"; the combination makes no sense. Duchesne saw in runya at first the stem of Skr. lavaṇam, with adj.term. -ya, in vāδi Aw. vāδi "course of water," in miδka a mere variant spelling of *mika, with unetym. δ; cf. *Grdr.* §302,5.

[21] δk: In vrδka beside vrtka "kidneys"; aδka beside atka "overcoat," -δk- stands for arch. -tk-; this can also apply to n.pr. snāviδka < *snāvitaka. nəmaδka in *Yt.*14,55 see under 'Krēvar, vyambura.' *Wb.* posits "nəmaδka to nəmata Reisig, wie Ai. avatká zu avata." The material does not allow a definite answer.

The situation is not that the absence of the word for "salt" disproves acquaintance with salt, but that the ubiquity of salt in Iran requires the finding of the word. In NP. "salt" is namak. This appears in the "Vyamburadīva song" in *Yt.*14,55, written nəmaδka for *namaka, as will be discussed in its context under 'Kršvar.'

XXXVI. NAVIGATION

There has been coasting on the southern seas since remote prehistoric antiquity, and more than that: these sailors ventured out on the high sea long before the Hellenistic or the Roman periods.

The Kavaddha Sutta,[1] a work not younger than the fifth century B.C., tells: "Long, long ago, sea-faring traders were wont, when they were setting sail on an ocean voyage, to take with them a land-sighting bird. And when the ship got out of sight of the shore, they would let the land-sighting bird free. Such a bird would fly to the East, and to the South, and to the West, and to the North, to the zenith, and to the intermediate points of the compass. And if anywhere on the horizon it caught sight of land, thither it would fly. But if no land, all round about, were visible, it would come back to the ship." In the sixth century A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes speaks of such land-sighting birds, and Chinese books of the ninth century call this custom Persian.

The release of the pigeons in the story of the Flood has the same meaning: the ark of Noah is a ship on the high sea. Gilgamesh epic, tabl.11: "When the seventh day was breaking, I released a pigeon, the pigeon went off, it came back. Because there is no place to sit, it comes back." The second time he releases a swallow, which likewise comes back, at the third time a raven: "it saw the falling off of the waters, eats, burrows?, did not come back." Even if this motif would not have figured in the oldest versions, it would attest the custom long before the time of Buddha and of the Awesta. The awēl malāḫi, captain or supercargo of the ark of Ut.Napištim, see under 'Yama Xšēta,' is another experience of the sailors on the Persian Gulf. On the Gulf and on the Indian Ocean there was not only timid coasting.

A study of the "ship-building papyrus" of Elephantine[2] dated 412 B.C. reveals much concerning the ships themselves.

L.1: "From Ršāma [satrap of Egypt] to Wahiprimahi." It is an order, which after the custom of Persian chancery—as do the clay tablets from Persepolis—tells the whole proceedings:

[1] Rhys Davis, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1,283.
[2] E. Sachau, pl.8-9; Ungnad 8; Cowley 26.

First: (l.1) Miθradāt, the nāvapati [OE. nōwend], captain, reports to Psmsnyt, his boat needs repair; thereupon Psmsnyt writes (l.2-3): [I and Miθradāt, the captains], the krky', say: "The ship, spynt', which we have [or "hold," mhḫsnn], it is time for her 'vpšd l-m'bd. . . ."

Second: (l.3): gap, in which the recipient of this report, either Ršāma himself or his lieutenant, gives the order (l.4) . . . "shall be established accurately and be sent to the hamārakara ganzā, the accountants of the archives; they together with the framānakara, engineers, shall inspect the ship; (l.5): an 'vpkrt shall be made and various things shall be ordered; (l.6): the 'vpšd shall be done at once and all I have written besides" (in the original order).

Third: (l.6): Thereupon they [viz. the captains] sent [to the accountants] and these report [to Ršāma] (l.7): "(on) the beach, ḫl', in front of the fort . . . Miθradāt, the nāvapati, has shown us the spynt'; we report that her condition has been correctly described by Psmsnyt [and Miθradāt], the two nāvapati krky', and we have informed Šmšlk and his companions, the engineers, (and) Šemu b. Kanufi, head of the carpenters, the spytkn, and they say: It is time for her [the spynt'] 'vpšd l-m'bd. The following is the list of requisites, 'šrn' zy 'pyty for her 'vpšd l-m'bd." This list of materials follows in ll.10-21. (ll.21-22): "The materials are to be delivered to Šemu b. Kanufi, chief of the carpenters, the spytkn, l'ynyn of the 'vpšd of this spynt', according to the order issued."

Ršāma sends the proceedings to Wahiprimahi with the (new) order (l.22): "effect what the hamārakara say, according to the order issued!" Signatures, mark of registration, and date: "13.tebeth, year 12 of Darius (II)," i.e. 412 B.C.

hamārakara and framānakara, at first misread although clearly written, are the accountants and the engineers—those working with the framāna "rule, gauge" (cf. *Altp.Inschr.* s.v.). ganzā, wherever it appears at the Achaemenian epoch (here; *Ezra* 6,1-2; on the Persepolis tablets) is never "treasury," but "archives." The title of the chief of the archives is Akk. gitepatu, Elam. ke.so.pat.ti.s, OP. *gaiθupatiš, vrddhi of *giθu < Akk. giṭṭu, Aram. gēṭ "document,"[3] still under the Abbasids Arab. djihbadh. Greek γαζοφύλαξ, e.g. Strabo 11,1,6, title of the chief

[3] giṭṭu > giθu, treated like Med. gānu > OP. gāθu. Cf. IPārs. gty and gtky.

of the archives of Babylon under Seleucus and Antiochus, is an exact translation.

'vpkrt in l.5 is upa.krti, cf. hankrti "addition" and homrti "final account"; hence "making-up, drawing-up," specification of requirements. 'vpšd is upa + √had-, cf. ni.šad-, maδyoi.šaδ- etc., hence "to set, lay up," viz. the ship on the beach, ḫl',[4] always with l-m'bd, "on the building yard, wharf." The meaning is everywhere the same: "it is time to lay the ship up," "the laying up shall be done at once," whereupon it is "shown on the beach to the inspectors." At the last place, l.22, li-'ēnain has the purely local meaning which it has as ideogr. for MP. pēš, viz. "in front of, at the exact spot" where the ship is laid up.

The verb hḫsn, too, has the very meaning it has as ideogr. for MP. dāštan "the ship we have." zy 'pyty in l.9, Cowley "(specification of) what is required?" Ungnad: "unklar," is Akk. appittum, which renders in *NiR.b,6* OP. avākaram "of such kind," in *NiR.a,3* an accentuated "such a one"; *Dar.Sus.col.7*: ša anāku ēpušu mimmā ša lā appitti, "what I have done, as there was never anything 'of the kind.'"[5] Hence: "the specification of this kind, here following."

The word for the boat, sefintā, was known from late Talm.Aram., it is Hebr. sefīna, and passed into Arabic as safīna; in NP. it is used rarely and mostly with daryā'ī "sea-going ship." In Hebrew the usual term is oni, oniyyāh "vessel, fleet"; in Aram. ilfā (also in the papyri) from Akk. eleppu. sefintā is a special boat; in the OT. it appears only in *Jonah* 1: "Jonah fled before the Lord and wanted to go to Taršiš, and came down to Japho, and when he found a ship, s'fina, that was sailing to Taršiš, he paid his fare to sail with them to Taršiš, away from the Lord."

From the description in the papyrus, the sefintā is a large sailing vessel; for among the materials needed for its repair are many planks of cedar and other wood up to 20 cubits long, and apparently more than one kind of sails. So it was a sea-worthy ship like Jonah's s'fina that sailed to Taršiš. Pliny says *NH.*6,24: "The ships of Ceylon have a capacity of 3,000 amphorae [= 33 tons?] and resemble the Nile-boats." There is no objection against her lying on the Nile at Elephantine. Sargon of Akkad, middle of the third millennium B.C., says: "Ships

[4] To ḫōl in *VMor.* 33,17; Ass. ḫūlu "sand," Arab. arḍ al-ḥālāt.

[5] Cf. *AltpInschr.* 101ff., also AMI,VIII,65, and 'ptm in *Ezra* 4,13 "at all events."

from Meluḫḫa [vaguely=Red Sea], Magan [='Umān] and Tilwun [=Baḥrain] anchored at the quay of Akkad [north of Babylon on the Euphrates]."[6] Not much later, at the time of Šulgi of Sumer and Akkad, Gudea says: "Magan, Meluḫḫa, Gubi, Tilwun gathered wood, ships with woods of all kinds arrived at Lagaš" [on the lower Tigris] and "ḫalub wood from the ḫalub-mountain was imported from Gubin."[7] Gubi, Gubin, first mention of the town, is Gubal, Byblos. The sea-faring people of the Mediterranean coast sailed round Arabia and must have had a port on the Gulf of Suez or of 'Aqaba as early as that. Later, Skylax went down the Indus, Nearch and Onesicritus went up the Euphrates to Babylon, the Tigris to Opis-Ctesiphon, the Eulaeus to Susa. Letter *Harper* n° 83: Bēl-ibni, Assyrian governor of the Sea-country (Mēšān-Baṣra) reports to Assurbānipal, before 640 B.C., that his great enemy, Nabûbēlšumāte, once ally of Assurbānipal's hostile brother Šamaššumukīn of Babylon, had sent his treasures to Elam and himself had fled to Hudimeri (or Hukiweri?) on the Persian Gulf; Bēlibni asks for Phoenicians to build a fleet for the pursuit of Nabûbēlšumātē.[8]

Boats are called, of old, after the place where they were originally built, hence Sum.-Akk. má ma.gan.na=eleppu makkanītum, má me.luḫ.ḫa=eleppu meluḫḫītum (II.*Rawl.*46,5-7). K. Sethe[9] recognized in Eg. kbn.t (Old Kingd.) a "Gubal-ship," confirmed by Gudea's "boats from Gubin." Under the New Kingdom kpn.t means all sea-going vessels, e.g. in the title "chief of the kpn.t, fleet of the king"; a kbn.t explores the course from the Suez Canal to Persis under Darius; under the Ptolemies it means "man-of-war." The original foreign type was imitated and its meaning broadened.

Jonah's s'fīna sails for Taršiš-Tartēssos. Taršiš boats, anyōth Taršiš, are first mentioned in *Isaiah* and *Ps.*71,10, in the seventh century B.C. To that time, about 650, belongs Herodotus' story, in IV,152, of Kōlaios of Samos whose ship was driven off her course to Tartēssos, and whose colossal votive crater Herodotus saw and describes. Ezechiel mentions

[6] A. Poebel, in Penns.Univ.Mus., Bab.Sect. V, n° 34, and Legrain in Mus.Journ. 1923, 208; tablet with miscellaneous copies of inscriptions from the Enlil temple at Nippur.

[7] Stat.D, col.III, and Stat.B, col.VI.

[8] F. Weidner, AOF,VII, 1ff. H. Schawe, AOF,VIII,52; Campbell-Thompson and Mallowan, LAAA, XX; Sidney Smith, JRAS 1934, 575. *Arch.Hist.Jr.* 25f.

[9] Aeg. Zeitschr. 1908, 7-11.

these boats about 580 B.C., Jeremiah a little later, at the time of Herodotus' story 1,163-165, of the Phoceans, to whom the king Arganthonius (a Celtic name) gave money to fortify their home-town against an imminent attack of the Medes under Harpagus. And not much later, a man from Massilia-Marseilles sailed for Tartēssos, whose períplūs, journal, is preserved in Avienus' *Ora maritima*. Maritime traffic with Spain, for silver, iron and, by transshipment, tin, is at least as old as 700 B.C., when the "tin-island" and the "Atlas-mountain" appear also in the so-called "Itinerary of Sargon šar kiššati" (under 'Sea'). It is also the time of the "thalassokrateía" of the Carians, and it may be more than a coincidence that such opposed points as Tartēssos near Gibraltar and Bannēšu-Muḥammira sound as if belonging to Carian speech: names in -āssos, -ēssos.

Strabo III,2,3-6 tells that the Truditanians of Tartēssus built their own boats of indigenous wood and sailed with them on the one side to Hispalis-Sevilla, on the other to Dikaiarcheía = Pozzuoli. Their fleet was as strong as the Libyan one, of Carthage. Their type of boats, imitated in Tyrus and Sidon, was a large sailing boat which used oars only for entering and leaving port.

One cannot help thinking that the "s*fīna sailing to Taršiš" was a boat of that type, or a "boat of Spain," and to conclude that spynt' contained that name, Lat. Ispania, Hispania. A. S. Yahuda drew my attention to Hebr. safān, a term of carpentry, appearing only, but at least four times, in descriptions of Solomon's buildings, like other terms in these descriptions as a loanword from Phoenician. In *I Kings* 7,3 the "house (= hall)[10] of the Lebanon forest," also mentioned in *Isaiah* 22,8, is "covered," spn, with cedars; in *I Kings* 7,7 the "hall of the judgment seat" is "panelled" with beams and panels of cedars, and in *I Kg.*6,9 the temple is "covered with beams and panels" of cedars, and in 6,14 the ceiling, covering or panelling is called sippūn. To cover, panel, ceil rooms with wood has its origin in ship-building, and Phoenician ship-building has been a dominant factor in fashioning Syrian architecture with its flat ceilings as well as its wooden double domes, constructed like the body of a ship with a system of ribs and fillings, e.g. the cathedral of Boṣra, the Qubbat al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem and the Qubbat al-naṣr

[10] Cf. the bīt ereni etc. of Assyrian palaces.

at Damascus, until the forests of the Lebanon were finally exhausted. Therefore, s'fina, a normal derivative of spn, designating a ship, apparently means a "ship with a deck or decks," for long sea voyages. Yet, the case is not clear. A verb SPN, for a very specific technique, occurring only in Phoenician, can hardly be considered as a true Semitic word. Just such wood-panelling of walls and ceilings is called qarbaṣa or qarbasa[11] in Arabic, the product is qarbaṣiyya, certainly a loanword, possibly from Lat. carpenta(rius); the noun was borrowed, the verb is a denominative. Phoen. spn[12] may likewise be a denom. from a foreign loanword, name of the people who first made it or of the product, the ship.

Sachau thought of etymologically connecting spynt' and spytkn, both appearing for the first time in the same papyrus. And it is striking that the spytkn say "it is time to lay 'her' up," not "the spynt'," as though they could not speak of anything else. spytkn qualifies "the carpenters, the spytkn." Cowley remarks: "an adjective formed from a placename." It is indeed a regular OP. ethnic adjective, spītaka, spētaka, cf. *pūtaka, but its form is also that of a term of profession, cf. krnvaka "stonemason." Spīta is no Sem. derivative of spn, or of sefinta, hence OP. spītakān no loanword from a Sem. "spynt'-makers," but it can render a foreign ethnic through the medium of Punic and of Eg. spyn.t.

The papyrus shows the mixture of nationalities in Egypt at its time. Miθradāt (Iran.) and Psmsnyt (language?) are both krky', no plur. of karkh "fortress," but of OP. krka, "Carians." Such were Scylax of Karyanda and the legendary Pārva, vifro nāvāzo "the experienced captain." The Carian graffiti in the Nile valley are usually attributed to mercenaries of the two Psammetichs (633-609-588), but at Abydus, abu Simbel and Wadi Halfa, they are rather souvenirs of Carian sailors of the naval station at Elephantine: the papyrus does not belong to the Jewish garrison there. The name of the chief engineer is Šmšlk, of the chief of carpenters Šemu b. Kanufi. Ungnad compares the first with

[11] Diction.: qarbaṣa "to make a ceiling, decorate it with interlaced designs," and "measure length and width of a building, make its wall parallel."

[12] Cf. Hebr. ṣ*funē (with sīn, not sāmekh) in *VMos.* 33,19: Zebulun and Issachar . . . will suck ṣ*funē ṭ*munē ḫōl, which means stranded goods, wrecked ships. *Ps.*48,7: "Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind," also *Ezech.* 27,26. *Othello* 1,2 "the sea's worth" and *Richard III*, ii: "Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearls, inestimable stones, unvalued jewels."

Punic b'lšlk, Βαλσιλληχ; the man was a Carthaginian. Šemu is indifferent, but the name of his father is Egyptian. Beside a Persian satrap, Carian captains, Carthaginian engineers, all in Egypt, spytkn may be the ethnic of any people on the Mediterranean shores. Already in 640 B.C. Phoenician ship-builders worked at ports of the Persian Gulf.

Under 'Industries' an Awestic term is fully discussed, viz. HVSPYN, H'VSPNYN, Afgh. ōspīn, i.e. "Spanish (steel)," in *Yt.*10,130 epithet of "double-axes" on Mithra's chariot, a symbol frequent on the oldest coins and on painted pottery from Spain. Scylax went as far as the pillars of Hercules. Spain was known in Iran before 500 B.C., and no material objection can be raised against the appearance of Spaniards in Egypt in 412 B.C. Spytkn, spītakān can be the OP. rendering of the name "Spanish, Spaniards."

In the OP. inscriptions the Carians are called krkā. OP. krka, Aw. khrka, means "cock," an onomatopoetic name, like "kikeriki." The bird was known in the Ancient East as early as the time of Gudea, *stat.G.* IV,10: ^{kuš}kur.gi(l); TukultiNimurta II, annals Rv.28: iṣṣurē kur.ki.e. But in the inscriptions the name never refers to the Carians at the SW corner of Asia Minor, whose country belonged to the empire since 545 B.C.

Arrian III,8,5 and 11,5 records that at the battle of Gaugamela the "exiled Carians" and the people of Sittakene fought under the same command as the Babylonians. That implies neighborhood, as between Babylon and Sittakene, a geographical name derived from the OP. form of the old ethnic Suti > *Sit, *Sitaka, for the East Tigris region between Diyāla (N.) and Elam (S.). Both Suti and Carians were famous archers.

Diodor 17,110: Alexander visited, from Susa, first the κᾶραι κῶμαι "Carian villages," and then marched through Sitakene to a settlement of Boeotians[13] and to Chalonitis-Ḥulwān, the Ṭāq i Girrā pass. These Carians are indeed neighbors of Babylonians and Suti, and dwell to the south of Sitakene.

[13] Error for Eubocans (Eretrians); it is Herodotus' Anderikka (490 B.C.), Assyr. Urdalika (640 B.C.), town of the Elamite empire, with seemingly Iranian name. *Tab.Peut.* Berdanna < ΒΕΡΔΑΝΙΚΑ < *συρδαρικα. MP. vandānīg(ān), Arab. bandanīdjīn, bandanī(yān), mandanī(yān), mod. Mandalī, with oil springs.

The same group of names is found in *Isaiah* 22,5ff., "prophecy on the vale of Ḥizayōn"[14] about 700 B.C.

5: For it is a day of storming, crushing and tumbling
---in the vale of Ḥizayōn;
mqrqr qr v.šv' 'l h.hr, Qār is crowing and 'Šūt at the hills . . .
6: and Elam lifts the quiver and Aram mounts the horses,
and Qār swings (qrh for 'rh) the shield,
7: and all (mabḫar = Ass. napḫar) thy streets (švqyk for 'mqyk)
become full of chariots and horsemen, and šūt besieges (št štv)
the gate!

Winckler had recognized the play upon words in št štv (cf. *Ps.*3,7: *šār sābīb šātū 'ālāi), and thereby ascertained the true reading of the name, and had presumed the same for qr.—qrqr is indeed Arab. qarqara, Kurd. qyrqyr, onomatop. word[15] for gurgling of camels, cooing of doves—in those regions they say kukurûku—and the "kikeriki," cock-a-doodle-doo of the cock. The oil springs and eternal fires near Kirkūk are called Bābā Gurgur, Ptolemy's Kórkūra (from Alexander's visit there). Cf. the Balaam-saying in *Num.*24,17: "he will crush the corners? of Moab, w"qarqar kol b"nē šēt^{h}, and all b"nē Shēth will cry (crow)!" and the similar idiom of Zoroaster, Y.53,8: "zahyāča vispāho χrōsantām upa, abandoned they all shall cry!" NP. χurōs, from √χrus-, "cock." The play upon words is clear.

Plutarch, *Artox.*10: "The king gave the Carian who had killed Cyrus (the Younger) a golden cock, to be worn on the lance, for the Persians call all Carians 'cocks' on account of their crests," which Strabo 14,2,27 calls one of the kariká, Carian inventions. On the other hand, Aristophanes, *aves* 487, says: "The cock struts around like the great-king, alone of all birds with the stiff kyrbasía (cockscomb and Persian tiara) on the head."

Thus Suti in Sittakene and Carians south of them are a standing group, from the time of Isaiah to Alexander. The Akk. version of *Xerx. Pers.daiv.* replaces OP. krkā by Bannēšu. This town is known from the business documents of Murašū Sons, Nippur[16] as situated on a canal in the district Dūr.Ellil. The name sounds like a Carian name in -ēssos

[14] Cf. H. Winckler, *Altor.Forschg.* II,253, and F. Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 236.
[15] Cf. IE. root g"ɪr- in Skr. gurate "greets with joy"; also Gr. bárbaros.
[16] Passages quoted by Ebeling, Reall.Ass. s.v.

(as Tartēssos), or in -nēsos. It is the "Carian villages" which Alexander visited between Susa and Sitakene. In *Dar.chart.Sus.* the Carians are, together with Ionians, the crew of the navy, transporting the cedars of the Lebanon down the Euphrates to the sea and up the Eulaeus to Susa. The town Bannēšu was their port, somewhere at the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. According to Aristobulus, in Arrian 6,7, Alexander founded one Alexandria on a lacus between the mouths of the Tigris and Eulaeus. Since he founded towns only at places he had visited himself, the order must have been given when he visited the Carian villages, Bannēšu. The settlers of the new town were people from the near Durine, an old urbs regia, i.e. *βασιλήϊον τεῖχος*, a garrison under the direct command of the great king. Durine, hence, is Dūr.Ellil of the Murašū documents, at that time at least 400 years old. For the changed form cf. the name of Assur, late Ass. lib.āli, libbi.āli, i.e. "city," Hellen. Líbban, Libanaí or Lábana.

In the same region lay in the Middle Ages Dauraq, Dōrak = Akk. DūrIakīn, in so prominent a situation that Sargon II uses the name for indicating the extreme limits of his kingdom. It is ΑΓΙΝΙΝ of Nearch, in Arrian, *Ind.* 2,4, and ΑΜΠΗ of Herodotus 6,20, both = ΑΓΙΝΗ, Iākīn (with regular dropping of init. i-). This was a colony of exiled Milesians, like the Carian colony of DūrEllil. These Milesians are the Yōna, whom the charter of Susa mentions in the navy together with the Carians. Another settlement of theirs was Iónaka at the place of Būshīr and Rēshahr on the Persian Gulf: not Greek trading colonies, but Persian navy bases.

Alexander's town was destroyed by flood and rebuilt about 165 B.C. as Antiochia by Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, and after a second destruction, in 129 B.C. by Hyspaosínes-Vispaužīn as Spasínou Chárax. It became the great port for the Palmyrenean trade with India, Aram. karkhā d Mēshān, Arab. Karkh Maisān. It lay opposite Baṣra near Muḥammira.

One Carian was mentioned in the chapter 'Memorial Document,' viz. the krkāna hvprv'χš, who must have been the commander of the naval base of Bannēšu; he was perhaps the father of Scylax, if not Scylax himself. Scylax, the great explorer of the Indian Ocean, was admiral under Cambyses and Darius, and dedicated his *Periplūs* to Darius. His voyages extended also over the Mediterranean, as some preserved frag-

ments on Mysia, Troas, Illyria and the Pillars of Hercules show: they suggest that he followed the European coasts.

Gisinger, in Pauly, RE. s.v. "Skylax," has recognized a number of fragments, ascribed since antiquity to Hecataeus, as "indirect" fragments of Scylax's *Periplūs*. And Jacoby, in RE. s.v. "Hecataeus," has shown to what unexpected degree Herodotus depends on Hecataeus. That means that Herodotus' chapter on India, III,98-116 (beside other §§) is material of Scylax, arranged by Hecataeus, and worked over by Herodotus.

Scylax started from Kaspápyros (thus in Stephanos' quotation of Hecataeus) or Kaspátyros (Herodotus' quotation of the same source). A late survival of the name—though otherwise spoiled—proves the p to be the right form: *κατταβουρίνη* (see below). Stephanus quotes it as *πόλις Γανδαρική*, town of Gandāra; Herodotus *ἐκ Κασπαπύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυικὴς γῆς*, which is far from being contradictory: the town was the capital of Gandāra proper and this, like *πακτυική*, was part of the much larger satrapy to which it gave the official name. The problem of its situation is similar to that of Opis-Ctesiphon: at the point where practical navigation (not navigability) started, hence close to the junction of the Cōphēn (river of Peshāwar) and the Swāt, or of both with the Indus.

Now the Scylax fragment in Athenaeus II,70 says: "the country is irrigated by springs and water-engines, *ὀχετοί*, and on the hills *κυνάρα* and other plants grow," and "from there on high mountains extend on both sides of the Indus River, densely covered with virgin forest, *δασὺ ἀγρίῃ ὕλῃ* and with *ἀκάνθῃ κυνάρᾳ*." South of the range separating Gandāra from the Panǰāb there are no high mountains on both sides of the Indus; this paragraph, therefore, belongs to a description of Gandhāra, near the beginning of Scylax's *Periplūs*, and Kaspápyrus must lie in the Peshāwar-Attock region, not e.g. at Mūltān.

Another indirect fragment throws light upon the date of the voyage, which according to Herodotus IV,44 would have been before Darius conquered Sind, and would have lasted 30 months, both highly objectionable assertions. The voyage from South Arabia to Southern India, e.g., took only 40 days.

Stephanus, *Hec.frgm.*175: "among them (m.pl.) people live on the Indus River, the *Ὠπίαι*; a royal garrison, *τεῖχος βασιλήιον* is there;

that far are the Opíai, further on is desert as far as the Ἰνδοί (people of Sind)." This military castrum, dastākrtam, lay on the eastern bank, it is Alexander's Ōpiané in Stephanus' list of Alexandrias. Since Scylax describes from north to south, the castrum was the southern point of the country of the Opíai. Herodotus III,98 (source Scylax): "That part of India (Sind) which lies towards the rising sun, is sand," and "East of the Indoi (Sindhī) is desert, on account of the sand." Also IV,40: "as far as Indiké (Hecataeus' term) Asia is inhabited, but beyond is desert, towards the East. . . ." This desert is the great Thar desert, the northern limits of which do not reach the Satlaǰ, southernmost river of the Panǰāb, hence the land of the Opíai was below Mūltān, and below the southernmost point of the Panǰāb, on the united stream, with the town as southern end, at the edge of the desert. This region belongs already to Sind, and as Scylax found there a royal garrison, Sind was already conquered by Darius when Scylax set forth on his exploration.

In Athenaeus, the description of the mountains on the Indus is directly followed by one of the mountains on the Caspian Sea, the style of which is so entirely similar that Scylax's authorship cannot be questioned: "Round the so-called Hyrcanian Sea high mountains rise, δάσεα ὕλησιν, densely forested, and on those mountains κυνάρα grow." Further: "East of Parthava the Χοράσμιοι live, in a country which has plains and mountains; on the mountains are virgin forests, δένδρεα ἄγρια ἄκανθα κυνάρα, willows and tamarisks." It seems that the description, much abridged, referred in the original text to Parthava, not to the alluvial plain of Khwārizm. The sentences are picturesque because they are personal observations: Scylax had seen the south coast of the Caspian with its enormous mountains and virgin forests of tropical luxuriance, but of northern plants. And he was in Parthava—with its vast plains between mountain ranges—in Tōsa, and in the very years when Vištāspa, as satrap, gave hospitium to Zoroaster.

kunār is a well known Persian word. The *Bdh.* (*Gr.Bdh.* Ankles. 116; *Ind.Bdh.*Christ. 119) mentions it under the category "mēvak, fruit-trees."[17] This is NP. kunār, identified with zizyphus lotus, Angl.-Ind. lotus-plum, and described in Pers. dictionaries as "Indian bīr, Arab. sidr,

[17] χurmāk, dates; mūrt, myrtles; kunār; angūr or ideogr. KRM', grapes; bēh or ideogr. SPRǰ, quinces; sēp, or ideogr. TPḤ, apple; vātrang, citrus; anār, granates; šiftalak (read -ālūk), peaches; urmūt, pears; anǰīr, or -ǰihr, figs; gōč, walnuts; vātām, almonds.

a fruit of red color, like a grape, but larger, common in India, sweet and delicious." But Arab. sidr, very common in Mesopotamia and Arabia, is an unobtrusive rhamnus tree with berries called nabq. Athenaeus is entirely mistaken in his belief that Scylax was speaking of the κνάρα, artichoke, which came from Morocco.

The deipnosophists, of course, think of nothing but vegetables and fruits for their dinner, but Scylax, the admiral, of course, thought of ship-building. Therefore his κνάρα can neither mean kunār, whether zizyphus or rhamnus. The former does not grow on the Alburz, and neither could be observed from a boat in those amazing forests and jungles. Strabo XI, c.510 (cf. 698) quotes from Eratosthenes: "in India, too, ἐλάτη, firs grow, and with them Alexander built his fleet." Scylax was as good and practical an observer as Alexander's officers. Under his command the Persian navy, as the charta of Susa tells, had shipped to Susa θarmiš hya nōčēna, cedars of the fir-kind, down from Babylon, yakā "teak" from Gandāra, silver and lead from Egypt, ivory from Nubia and Sind.

In the *Bdh.* the § mēvak "fruit-trees" follows upon "dār u draχt, timber-trees," namely "sarw cypress, činār platan, spētdār poplar, šimšār spruce (Picca, usually translated by box, buxus)." Though κνάρα phonetically corresponds to MP. kunār, Scylax can only have in view a tree typical of the great forests of the Indus and the Alburz, fit for ship-building. Who knows the countries thinks at once of the marvelous plane-trees, many hundreds of years old, just as Shiraz evokes the picture of cypresses, Baṣra of date-palms. κνάρα is činār, platanus orientalis. Theophrast, it is true, uses in his botanical phraseology ἄκανθος for "acacia habitus" of the leaves, but with Scylax one cannot yet expect such a scientific term. The oriental plane has a leaf with five fingers, similar to maple, only more deeply simate, and more sharply crenate; it resembles the Greek acanthus. The tyrant Dionysius had acclimatized it in southern Italy, and Theophrast describes the leaf accurately.

H. Bretzl, *Botan. Forschg. d.Alexander-Zuges*, chap. VI, has recognized the high antiquity of a remark in Theophrast IV,4,1: "Of the other countries, only Media owns forests of firs [abies, ἐλάτη, the ship-building timber in greatest demand]; this country seems somehow to

reach round and to border on the Pontus." For later periods this is not true. Bretzl is right in comparing Herodotus 1,110, the Harpagus story, Median period. The locality, foot of the mountains north of Agbatana towards the Pontus, is made clear by a passage from another source: "for there, with the Saspeires, Media is a high mountain country, καὶ ἴδῃσι (Ion. for ὕλῃσι) συνηρεφής, densely covered with forests; the rest of Media is plain." The region of the Saspeires is Armenian Spēr, Ispir, between Erzerum and Trapezunt, it is Armenia not Media. But Darius, in *Beh.* §§ 24-34, treats Media and Armenia as a unit, and resumes the record of the battles of Zuzu, Tigrā, Huyāva, Autiyāra, Kunduruš, all situated outside Media in Armenia, in §34 with the words "This is what has been done by me in Media." Until he reorganized the satrapies, Media encompassed the whole of Armenia, a remnant of the administration of the Median empire. Herodotus IV,37 describes the south-north line from the Ἐρυθρὴ θαλάσσῃ to the Black Sea, which divided Asia into West and East on Hecataeus' map, and says: "On it sit the Persians, Medes, Saspeires and Colchians." Thus the concept of Media including the Saspeires belongs to Hecataeus, and therewith the remark about the fir forests there.

Hecataeus had no personal knowledge of India, Khwārizm, nor of the south coast of the Caspian, and the notes about these regions are of necessity indirect fragments of Scylax. The remark about the vegetation on the mountains of the Saspeires and their extension as far as the Pontus, which Herodotus got from Hecataeus, is however so little Hecataean in style, that it must be another of the indirect fragments of Scylax. That Scylax dealt with the Armenian regions—probably between Troas and Hyrcania—follows from a passage in Constantine Porphyrog. *de them.* 1,2: "the so-called θέμα Ἀρμενιακὸν does not exactly bear this name, for . . . Scylax of Caryanda does not call it so." The note is older than even Hecataeus, it goes back to the time when Armenia was still comprised in Māda, and perhaps parts of it in Katpatuka. This time, before Darius' accession, therefore is the date of Scylax's journey in the north: Caspian Sea, Parthava and Chorasmia.

Besides his remark on the Mýkoi, mačiya, one short fragment of Scylax belongs to his exploration of the sea south of Iran: "island κύρη in the Persian Gulf, περσικῷ κόλπῳ." It may be the island of Khārg,

Ptolemy's Ἀρακία. Ctesias translates κῦρος by "sun," i.e. OP. hvar > χur, and Khārg may be *hvāraka.

The two mythical mountains, Ušidam "house of Dawn" and Us.hindava of *Yt.*8,32, "opposite the Indus," which "rises from the middle of the Ocean," merged into each other in the Bundahishn (see under 'Sea'). That concept exists already in Mela, III,7,10: "Contra Indi ostia insulae sunt quas vocant Solis, adeo inhabitabilia . . ." and before him Juba says "Insula quae Solis appellatur, eadem nympharum cubile rubens." Some fairy-tales retain the feature that the rock clothes itself in clouds, cf. Pseudo-Callisthenes II,38, III,17. Later, Sindbad the Sailor sails to the "loadstone rock."

*Gr.Bdh.*77 describes the mountain as consisting of χvanāhēn < Aw. ayaho hvēnahya, the material of the vault of heaven, *Yt.*13,2: asmānam ...yo hištate...ayaho krpa hvēnahya. In Y.32,7 hvēnā ayahā is one of the ordeals, like ayahā χšustā "molten metal"; Zātsparm—cf. under 'Last Judgment'—gives the three kinds "fire, red-hot iron and molten metal"; hence, hvēna ayah means red-hot metal. χvan- in MP. χvanāhēn might be 'sun' or 'blood.' χunāhēn, χumāhan serves to explain Arab. "shādhana, haematite, bloodstone, rediron-ore,"[18] and Akk. šadānu translates the OP. stone name aχšēna "without light, dark-colored." *Mēn.Xr.* on the other hand explains hvn'syn as "gōhr ē almāst," substance of steel or of diamond. At all events, from this notion of the rediron or bloodstone rock to the loadstone rock is only one step.

Ctesias, *Indica,* gives two examples for magnetic power. §2: παντάρβας, acc.pl., is a sphragis, a jewel used for seals, which attracts other jewels; his example are jewels which by this method are rescued from rivers. §18: πάρηβον (Photius) or πάρυβος (Apollonius), a tree in royal gardens, without flower or fruit, but with fifteen roots as big as an arm, a span of which, when cut off, attracts gold, silver, brass, jewels —with the only exception of amber, ēlektron, and a cubit of it even more. πάρυβος resembles NP. kah.rubā "straw-attracting," i.e. amber, and āhan.rubā "iron-attracting," i.e. magnet.

The legend of Pārva's voyage to mount Ušidam is told in *Yt.*5:

[18] See SGA.*Gloss.* s.v. χumāhan. Shādhana is also explained by al-ṣandal al-ḥadīdī, and vice versa, i.e. santalum, said to be found near Tōs.

61: pārva yo vifro nāvāzo
yat dim usča uzdvānayat
vrθrajå taχmo Θrētōno
mrγahya krpa krk(ās)ahya

62: ho avaθa vazata
θri.ayaram θri.χšaparam
patiš nmānam yim hvēpa-
θyam
noit ōrā ava.rvisyāt
θrōšta χšafno θritiyayå

fraγmat ušāham ⟨sūrayå⟩
viwātīm
upa ušāham ⟨upa⟩ zavayat
⟨ardvīm sūrām anāhitām⟩

63: ⟨ardvi sura anāhita⟩
mošu mē ǰava avahe
nūram mē bara upastām
he promises a thousand
libations
yazi ǰīvam frapayāmi
⟨avi zām ahuraδātam⟩
avi nmānam yim hvēpaθyam

64: ⟨Ardvī appears, described as
in *Yt.*5,16⟩

65: hā hoi bāzava grwayat

mošu tat ās noit dryam
yat frayātayat θwaχšamno

avi zām ⟨ahuraδātam⟩
patiš nmānam yim hvē-
paθyam
druvam abantam arištam
hamaθa yaθa parāčit

Pārva, the experienced shipmaster,
whom the victorious, bold Θrētōna
sent forth on the high sea,
looking like a cock;
Thus he sailed
for three days and three nights.
To his own house, back,

he could not reverse.
When the third night was com-
plete,
he reached the radiant Ušå.

He called out for Ušå:

At once come to my help,
instantly bring me aid!
at the Ranhā, in unmetric
language
if I shall return alive

to my own house!

She caught hold of him by the
arm,
and at once, in no time it was
that he started moving, exerting
(himself)
forth towards the land
back to his own house,

sound, healthy, unhurt,
same as he had been.

This song has found a place in the Ardvī yasht, but, like the "Song of the Caravan" in *Yt.*16, it belongs to Uša-Eos, obviously so in 62g: if the captain had dared to call Ardvī "at the Uša," the offended goddess would have taken the telephone out of his hand. In 5,72 an added "upa" gives the wrong impression that the worshippers are praying "at a place called ApāmNapāt" to Ardvī. Just so in 62. The verse says: "He called out loud for Uša," as sailors do. I remember a Rgveda verse like "Varuṇa who knows the way of the birds in the air, knows also the course of the ships; Uṣás may rise today who fills with courage those who desire riches, who send their ships on the high sea." The verses on Ardvī's apparition, taken from 5,126, must be eliminated. Equally obtrusive is the general mazdayasnian adaptation: the double "zām ahuraδātam" is the same interpolation as in the ApāmNapāt myth *Yt.*19,48. In st.65 "avi zām" may be genuine, "to the shore, land," originally with a verb of five syllables, e.g. pati.āǰasāt, he came back.

Pārva cannot be an enemy of Θrētōna, for the goddess helps him and in the whole Awesta no god helps an enemy. Θrētōna's part in the action is the caus. us- dvānaya-, a hapax. For the sole reason that he translated "mryahya krpa khrkāsahya" by "in the shape of a vulture," Bartholomae gave this verb the meaning "he made fly up," combining it with the inchoat. pres. dvansa to a √dvan- "to fly." dvansa, exclusively in *Vidēvdād,* is used for the movement of the "corpse-demon," which in 7,2 is described "like a fly." The Pahl. transl. davāristan and OI. √dhvan- do not support "to fly" but point towards "to run," or the like. Moreover, dvānaya need not belong to it: like fšānaya (see under 'Kršvar') it may be a verb.denom. of a noun *dvāna to √dū-, cf. "dūra, far,"[19] to make depart, send out. Thus Θrētōna, the great sovereign of Eran who divided the world between his three sons would have sent out his captain on his voyage, as Scylax was sent out by Darius, or the great discoverers by the kings of Spain and Portugal. Bartholomae's and Lommel's translations make Θrētōna throw the experienced captain into the air in the shape of a buzzard, for no reason, and only after three full days he manages to fall down, unhurt. Lommel, *Yäšt* 37,2, calls Geldner's interpretation (in KZ 27,252, unknown to me), "nach der es sich um ein Hinauffahren auf die hohe See und Rückkehr

[19] Cf. Hertel, *Siegesf.* 146: "Ved. dúvas: Agni der unter den deva das Vordringen bewirkt," and the usual translation of dūta, "messenger."

zum Lande handelt, geistreich, aber durch keine Sagenparallele gestützt." Neither is the captain in the air supported by any analogy.

khrkāsa in 61d is "chicken-eater," NP. kargas, vulture, cf. hen-hawk, lammergeyer, Germ. Hühneradler. The word exceeds the verse by one syllable and must be reduced to *krkahya: "he looked like a cock," with his huge Carian crest, for which the Iranians called the Carians "cocks, krkā." The legend makes the same joke as the prophet Isaiah, Artaxerxes II and all Persians. The Carians-Krkā were the "experienced captains," and Pārva was one of them, like Scylax and the captains of Elephantine.

ava*θ*a in 62 cannot mean "infolgedessen" (*Wb.*) because no reason is indicated; it means "thus," and vazate, √vah- means "he sailed," because "days and nights," nychthemera,[20] are the usual measure for distances covered by boat. The Arabs took it over as madjrā, on the Persian Gulf, and Idrīsī and Abulfidā estimate it at 100 miles. ava.-rvisyāt is not "wiederherunterkommen" but "to veer, reverse" the boat. ōrā and usča are opposed like the names of the monsoons, frōt- and ulhāvand, or like Gr. *κατά* and *ἀνά*. In Greek, a boat on high sea is *μετέωρος*, and so is Pārva, on high sea, not in the air. In three days and nights, 300 miles, he reaches, not the zenith, but the house of Ušå, Ušidam, the east point of the horizon, of the ocean vurukrtam.

In 62 Ušå is called vivaitīm; *Wb.* reads vivitīm, n.abstr. "zum Aufleuchten" because of the gen. sūrayå "of the mighty one." But this colorless epithet exceeds the meter and is to be deleted, and the acc. vivaitīm (cf. apivaiti in *Yt.*10,27 for *api.vāti, *Wb.*1408) is adj. to ušāham, read viwātīm < vibātīm (cf. under 'Tištriya').[21] The misspelling reveals that the old word was merely a name, not conveying a meaning.

In 65, Ušå catches Pārva "by the arm," not the wings of a buzzard; bāzava is instr.sg., not the dual bāzuwya. The small fragment of the legend preserved in *Purs.*33, calls Pārva "aēvo.gavō aēvo.armō, one-handed, one-armed." It goes on: "raŋhām ava nāyantīm "savavå dət čiš āite." This is hopelessly corrupt, but like *Yt.*5,63, it connects Pārva with the Ranhā. Markwart believed to recognize "er erreichte die weitufrige

[20] šāy. nē šāy.: as time measure 12 long hāsr, double-hours; as space measure 12 double parasangs (on land, about 85 miles).

[21] The archetype expressed the b, pronounced *β* between vowels, by b; only Aw. script distinguishes. The almost regular misspelling v for b is older than the Aw. script.

Ranhā, scil. 'Pā, Wolga." Darmesteter read in his text aēvo.savō for -gavō; savavå seems to be *gavāvå, *gavāvant "one who has both hands." Bartholomae's translation "rapid (torrent)" of ava-nāyantīm is only inferred from its being the acc.fem. of an adjective to ranhām. The root seems to be √snā-, nā-, Gr. *νέω, νάω*, NP. šinā "to swim," Osset. nāin "to bathe," and the word was possibly the verb of the sentence (beside ā.ite?). I expect "with only one hand, one arm, he swam over the Ranhā, as [if he was] one with both hands."

St.65, as it stands, makes sense, but would be improved if the goddess, working herself, *θwaχšamnā, would set the ship going again. fra.-yātayat, here the motion of the boat, describes the floating of the mist in *Vid*.21,5: "rolling." For the last lines, Ušå would be the subject, Pārva the object: "she made him reach his home." The final formula recalls *Dar.Beh.* §14: "yaθa parvam.čit avaθa, just as before."

This legend of Pārva contains a reminiscence of the voyages of Scylax of Caryanda, the krkāna. Even in the connection with the Ranhā there is a grain of truth: his Períplūs mentions the Chorasmioi. There seems to have been an older myth into which his voyages merged. On the other hand, the legend is the beginning of the tales of Sindbad the Sailor, of Baṣra. Baṣra enters for Bannēšu. Pārva is the vifro nāvāzo, experienced captain, nāva.pati, and perhaps his name too is derived from "traveling, trading." Sindbad is no name but a title: bad < pati. Sind enters for nāva-, maybe a boat of Sind.

XXXVII. KRŠVAR

ξυνὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ
κύκλου περιφερείας—Heracleitus

To regard one's own home as the middle of the world is natural. Nations are as egocentric as the individual to whom the world exists only through his senses and whom the first glimpse in the morning convinces that he is the center of the round earth. Pascal's thesis: "L'univers est une sphère infinie dont le centre est partout, la périphérie nulle part" is only the last mathematical expression of this primordial thought.

The Aryans of Iran called their center of the world "hvaniraθa, land with skilfully made chariots"—etymology under 'Architecture'—an old expression which recalls the role of chariot making in the Veda. Hertel, IIQF,VII,42, followed by Nyberg, set up "mit den lärmenden Wagen," but the more noise they make, the worse they are. *Yt.*10,13-15, equates hvaniraθa with ārya.šayanam, the Iranian oikouménē, and the notion involves—as did the Greek word till Herodotus' time—the silent opposition of uninhabitable parts. In Middle Persian, χvaniras is a rare and erudite name only, and in Mani's time jambudvīpa came into use, the name the Indo-Aryans gave to their center of the world, e.g. *Mir. Man.*III,43,15 (cf. 39f.): "hft qyšfr zmbvdyg, the seven climata of the earth."

An older form of this Indian name occurs in *Yt.*14,54ff.:

54: yat nūram vyambura.dīva	Look there now, the Vyambura.-dīva
martiyākā dēvayazo	fellows, the dēva.worshippers,
vohunīm vā tāčayanti	how they shed blood,
frašēkam vā frašinčanti	do their outpouring (or spattering)
55: yat nūram vyambura.dīva	Look there now, the Vyambura.-dīva
martiyākā dēvayazo	fellows, ...
avi āθram ābaranti	how they put on the fire
ētayå urvarayå ⟨yå vōčē⟩ haprsi ⟨nāma⟩	such plants haprsi

ētam ēsmam ⟨yå vōčē⟩ namaδka (nāma)	such fuel namaδka.
56: yat nūram vyambura.dīva	Look here now, ...
martiyākā dēvayazo	
fra prštam nāmayante	how they turn the back in front,
vi maδyānam fšānayanti	make spread the middle,
vispā handāmā rāzayanti	make all files keep rank;
ǰanāho saδyan noit ǰanti	it looks as if they would strike, they don't,
haδāho saδyan noit haδan	it looks as if they would punch, they don't,
ušī pari.ˇvārayati	their ears shall become deaf,
dēmā pari.rvēsayati	their eyes shall turn all around!

That is the whole song, glued into the Vrthragna yasht by the phrase: "Thereupon AhuraMazdāh continued: Is not Vrthragna, who is created by Ahura [i.e. himself], o you men, worth to receive offerings, worth to be praised, and the soul of the ox, who is created by Mazdāh [again=himself]? when now the Vyambura.dīva etc." This is "Vrthragna's rehabilitation," like that of Mithra and Tištriya, which we have studied under 'Return of the Gods.' The song adds nothing to Vrthragna's or the ox's claim, and the thoughts of the singers are far away from Vrthragna and AhuraMazdāh, they are exclusively occupied with what they see: yat, strongly demonstrative, Fr. voilà!, and nūram, à présent!

The mazdayasnian introduction has caused a complete misunderstanding of the verses by European scholars. Nyberg, still following obsolete translations, writes: "Vrthragna erfährt schweres Unrecht von einem Volk Vyambura . . . diese achten nicht die Seele des Stiers, vergiessen und verspritzen sein Blut, knicken sein Rückgrat, zerbrechen seinen Leib, reissen die Glieder aus den Gelenken, reissen ihm die Ohren ab und drücken ihm die Augen aus. Die Stelle ist nicht leicht zu beurteilen," most certainly not "am wahrscheinlichsten eine Schlachtmethode, die den rituellen Gepflogenheiten der Mithra-Gemeinde widersprach," because Vrthragna could only be vexed at methods repulsive to the habits of his own "Gemeinde." Nyberg feels reminded, by his paraphrase, of Herodotus' report on the Scythian way

of sacrificing: They tether the victim, at the forelegs, throw it down with a reata [like cowboys when branding] under prayer; then they quickly throw a loop round its neck and tie it up with a short stick so that the victim is strangled. "Werden wir hier nicht an die barbarische Stierschlachtung der Vyambura erinnert?" No, even if the translation were not wrong: the alleged Vyambura slaughter—steers are not mentioned, the Scythians strangle, a method strictly prohibited, e.g. in Judaïsm and Islam (Qur.5,4). Afshīn of Usrūshana, at his trial at Samarra, is incriminated: "This man used to eat the meat of strangled animals and would prevail on me to taste of it, because it were more delicate than meat of slaughtered animals." Usrūshana is Khodjand, Tashkend and UraTübe: the Scythian method of strangling was still practiced there in the ninth century A.D. But the Scythian—and the Vyambura neither—did not crack the spine, break the body, tear out the limbs etc. No Samson could have done that, and even the alleged Vyambura barbarians wanted, under prayer, to immolate, not to spoil the appetite of their gods.

The verses are in good condition. Why 56c is one syllable short, 56e one too long, will become clear by future study of metrics. Only 55 d-e is spoiled by added "yå vōčē . . . nāma, which are called . . . ," an obvious gloss, proving that the two cultic words are something foreign to the redactor. Their sphere is indicated by dēvayazo, which is not the normal Iran. dēvayasna, but an imitation of Ind. devayáj. Though their three syllables produce regular verses with the five syllables of the gloss, only these words are genuine. "ēta, such" points to them and accentuates the foreign character of haprsi and namaδka.

Bartholomae's remark "nəmaδka, Reisig, das als Feuerungsmaterial zu verwenden verpönt war" is merely a wrong inference from this very line. "haprsi: Weiteres unbekannt." nəmaδka is not better known; both are hapax.

The translation "Reisig" rests on no other support than its hypothetical identification with nəmato in *Vid.*9,46, itself doubtful: "nasuš zgaθate yaθa nəmato taro yār, the corpse vanishes away like the nəmata in a year's time." What passes away in a year's course is live vegetation, not dead brushwood (Reisig). The thought has found incomparably better expressions: *Ps.*13,15: "For man, his days are as grass, as a flower

of the field, so he flourisheth." Or *Isa.*40,6: "All flesh is grass, as the flower of the fields, the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, surely the people is grass!" And *Ilias* VII,147:

οἵη περ φύλλων γενεὴ τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἄνεμος χαμαδὶς χέει ἄλλα δὲ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθόωσα φύει ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη - - -

Or R. M. Rilke: "Aus deinen Sinnen nimmt der Wind die Welt wie welkes Laub."

namata > NP. namad is first "foliage"; from its use as strewing it got the acceptation "felt" when this material replaced foliage; Syr. namaṭā, Arab. namaṭ is "felt." δ < arch.ꝛ, may be etymologically legitimate, or not (see under 'ApāmNapāt'). If legitimate, "ētam ēsmam namatakam" may be a contemptuous word for some vegetable fuel, e.g. namata + demin.-ka "green foliage," for, to put green wood, χvēt ēzm, on the fire, was indeed a sin. In *Art.Vir.Nām.*10, the saint replies to the accusation of Ātaχš, never to have used ēzm less than seven years old, but the Fire shows him the blue water of a large basin, var, which had exuded from the green wood of his offerings. But this does not explain why a word so easy to understand would have been glossed "yā vōčē . . . nāma."

If the δ < ꝛ is not legitimate, since ēsma can be anything put on the fire, namaδka may be incense, contemptibly called *namaka > namak, "salt," which includes undistinctively saltpetre, sodium, murate, nitrate, hence may be applied to incense in powder form. The irregular spelling would explain that—just as to haprsi—"yā vōčē . . . nāma" was added.

The Romans strewing salt on Carthage is a commonplace even today, and the symbolic act was common all over the Ancient East. Assurbanipal strewed "salt and saḫlu" over devastated Elam.[1] The Sudjīn stela, Obv.17, says: "On the meadows of Arpad 'salt and šḫlyn' shall be strewn." In *Judg.*9,45, Abimelech strews salt on Sichem. The early Hittite king Anittas of Kuššara brought saḫlu to the ruins of Hattusas (Boghazköi), and a formula of that type was part of the Hittite soldier's oath.[2] Salmanassar I, having destroyed the great sanc-

[1] *Rassam Cyl.* VI,79ff.; ed. M. Streck II,56f.
[2] Friedrich und Landsberger, *ZAss.* NF. VII,317.

tuary of Arina in Cataonia, says: "kudime elišu azru, kudime I sawed over it, earth of it I collected, and in the gate of my city of Assur I heaped it up for days to come."[8] Akk. saḫlu, loanword from Sumerian and loaned into Hebrew, šᵉḥālīm, Aramaic taḫlē, means "cress"; so does Gr. *κάρδαμον* < Akk. kudimeru. The unexplained "kudime," as syn. of saḫlu, is this same kudimeru, the weed par excellence, symbol of neglect of agriculture. But the Persians hardly used "cress" in the same meaning, for with them it was a common food, as Xenophon wonderingly tells, *Cyrop.*1,2,8 and 11.

"Weed and salt" is certainly also the meaning of haprsi and namaδka. Soldiers are speaking and use a thing well known to them as metaphor. namaδka does not belong to "namata, foliage, felt"; its δ is unetymological; it is "namaka > namak, salt."

> frašēkam frašinčanti in 54d are classed in *Wb.* under √hinč-, hēk-; *Grdr.* §49: "Lautausgleich." Such is e.g. OP. niyašādayam, niyaštāyam, upašad etc., where sandhi š for h < s intrudes from its position behind i into a-forms. Here it would be "confusion of sound," for one would have fra.hiχta (right), pati.hinčati (h inst. of š), fra.šēk-, fra.šinč- (š inst. of h). Since an Indian rite is described, the words may imitate Ind. prásinčati, as dēvayazo imitates Ind. devayáj. Or, they may be indecent words, retouched and assimilated to Ir. fra.hinč-, when the song was introduced into the yasht. The only safe inference from st.54-55 is that they describe a simple rite: some animal's, e.g. a fowl's, throat is cut, blood is spattered on the altar, and "weeds and salt," plants and incense, different from Iranian rite, are put in the fire.

In st.56 something is acted, not seriously done: ǰanāho and hadāho. *Yt.*10,71 says: "nēδa manyatē ǰaγnuvå (nēδa.čim γnām sāδayate) yavata . . . , he is not satisfied that he did strike (it does not appear to him to be a stroke), until he . . . ," meaning he does not desist before the result is achieved. Here, on the contrary, the effort has no effect. The first verb means, as in OP., "to fight a battle, to shoot"; the second must be linked to ažiš aspa.hāδo vīra.hāδo in *Ōgm.*98: a snake biting (lit. stinging) men and horses, cf. *Y.*9,11: aspa.gar nar.gar "swallowing"

[8] *Altorient.Bibl.* 1,1 nº xxi,1.

them. √had-, see under 'Yama χšēta,' is "to punch," evidently so in Mithra's epithet aštra.had and RV. áṣṭra paśusādhani, goad for punching cattle. The two words ǰanāho haδāho resume the three actions of the foregoing lines, which are known from descriptions of battles in *Yt.*10 and 13. The Vyamburadīva verses are partly fashioned after the model of verses of *Yt.*10 which belong to the Median epoch, hence are younger, Achaemenian. "It looks as if" shows that not a battle, but drilling practice is described, a thing indispensable for people who fought in phalanges, in "line."

The phalanges have maδyānam and karāno,[4] center and wings, lit. "ends." handāma, member, corresponds to Gr. lóchos; besides we have the terms "front" and "back." The NP. commentary to handāma rāzayanti is "ham sipar āyiš," the act (or the command) of marching "shields together!" One sees vividly how the rašta or θraχta rasman, the phalanges "close ranks," hāmyanta rasman, *Yt.*10,8. Instead of vispā handāma rāzayanti—one syllable too much—the text may have had "vi handāma rāzayanti" (*Yt.*10,14 has only rāzaya, *Yt.*14,47 vi.rāzaya): the virāza is the centurion, the commander of the handāma. Bartholomae failed to understand this word and NP. ham sipar āyiš, and thereby the whole song, and translated "die Glieder gewaltsam verrenken" (*Wb.*1772 and 1514). *Yt.*10,14, "yahmiyā sāstāro īrā rāzayantē, where the commanders make the columns take rank" shows the other formation: īrā, the troop in march order.

√nam- is "prosterni," Arab. sadjada; to the comp. fra.nāmati *Wb.* assigns the signification "to flee," but in 14,56 "niederbeugen, eindrücken"; to vi.nāmahva in *Vid.*2,10 "ziehe dich auseinander" scil. the earth, Yama myth, but maδyānam vi.nāmayanti in *Yt.*13,39 "sie treiben die Mitte auseinander," all wrong. "prštam fra.nāmayanti" means "they make the back in front," i.e. they make "face about,"[5] and maδyānam vi.nāmayanti "they make 'put in loose formation,' take side distance, Germ. von der Mitte aus Abstand nehmen!"

For fšānaya Bartholomae quoted in *ZAirWb.* (to *Wb.*1028) Justi's explanation "denom.pres. of fšāna-, with fš from sp" as possible. Therewith he withdrew his former translation "auseinanderrenken," which

[4] Cf. *Yt.*10,36; 13,39; MP.NP. karān and kanār; Gr. kĕrata, Ass. Hebr. Arab. qarnu "horn."

[5] To take cover by lying down—assumed by Hertel for zbaramna in *Yt.*19,42—cannot be the meaning in view of vi.nāmaya, and came probably in reaction to long range weapons.

again was the "semantic reason" for Hübschmann to reject Horn's etymology "NP. afšāndan, fašāndan < *(awi)fšānaya," which is right; it is "fundere, dispergere," "in loose formation," cf. Lat. turbas hostium fundere.

The last two verses resemble a formula all but obligatory in descriptions of battles, e.g. *Yt.*1,27: pari ušī vārayaδwan. The verb is √var- "to cover," not √var- "(per)vertere"; "to cover the ears=make deaf," for which Lommel adduced Ved. tamasā parivṛta. *Yt.*14,63: "apa gōšā tōšayati, (the god) makes them deaf," likewise "pari dēmā vārayati, he covers their eyes, makes them blind." pari.rvēsaya "to turn all round" means the same or "makes them squint." More than once a third expression is added: "noit pāδā vidārayanti, they cannot hold their legs straight," cf. *Yt.*10,28 "Mithra holds the pillars straight." The same idea is expressed in Homer by *τὰ γούνατα λύειν* or *ὑπὸ δὲ τρόμος ἕλλαβε γυῖα*. In *Yt.*10,23 and 62, the furious Mithra deprives the enemies of the force of their arms, the power of their legs, the light of their eyes, the hearing of their ears. In *Yt.*14, there is no god to do this; the whole song mocks the Indian soldiers, and the last two verses are mild curses, the verbs must be injunctives.

The complex phrase vyambura.dīva martiyākā dēvayazo can only be construed as "the dēva-worshipping Vyambura.dīva men." martiyāka has a deprecatory meaning as in *Vid.*2,5 "abaršnuvā asārā martiyākā, the (monstrous or pitiful) men without neck or head"; and dēvayaz imitates Ind. devayáj. Vyambura is the name, more exactly an adj., of the country.

VY'MBVR does not render vyā-, but vi + init. aleph of the second element, hence etymologizes, right or wrong, the name as vi + ambu-ra. The ending -ra, see Duchesne §58, is more common in Indian than in Iranian, cf. Maka:Makurān. In the inscriptions of the fourth century A.D., the very time of the invention of the Awestic script, vy'n is written for ǰān, vy'k for ǰāk. Thus, VY'MBV- can either be OI. vyambu-, or an inverse spelling of jambu-. Bartholomae interpreted it as "dem Wasser feindlich," imagining a non-existing Iranian sect. Hertel set up eight counter arguments, all on the wrong premise that vyambura was an Iranian appellative. vi + ambu-ra can mean "(ris-

ing) out of the water" or "between two seas." H. W. Bailey, *Kanaiṣka,* in JRAS 1942, 23, says: "Khot. dara jabvī' dvīpa: dara 'broken,' hence 'section, continent' renders dvīpa, so that in this phrase dvīpa is represented three times: the continent of Jambudvīpa." He must regard jambu as syn. of dvīpa—as I assume it to be—but does not give his reasons.

Aw. daēva, i.e. DYV, is not Aw. dēva, but stands for Pāli dīpa, DYP, Skr. dvīpa "island" and "kršvar." The Aw. word dvīpa, badly spelled dvaēpa in *Yt.*5,81, seems to have been lost in MP. since neither *bīw nor *dīw ever appear. Ptolemy's Diba, Amm. Marc. Sērin.diba, Cosmas' Siel.diba < Skr. Siṇhala.dvīpa, Pāli Sīhala.dīpa are all Indian.

*Yt.*14,54-56 is a song of Iranian soldiers mocking their Indian comrades. It may have been sung in a garrison in Sind, like Scylax's "royal garrison" in the country of the Ōpíae. Of the same style is a remark in *Yt.*14,13: "the he-camel stands there, looking up and down, vididīvâ, like a sāstar, an officer before his troop." It is also the style of a soldier's charm in *Yt.*14,37: "Wearing a wing of the vāragan bird [a manifestation of Vrthragna] makes totally arrow-proof, not even an ahuro sāstrānām, lord of commands, general, or a dahyupati, king of kings, can hit him; the virāja, centurion (chief of a hundred), misses him a hundred times, the sharpshooter does not hit him even once, the arrow flies beyond (the target, or 'back')"; cf. *Yt.*10,48: under 'Mithra': "backwards flies the lance Mithra's enemy throws; however well thrown, a wind carries it off." There was good reason to gather the Vyamburadīva song and the soldier's charm in the Vrthragna yasht. So much about hvaniraθa.

Just as unavoidable as the notion of the circle with the ego as center is the notion of four chief points of the compass: the human body with front and back, right and left produces them. The sun rises in the East, sets in the West, reaches the point of midday in its day's course, and the midnight point is opposite. The four points are at the border of the horizon, its "four corners." The Babylonians speak of "four kibrāte," edges, later "quarters" of the earth.

The Aryans of the *RV.*10,58,3 call the round disk of the earth "čaturbhṛṣṭi, four-pointed"; čatuh.sṛngo is "four-horned," čaturanga

"chess," lit. "of four kinds" because of the four kinds of arms. The Iranian terms for polygonal and star-shaped figures are: hafta.sruvo in *Vid.*19,42: "I call the mrzu star, I call the seven-horned (constellation)." In NP. one says "sih-, čār-, panǰ-qurūn etc., three-, four-, five-horned." "lang," leg, can replace "qarn, horn," e.g. "sih-lang, triskeles." qarnu is the usual word in Assyr., Hebr. and Arab., hence the "horns," i.e. battlements of temples, altars etc. and horns of the moon etc. in Hebr. and Ass. A syn. is "gōša, ear," hence OP. *gōšaka > NP. gūšah "corner," in čaθrugōša "four-cornered" as epithet of varuna "heaven." The commentary to the *Vidēvdād* is right in saying "u.š čahārgōših ē ku čahārsūk čahārgōš, čahārgōš because čahārsūk, four-sided equals čahārgōš, four-cornered." *Māt.Čatr.*: "Four figures (of the Nard-game) I made corresponding to the čahār sūk ē gēhān, the four sides of the world, namely west, east, south and north."[6] čaθrusūka > čahārsūk, čārsū, is "quadrangulum," *Yt.*5,54: "upa dvaram *caθrusūkam apanatamam kanhayå" where it assumes the sense "market place, bazaar" as in Latin.

"The four-cornered Uranus" is the forerunner of the "circle with inscribed square." The graphic representation, circle with cross ⊕ gives the four-spoked wheel of the Mitannian racing-chariot of about 1500 B.C.[7] In the myth of Snāviδka, *Yt.*19,43, the arrogant hero says: "I will make the earth my wheel and heaven my chariot." He has two epithets, srva.zanam and (a)sanga.gavam; the second is "fore-arm of stone"; the symmetry demands for the first *srvi.zangam "shanks of lead," not "zur Klasse der Gehörnten gehörig." Perhaps the wheel with its nave round which the world turns is the origin of the omphalus idea. In a *Bdh.*-passage the temple of Shēz is once called "nave of the earth."

*Yt.*19,1 describes the whole circle of the earth by two halves only: "The Harā lies all round about the countries at sunset, frāpiyå and at the morning-dawn, upa.ušahvåsča," and in 16,2 Ušå, the dawn of morning or evening, is called whether she be at the parva- or paska.nēmā,

[6] Fleischer, *Stud. zu Dozy's Suppl.* II,882, annotated, to a right interpretation of Dozy "Pers. sūk, coin, angle, ist mir unbekannt." Examples are: Darmesteter, *Et.Ir.* II,84: sūk in *Vid.*, NP. transl. ṭarf; *Kārn.Ard.* 7: "the arrow came out of the other side, ditigar sūk, of the animal." The passage of the *Muḫīṭ*, quoted by Dozy, runs: "sūk, in the terminology of architects, means a stone tightly coupled with others, from which starts the corner of a vault; its place they call bait al-sūk."

[7] Figures in ASAI,VI, 205.

the front (E) or the back-half (W) of the world; *Yt.*13,3: "the heaven of whose halves, nēmānām, the two karānā, i.e. beginning and end, are never seen." Mithra appears in *Yt.*10,13 parva.nēmāt, coming "from the front side" of the sun (E), and he drives in st.95 "dašinam upa karānam, on the right border of the earth" (S) as does the sun. *RV.*5,16,4 —see Hertel *Siegesf.* 143—"Both, the light and the dark half of the world cannot hold thy fame!" Nēmā > nēm "half," hence, becomes "quarter of the world," similar to the double signification of arda > ālak "half" and "side, edge," in OP. "corner." There is a division in South and North, and one in West and East half.

Most peoples take their bearings towards the east: they "orient" themselves. The sun rises in front, sets in the back, south is right and good, north is left and bad, because the left hand is bad. In *Yt.*10,95 the "right" border of the earth is the course of the sun, hence the front is East.[8] In *Vid.*3,42, the wind coming from the right, dašināt, South, sweeps the atmosphere clean; and for the Indo-Aryans the southern triangle of India is dákṣiṇa, Dekkhan. And yet, the usual word for north is "back," pasčaθya and apāχtara, and in *Yt.*8,33, purva vātąm and pasčēta vazate must mean "southwind" and "to blow northwards," because the expressions are connected there with the visibility of the southern stars which solely depends on latitude, not longitude, see under 'Tištriya.'

Neither Bartholomae's distinction between an Awestic orientation, face towards the south, and a Persian one, face towards the east (based on the wrong reading parauvaiy), nor Hertel's idea of a sequence in turning sense instead of polar opposition can be carried through: there is no simple formula at all. Conceptions of different periods, at the same time popular and scientific ones, overlap each other. This is familiar to me from the 'Irāq: šimāl "left hand" is north and north wind, and bad omen; yaman, yamīn "right hand" gives the name to Yaman in South Arabia, like Dekkhan in India. Baghdad and Mossul lie, according to our conception on a north-south line, but traveling from Baghdad to Mossul is gharraba "to go west," and vice versa "sharraqa, to go east." And scientific Arab geography draws the maps with the South at the top, hence West right, East left. Two factors have part in this

[8] OP. $p^{a}\theta^{a}u\ v^{a}i\ y^{a}$ in *Dar.Pers.e.* is a misreading; the text has $p^{a}\check{c}^{a}d^{a}\theta^{a}i\ y^{a}$ (adv.) "beyond the sea."

mixture: since the earliest Sumerian time the direction of the Euphrates, coming down from NW to SE determined all orientation: North was "above," South "below." And the Islamic qibla had the effect to generalize Mekka, and therewith the South as "front."

Orientation and chronometry are twins; without hand and needle, clock and compass are the same thing. There must be some connection between the concepts of the four quarters, the horizon with four cardinal points, and that of the "seven kršvar," a horizon with six points or sectors around a circular center. The number 4 comes from the path of the sun; the number 6 is apparently linked with the winds. The graphic representation of the seven kršvar is the figure of the usual six-spoked wheel of a war-chariot. 

The Iranians gave the six kršvar three pairs of names; the single names are rigid duals, that is, their use in pairs was so inherent that they retained the dual form even when mentioned singly. They are no individuals but twins. That is enough to prove that they were "ohne Zweifel" *no* "geographische Namen für . . . Länder, deren ursprüngliche Lage . . . in Vergessenheit geraten oder . . . in Mythus übergegangen war." Nyberg, 54.

The first pair is arzahī-savahī, coinciding with the two cardinal points W and E in the four-pointed system; but the names are not derived from the course of the sun.[9] *Vid.*21,3: "An injury suffered uzērahvā, in the afternoon, is cured (by incantation) arzahvā, in the evening; an injury suffered in the evening, during the night." uz.ayarah = "inclinato in vesperum die" is followed by awisrūθra "from visibility of stars to midnight." The evening twilight is hū.frāšma.dāti, cf. Bailey BSOS VI, 1931, 505f.; Bartholomae compares an isolated rza.rvēsa "turn of darkness" in *Frhg.Ēv.*27b with arzah. The "turn" may be from day to night, from night to day, or at the height of midnight. There are no other supports for the etymology of arzah.

The other member of the dvandva, savahī, belongs to sūram, from *svar-, Lat. crās "morning," and must be connected with the name of the month found in the Elam. tablets of Persepolis, so.wi.wa, so.wi.wan.tas,

[9] In *Mēn.Xr.* 43,11 (text under 'Sea'), the two directions are confounded, perhaps because the names were no longer practically used, or because the sequence in the dvandva goes against the normal sequence.

or so.wi.ia.was, so.wi.ia.wantas, clearly transcriptions of a nom. and gen.[10] of a -vant adjective, "rich in s." The month falls on the weeks of 21.I—20.II, and is followed by viyāχana "melting of snow," cf. *Yt.* 13,85: "āθro . . . viyāχanahya, of the fire, the melting one"; then the θōravā(ha)ra "where the spring overpowers (winter)": Winterstürme wichen dem Wonnemond.

To the same type of name belong e.g. Demawand and Nihawand. The first < MP. dunbāwand[11] < Aw. *dunmavant; *Wb.* 749 rejects this combination of Salemann in *Grdr.* 1,266, and compares "duma, tail." But "rich in tails" is impossible, the mountain could only have one, and has long since stopped smoking—admitting that the tail meant smoke. On the contrary, it is νεφεληγερέτης "cloud-gathering, cloud-capt." Hübschmann, *Pers.St.* 257, remarks: "unsicher ob ursprgl. nb oder m." It was surely nm, as in yunman > yam, ǰanb and other cases. Nihawand: as long as only Ptolemy's Νιφαύανδα was known, one could only posit h < f, type kōh < kōfa. But the Sasan. bullae from Nihawand spell nyм'vnd, with inverse м, reflecting the Kurdish change of m > v, hence, after the type Xusrav:Xusrah, druvāspa:Luhrāsp, we have nihāwand < nivāvand < *(s)ni(g)vavant, √snēg-, "rich in snow,"[12] syn. of vafravant. Gr. nipha- is assimilation to Gr. "fog." Cf. also θikayavant > Sagwand, Sīwand. The type is extremely old, for it is represented in Asia Minor by Hitt. viyanawanta, Gr. Oinoánda in Lycia, "rich in wine," see under 'Hōma.'

Thus savahivant means "rich in east winds." savahī means the East as wind, not as sunrise, and the counterpole, arzahī, means equally the West as zephyr. The words may simultaneously describe the hours of morning and evening.

Since "orientation" was certainly not with face towards the West, the name of the West can precede in the dvandva only on account of the dvandva rule, formulated by Pāṇini, but valid for all IE. languages: the word with initial vowel precedes when the number of syllables is

[10] In Iranian the names appear in the gen. only, governed by "māhya, in the month of."

[11] In the Ka'ba inscr. of Shāhpuhr I (Pahl. ll. 24 and 26, Pārs. omits) the first name is spelled dvnb'vnt(ꞌ), Gr. ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΜΠΑΟΥΝΤΩΝ. On a fine seal with long legend in the Calcutta Museum, Pārs.: dvnb'vndy.

[12] Stem *snigu-, cf. snyχ'wmnd, transl. of isu- frosty, icy in *Vid.*9,6.

equal: equis virisque, aspā vīrā. In spite of arzahī-savahī, the counting starts with savahī.

The second pair is vurubršti-vurujršti, Bartholomae: "baršti: lautlich stimmt Ved. bhṛṣṭay- 'Zacke,' " also for the meaning: the pair has something to do with the segments of the horizon. Among the many names of winds, Vāyuš-Aeolus, in *Yt.*15,45—probably all of them Middle Persian in Awestic disguise—one, ‚vohvaršte nąma' appears, either directly for vuru.bršti, or for something similar to OI. ati.vṛṣṭi, an.ā.-vṛṣṭi "excessive and insufficient rainfall." The character of both names is that of directions defined by winds, not derived from the four cardinal points. Vurubršti is a northern wind, a bóreas. An idiom similar to our NE, NW was also known: parva.apāχtara NE-wind, apara.-apāχtara NW.

The third pair is vidaδafšu-fradaδafšu, recognized by Bartholomae as bad Aw. spellings for vidatfšū-fradatfšū. To vidatfšū cf. Gath. "gām vidat vāstriyo" and "vidans θwaχšahā gavoi," with "gav, cow" for "sheep"; hence to √dī- "to nourish, nurse," "making sheep thrive." Fradatfšū is synonym, not antonym, cf. *Y.*45,9: "pasuš vīrān ahmākān fradaθāi, for the thriving of our pecudes virosque." The name of the deity of the day's hours, frādatfšava, is derived from fradatfšū; it precedes the rapiθwina "noon," hence "hours A.M." fradatfšū, therefore, belongs to the South to East, and the counting of double-hours here is in contact with the notion of the kršvar-horizon.

All the six segments of the horizon have a "ratu, judge," comparable to the Indian lokapāla and to the Kings of the Old Akkadian "ḫuršāni sibitam"; the whole series is interpolated into *Yt.*13,128. Our pair has the chiefs frādat.hvarnah and vidat.hvarnah. The latter is not to be confounded with *vindat.hvarnah[13] to √ vid-, vind-, "to obtain," but is the same vidat to vi + √dī, as in the name of the kršvar and e.g. in vidat.spāδa, epithet of Mithra "provisioning the armies." hvarnah enters for fšū; the association is: hvarnah is good for cattle. That is its meteorologic side, cf. *Altp.Inschr.* 347 on *Yt.*14,41: "Vrthragna fertilizes with hvarnah (or: makes rain hvarnah upon) the farms for the *gōsūrēbyo,[14]

[13] Inscr. vi(n)da.farnā, Gr. Ἰτταφέρης, Gundofarr; reversed Farr.vindādh, Ṭabari; farrāwindāδ ibn al-Athir; farrābundāδ Ist.; Syr. ܦܪܘܢܕܕ; disfigured to Daspar, Daraspar, Gadaspar, Caspar.

[14] Mss. gaōsurābyo. Is to gōdāyah as "cowman" to "cowboy." Cf. Her. goito.xyros <*gavyūti.-sūra.

as the clouds there, pregnant with rain, pour (√van-) rain upon the high mountains." Mani uses the same figure, *Man.Mir.*1,27: "down from the zodiacs, the Āz makes furor, voluptuousness, sinfulness rain upon the newly created woman." Cf. *Y.*6,1: "When the sun brings warmth with its light, hundred thousands of yazata come to distribute this hvarnah (warmth) for the increase, frada*θ*āi, of creatures." The conception of the *Bdh.* is that rain and clouds transport the seed of plants over the earth.

Among the pseudo-Awestic names of Vāyuš in *Yt.*15,45 is also ‚vindi.χvarənō', i.e. *vidat.hvarnah: the ratu of vidatfšū is a wind. The three pairs of names of the sectors of the horizon mean wind, rain, thunderstorm, and at the same time double-hours and double-months, seasons.

The enumeration starts with the east point, savahī, and since fradatfšū belongs to the south, the fore-noon, counts in the sense of a clock, or the sun. Bartholomae arranged, after the Bundahishn, the second pair both on the northern, the third on the southern side. I prefer polar opposition of the single parts, as in the case of arzahī-savahī:

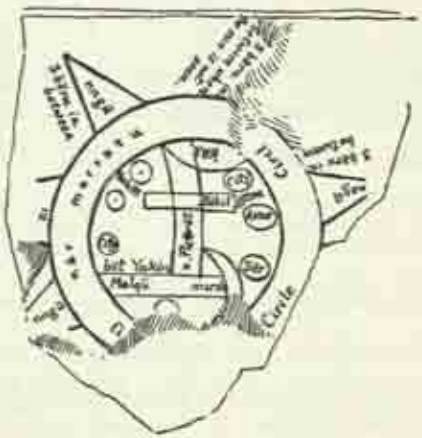
E
savahī

EtoN vurubrštī — fradatfšū EtoS

N — C. hvaniraθa — S

WtoN vidatfšū — vurujrštī WtoS

arzahī
W



The graphic representation of the seven kršvar is what we call a compass-card, Germ. Windrose, Ind. a lotus. Homer knew one of four points, Aristoteles one of eight. The Greek sailors and geographers developed it. After a period when twelve points were used, Eratosthenes went back to eight, and that system is represented in the "Tower of the Winds" at Athens. The picture of the kršvar is a compass without needle, a clock without hand.

In the Babylonian world, too, there is the notion of the four quadrants of the horizon, kibrāte irbittim or arba'i, and of seven foreign countries, ḫuršāni sibitam, around Sumer. kibru means any border, edge; the word cannot belong to √KBR "to be great," but only to a root meaning *ὁρίζειν*, to which also kuburru, Akk. transl. of OP. ārdastāna "frame, corner-pillar" belongs.[15] kibratu alone is the "region" of countries outside Babylonia. The kibrāte are to Babylonia what in Arabic the aṭrāf, āfāq or thughūr are to the amṣār, or in Tpahl. vymnd to mdy', cf. *Yt.*10,104 under 'Mithra."[15a]

The picture of the Iranian kršvar more than resembles the Babylonian so-called "Map of the World,"[16] a tablet not older than 700 B.C., which shows Babylonia instead of hvaniraθa or jambudvīpa as inner disk, surrounded by the "circular river" of the nār marratum, "bitter water," Ir. vurukrtam, and with pointed triangles outside the circle, called "nagū, district." Hildegard and Julius Lewy have recently treated this map[17] and interpret the nagū as "summits of the mountain round the ocean that encompasses the earth." If that was right it would be the exact counterpart to the Iranian concept of the Harā brzatī as hētu of the ocean; in the Gilgamesh epic this mountain is called Māšu. The map is damaged and does not immediately show the number of nagū, but the text of the reverse speaks of "seven nagū" and a graphic reconstruction of the traces preserved leads equally to seven. One diffi-

[15] Not yet recognized in *Altp.Inschr.* 76.

[15a] Subsequent study of the ḫuršāni sibitam, a cosmologic notion dominant in the legendary literature of the Hammurapi period, has convinced me that not only the Iranian notion is derived from it, but that the term (hafta) kršvān is Akk. ḫuršāni, assimilated to the Ir. root karš-; therefore not represented in OIndian. Skr. karṣu f., "furrow" corresponds to Gr. télsos, cf. Ir. karšivant "plougher."

[16] BM. n° 92687; cf. XXII, pl. 48. Cf. Sidney Smith, *Early Hist. of Assyria* 86, fig. 8. F. H. Weissbach, Z.Ass.NF.VII, 1933, 263: "erst unter Darius wird (nār) marratum als Bezeichnung des Meeres verwandt" is not a safe argument for the date of the tablet.

[17] *The origin of the Week* in Hebr.Union Coll. Annual XVII, 1943, Cincinnati.

culty is not explained thereby: the words "3 bēru (about a parasang or double, as time measure 'hour') in between" are three times preserved between the triangles. If every time repeated, this would give 21 bēru for the complete circle whose circumference is 360° or 24 hours, hence requires an original division by 6 or 8, not by 7. If nagū meant an entire continent—I do not believe that the design has summits in mind—the concept would be the same as that of the Iranian kršvar, with the distinction that in Iran the center was counted as the seventh. Some have translated "nagū" by "island," without mentioning the Indian term dvīpa for kršvar. One feature unites the notions still closer: from Lewy's investigation follows that the origin of the number 7 is the Babylonian notion of the "seven winds," and they call the map therefore a compass-card, just what the Iranian kršvar notion is.

This system, known to Zoroaster, is the beginning of science, of cosmography, meteorology and chronometry. The six kršvar are the points or segments of this horizon which like truth always recedes with increasing knowledge. Therefore, the later legend describes the kršvar as "inaccessible without divine passport"—see under 'Post and Travels'—and adds to them Ērānvēž, the counterpart—become a myth—of earthly Ērānšahr-hvaniraθa. The hafta kršvān later on became the haft iqlīm, by a crossing with the concept, created by the Ionian geographers, of the klímata. When countries over sea, like Africa, became better known, the kršvar system developed into one of continents. In the *Gr.Bdh.*, Ankles. 106, the various human, also half-human races, all go out from hvaniraθa, and some cross the Indian Ocean and settle in other kršvar, thus the negroes in Zang.

Zoroaster speaks of the kršvar in *Y.*32,3 with the words "būmyå haftaθē, on this seventh of the earth," on which one sings the great epic. Before his time, the notion is documented in *Yt.*10,13, the old song, in which Mithra looks over ārya.šayanam-hvaniraθa and over the other six kršvar. In *Yt.*10,16, once more, the god drives over all kršvar, over the whole world.

At another place, *Yt.*10,104, the revenger god overtakes the criminal though he flees to the ends of the world, of which three are named: Indus, Tigris and Iaxartes, i.e. East, West, and North. The South, the Indian Ocean, is missing, because no criminal could flee beyond it.

Nyberg believes that the three points—one of them, the West, without a name—circumscribe Marw as center of the world, 324: "Die kršvar-Reihe ist ins Awesta zuerst durch die Mithra-Gemeinde gelangt, weswegen sie vom Gebiet von Marw, dem eigentlichen χvaniraθa aus orientiert ist." That is "fixing le centre de la sphère infinie."

For the people of Marw the world turned around Marw, as for everybody round his home. Le centre est partout. Kant said, "in jeder Naturlehre [here geography] ist genau so viel Wahrheit als in ihr Mathematik enthalten ist." A circle is determined by three points. Marw is so situated that it cannot be the center of a circle to the periphery of which Iaxartes and Indus belong. The Iranians regularly overdetermine the circle by four points. The fourth, the South, is here absent: if Marw was the center, the whole of Iran between Marw and the Indus would be missing. Nyberg has no word for this vast gap, but tries to fix the permanently variable West.

The mathematical problem is: at an unknown place a Mithra-community is situated, which speaks of "West"; if one can fix "West," their place is determined: east of West. The direction or the wind arzahī, to him, becomes a political country, which he discovers in *Yt.* 10,1, where Bartholomae had translated ‚arzahe' by "in den Kampf" instead of "towards the west": "Mithra to whom the dahyupati sacrifice before they set forth down to arzahī, against the hosts of the enemies." This makes the three arzah of the *Wb.* all one and the same: the evening or west. In *Yt.*10,8 a plurality of dahyupati of Iranian countries [such as Marw] march "down" against the enemy in the West. The verses belong to the song "Mithra as Warrior," a hymn of the Median epoch. The non-Iranian enemy is imagined, as a matter of course, living in the West, in Assur and Babylon, at the western frontier, the Tigris, of *Yt.*10,104. There is no word alluding to Marw in the verses.

The country Čaχra of the *Vidēvdād* is no support for such a theory, 321: "Leider ganz unbekannt. Im Aōgmadaēča ist eine Totenliturgie erhalten: 'Möglich ist es dem Wege zu entrinnen, wo das mit čaχra versehene Feindesheer lauert; unentrinnbar ist allein der Weg des unbarmherzigen Vāyu.' Es handelt sich hier um ein Räubervolk, das vermutlich ein Rad oder dergleichen im oder zum Feldzeichen hatte. Möglicherweise nannte man dies Volk einfach 'Rad' [Mir geht ein

Mühlrad im Kopf herum: the text has only hēnayå čaχravatiyå, a hostile host with wheels]. Da Vāyu [the Air] ein typisch östlicher Gott ist, so liegt es am nächsten, čaχra als ein westliches Land [without air?] zu betrachten, etwa vom gleichen Schlage wie die mazanischen daēva [gods of Mazan]. Es wäre dann nicht allzu weit von Raga zu suchen, —wobei freilich sehr lästig ist etc. . . ."

I am ready to let pass as a funeral liturgy the following sermon preached by a P.Ch. in 1916, in honor of a pilot who died before Kūt: "Pleasant but not much glorious is death in a hospital. Less pleasant, but more glorious is death on the field of battle. Very unpleasant, but most glorious is death in the air!" There, the modern Tyrtaeus had to stop. But the Ōgmadēča is no liturgy. If freed, as Duchesne has started to free it, from the lumber of later redactions it is a beautiful "song to Vāyuš," the god of death. Since it contains a few OP. words, it may have been originally composed in Old Persian.[18] Five variations express the idea that there is no escape from death. "Even though a stream, a dragon big as an ox, a brown bear, a highwayman, a whole hostile host, hēnā čaχravatī, block the way,[19] there is always an escape; if the inexorable Vāyuš blocks the way, there is no escape."

hēnā is the idea of the single highwayman in higher degree. Who follows Bartholomae in translating čaχravant by "ein Rad (als Feldzeichen) führend" ought at least to see an army of the Indian cakravarti in this troop. But the word says only "with (many) wheels." The chariot is varta, its body is raθa, the wheels are čaχra. In raθēštā "warrior on a chariot" raθa is used as pars pro toto, in čaχravant čaχra. hvani.raθa and hvanat.čaχra are synonyms. hēnā čaχravatī is a hostile host on chariots, as hēnā hazahrāspā in *Vid.*18,31 is one "with a thousand horsemen." If this čaχra be a standard, the brown bear would be the Russian, the dragon the Chinese flag. The Ōgmadēča speaks of "a whole regiment of chariots." Arzahī is the zephyr, or the evening hour. Neither was Čaχra, the "thirteenth-best land" of the *Vidēvdād,* situated west of the West, nor was Marw the old hvaniraθa, the center of the world, because it lay east of the West.

[18] The reverse case is *Draxt Asūrīk,* the only poem originally in Pahlavīk, preserved in Pārsīk literature.

[19] The text, of course, does not speak of an "unentrinnbarer, i.e. unescapable way."

XXXVIII. ĒRĀNVĒŽ

ἀλλά σ'ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης
ἀθανατοὶ πέμψουσι ἶδι - - - *Od.* IV.563

The fragments of the epic, quoted in the Awesta, reveal the picture of the pre-Iranian world as a duāb, an alluvial plain with a pair of rivers. Such a country is a "mesopotamia," and the fact that the Indo-Aryans developed from this original experience their later concept of the world as a system of seven "dvīpa, islands," Ir. kršvar, proves that they too came from the same country. The names djazīrat al-'Arab for Arabia proper and djazīra for Mesopotamia, show a similar notion.

The names of the two rivers are Ranhā and Vahvī. Already Lagarde and Kuhn had identified Ranhā, MP. Arang, with 'Pā, the old name of the Wolga.[1] It was rash to give up the identity of these names, and Markwart reverted to it, on the strength of the verses *Yt.*14,29, cf. *Vid.* 19,42:

avamča sūkam ⟨yim⟩ barati karo masyo upa.āpo
⟨yo⟩ ranhayå dūrē.pārayå jafrayå ⟨hazahra.vīrayå⟩ varsa.stavaham
āpo rvēsam mārayati

Hertel, IIQF VII, tried to scan the verses as they stand, with their meter spoiled by accretions. In order to adapt the verses to a nonsensical context, the original construction has been changed to "Zoroaster has the visual power, which the fish has, which can perceive . . . " The original predication was without reference to Zoroaster: "The visual power of the kara fish in the water is such that it can perceive a whirl, be it as thin as a hair, over the whole width of the broad, deep Ranhā." The depth of the river does not need a determination by "a thousand men," which spoils the thought and the meter: hazahravīra, the height of the Hukarya from which Ardvī leaps down, does not belong here.

Anquetil du Perron, and following him Darmesteter, identified the kara with the sturgeon, which later would have become mythical. Markwart called this "einen untrüglichen Beweis, dass die Ranhā ursprünglich die Wolga meinte, die der Stör heute bevölkert" (*Wēhrōt,* 188). It would be so if the equation kara = sturgeon was a fact, and if the sturgeon lived only in the Wolga. I do not know how it is with

[1] Lagarde, *Abhandlungen* 263; Kuhn in K.Z. 28, 214; cf. Lommel in III,4, 194ff.

Amu and Syr Darya, but there is Siberian red caviar, and the great Russian sturgeon fisheries, for caviar, are in Gīlān, on the Persian coast of the Caspian. It is wrong to identify the rivers, but their names are the same. Just as the name Ranhā was later transferred to the Araxes in Transcaucasia, it was apparently transferred to the Wolga in high antiquity.

When the river became known to the West through Alexander's campaign, the classical authors used Jaxartes, apparently a surname, like hētumatī for harahvatī. The form used by Aristobulus is given in Plutarch, *Alex.*45 as ὀρεξάρτης, in Arrian as ὀξαντης, ὀξυαρτης [the latter assimilated to ὀξυάρτης < uχšya.rta]. Markwart's interpretation *rχša.rta is neither linguistically sound, nor can it hold against the fact that it is one of the names of the Jaxartes. The *Gr.Bdh.* 86f. says: "the χvaǰand river is between Sumarkand and Fargān, also called yaχšart."[2] All forms reflect the same name, the second element of which is -γžāratī (fem. of γžārant) or -γžarta. The first element, whatever the solution of the phonetic problem of Ar. *aiva and aika, OIr. ēva, MP. ēva(k), NP. yak will be, is OIr. ēχa, NP. yaχ "ice": "ice-drifting."[3]

The name of the second stream, Vahvī, appears in Ptolemy as that of a tributary, in Bactria, *Ὦχος (cf. the same as surname of Artaxerxes, < vahauka). One of its two sources, the Waχš, OIr. vaχšu, was called so already in Alexander's time: *Ὦξος. The oldest coins of that region, shortly after Alexander, show the genius of the river "vχšv" as human-headed bull, lamassu or Gōpetshāh, see under 'Sculpture.'

The plains of this duāb form "this broad, prθwī, round earth," an IE. name: *plthəwī, the earth. It is encircled by the zrayo vurukrtam, see under 'Sea.' In *Vid.*19,50, the fair maiden comes over the Harā to meet the souls and to guide them over the Činvat bridge to the (exterior) hētu "dike" of this ocean. The dike is the Harā brzatī, over which the stars rise and on which gods dwell. The Caucasus, the northern mountains of Iran and the western border of the Central Asiatic mountains, hence were the utmost confines of the horizon of these people. In *Yt.*

[2] Markwart-Bang, *Alttürk. Inschriften* p.5,n.5; also ālard = yaχlart in Bīrūnī's *Canon Mas'ūd.* in Sprenger, *Post- und Reiserouten*, 32.

[3] Markwart, 'Καρπαλους,' in Rev.Orient. 1910,29, quotes from *Pt.* Plutarch, *de flav.*: Xarandes (allegedly = Medus = Euphrates) < γžarant, and Αχυρτας < *ā.γžrt; Pliny's Pyxurates, i.e. Euxurates < *hu.γžaratī. See 'Sea,' note 8.

19 a second circle of mountains, Zrdaza, is mentioned about which nothing else is known.

Mithra has his house upon the edge of the earth: upa harām brzatīm, puru.fra.rvēsyām bāmiyām. Bartholomae translated puru.fra.rvēsya by "mit vielen Ausläufern," Lommel "von vielen besucht." It was on the contrary inaccessible like the Babylonian nagē and mount Māšu. rvēsa, which has all the acceptations of Gr. kýklos, is a "turning," no "touring." fra.rvēsya is "circular." One would rather expect pari for puru, as in *Yt.*14,56 dēmā pari.rvēsayanti "turn all around."[4]

*Yt.*10,50, imitated in 12,23, describes the Harā as Elysium:

yaθra noit χšapa noit tamå	where there is neither night nor darkness,
noit ōto vāto noit garmo	neither cold nor hot wind,
nēδa dvanmān uzjasati	nor do mists rise
haraθyā pati brzayå	from the high Harā.

Cf. *Od.*IV,466:

> *οὐ νεφετός, οὔτ' ἄρ χειμὼν πόλυς οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρος*
> *ἀλλ' ἀεὶ Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείοντος ἀήτας*
> *Ὠκεανὸς ἀνιήσιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους.*

One of the highest summits of the Harā is Mt. Hukarya, from which Ardvī leaps down, as water, *Yt.*5,96, hazahra.vīra. In *Yt.*15,15 the hukarya is called vispā.bāmiya "(made of) all-light," adj. of vispā.bāma, name of the diamond. Many Iranian mountains look as if self-radiating. In spring and autumn, the valley from Izadχvās to Pasargadae looks like a soil of nephrite, with mountains of agate, cornelian and amethyst.

On the Harā rests the celestial vault, asmān, the "stone-heaven," a Stone Age concept, also Sumerian. *Yt.*13,2 calls it "ayaho krpa hvēnahya, made of red-hot metal," a Bronze Age notion, followed in Greece by the *οὐρανὸς σιδήρεος* of the Iron Age. It is the varuna čaθrugōša, the heaven with the four cardinal points.

At the northern point, this Činvat bridge leads over the chasm of the netherworld into heaven. In the Greek epics the entrance to the kingdom of the dead lies beyond the ocean, at the utmost confines of the earth, in the northwest, and Elysium, Nordic Valhöll, in the west. Činvato prtuš is the "bridge of the separator" where the black and white

[4] Cf. *Yt.*8,7: pari . . . fraδyat pantām, but 8,38: puru pantām fračēlētām, under 'Mithra.' Also the name of the season āyāθrima fra.rvēštrima.

sheep are separated. In the old myth the dead go over the bridge guided by the fair maiden; the unworthy slip off. The origin of the notion is the iris, because the rainbow always seems to stand on the horizon opposite to the southern path of the sun, and because it is a challenge for mythical explanation. In *Gen.*9,11ff., "My bow, qaštī," is the "token of the covenant," ōt hā.b'rīt. In Babylonia Marduk's bow is in the sky. I do not know how old the idea is that the bridge narrows down to the width of a knife's blade under a sinner, but that motif spread over the world and survives as well in German "Märchen" as in those notions which Goldziher called "Islamische Gottesurteile."[5]

The few mythical verses preserved do not allow a painting of the picture in full. Besides some features which describe real geographic peculiarities, there are others even older than the period during which the Aryans stayed on in the Duāb after the emigration of the Indo-Aryans, and which therefore have analogies in the myths of other European peoples. At any rate, the picture has nothing in common with that in *Zam yasht* 19, with its 2,244 Iranian mountains, and the exact description of Sīstān-Zranga; nor with that of the *Mithra yasht* 10, with the six kršvar round the center hvaniraθa-āryašayanam, bordered in the North by the Ranhā, in the East by the Indus, in the West by the Tigris. Zoroaster shares this concept of the seven kršvar. The old picture of the world, hence, is neither that of the Gathas nor of the Awesta, but exclusively that of the epic. It is the pre-Iranian notion of the original home of the Aryans which had passed entirely into myth.

Oxus and Iaxartes, like Euphrates and Tigris, have changed their course more than once during the historical millennia. Such large rivers in alluvial plains change continuously and keep their course only as long as irrigation works and dams are built and kept in repair. These works determine the hydrography of the countries. In Sīstān the band i Sīstān, reason for the epithet hētumant of the haravhatī, served that purpose, in Khūzistān it was the shādhurwān of Shūshtar and others; in Babylonia the great dam of Nebuchadnezzar near Sippar, called

[5] *Muhamm.Stud.* 40ff.; a pair of columns in the Mosque of 'Amr at Old-Cairo, in the hall to the right of the entrance; the "Rock of the Curse" near the tomb of 'Abd al-sallām in Tanger; the cave of Badr in North Arabia; also in the Aqṣā in Jerusalem; and in Iran a cave near Sāwa. In the Christian world: a pair of columns, similar to those in Cairo, in the crypt of St. Thecla at Meriamlik near Selefke, *Mon.AsiaeMin.* II, 1930, 46.

ὀχετογνώμονες by Berossus (in Eusebius) and described also by Herodotus and Ctesias. Pliny v,90 mentions Mas(s)ice, after Alexander's bematists, 594 m.p. from Thapsacus, according to Juba. The Ka'ba inscription of Shahpuhr I, A.D. 264, has Gr. ΜΙΣΙΧΗ and ΜΗΣΙΧΙΣΗ, Pahl. mšyk; Zosimus in his record of the campaign of Julian Apostata Βησοῦχις. The word is Syr. māsōk^{h}ā, a large dam, Arab. masak, and masāk, masīk, massakāt "reservoir, water-works."

On the Oxus there were at least two large works; one at the beginning of the lower course near Āmūy, today called—after the old dam—Čarjūy < OIr. *čaθruyūvya, dividiculum aquae, Arab. NP. shādhurwān. The other one was at Gurganj (Arab. djurdjāniyya, later Turk. Ürgenj), where the river bifurcated. al-Muqaddasī, about A.D. 985 describes it as an amazing work of engineering made of wood, khashab and ḥaṭab, seemingly like sea-defenses in wood and wickerwork. Descriptions of buildings are so typical for the author who came from a Jerusalem family of architects,[6] that I regard this one as his personal observation (against Barthold).

Records concerning the Duāb of Turkistān are so scarce in high antiquity that the conditions are intelligible only when traced back from recent times.[7] Today both rivers, Amu and Syr Darya, fall into the Aral Lake, and have done so since 1575.[8] But from 1221, Mongol invasion, to 1575, the main branch of the Oxus discharged into the Caspian Sea; at the bifurcation just above Gurganj, a right branch went off to the north, to the Aral Sea, while the left and main branch[9] passed to the west, south of the town, and filled the deep depression of the Sarykamysh, about 155 miles SW from the Aral. From there it ran through the bed—dry today—of the Uzböi southeast to the gap in

[6] An ancestor had built the famous port of Akka with its gates.

[7] There is a great literature. For the historic-geographical side the following treatises are the most important, where also the geologic-geographical literature, mostly in Russian, is quoted: de Goeje, *Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leiden, 1875; W. Barthold, *Nachrichten über d. Aral-See u.d. Unterlauf des Amu Darya* in "Quellen u.Forschg. z. Erd- u. Kulturkunde" II, 1910; H. W. Tarn, *Patrocles and the Oxo-Caspian Trade-Route*, JHET. XXI, 10ff., 1901; A. Herrmann, *Alte Geographie d. unteren Oxus-gebietes*, Abhdlg. GGW, Phil.hist.Kl. NF.XV,4, 1914.

[8] Date according to Abulghāzī Khan, born 1603, ruled 1642-63, "30 years before my birth," confirmed by Jenkinson, envoy of Queen Elizabeth, who describes in 1558-59 the Oxus flowing in the Uzböi, but no longer reaching the Caspian, as it did before, and who predicts that the consumption of water for irrigation would soon lead to a complete desolation of the region.

[9] A branch going off below Kāth, which passes east of Khiwa, south of Gurganj, and points towards the Sarykamysh, seems to be still older.

the Balkhan hills (over 100 miles SE of Krasnowodsk) and discharged into the Caspian opposite the group of islands called Oghurtcha (or Aghyrtcha). In 1392, Ẓahīr al-dīn al-Mar'ashī, a native of Māzandarān, describes with all detail the waterway from Māzandarān to Xwārizm; and Shihāb al-dīn 'Umar al-'Umarī, who lived in Syria and Egypt and died about 1348, reports, on the authority of people from Khwārizm: "On Khwārizm borders . . . a country . . . Mangyshlaq, a steppe, . . . separated from the Djaiḥūn (Oxus) by the Ak-Balkan hills north of Khurāsān." Under the reign of Oldjaitu (1304-16), Ḥamdallāh al-Mustaufī speaks in his *nuzhat* (1) of the caravan route, which had been surveyed just at that period, from Gurgān by way of Dahistān (mod. Mashhad i Misriyān) to Gurganj; this town was 110 fars. (380 miles, exact) distant from Dahistān; (2) of a great waterfall of the Uzböi, called in Turkish "gürledi, roaring," and of a side branch falling into the Aral; (3) he tells that the discharge of the Djaiḥūn into the Caspian had raised its level so that, e.g., the peninsula of Ābaskun (Pliny's Socanda) was submerged.[10] Marino Sanudo (1325) and al-Bākuwī (beginning of the fifteenth century) confirm this description.

In 1221 the river turned towards the Caspian because the armies of Djingizkhan had destroyed the great dam of Gurganj, as recorded by ibn al-Athīr, XII,257. After the destruction the river followed the natural fall of the soil. But from the tenth century to 1221 it seems not to have flowed to the Caspian. The earliest remark about it, in ibn Khurdādhbih, is ambiguous, because of variants of the texts, and ibn al-Faqīh, at the beginning of the tenth century, tells a legendary story only. But ibn Rustah, his contemporary (betw. A.D. 903 and 913) gives a very accurate description of the mouth of the main branch, showing that it discharged into the Sarykamysh; Istakhrī, about 960, copying the older ibn al-Balkhī, speaks only—though with much detail—of the branch discharging into the Aral. al-Ya'qūbī, about 890, is the only author of this period who says that the Djaiḥūn falls into the Caspian. Yāqūt, just before the Mongol conquest, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, gives the same information, but only s.v. Mankashlagh, *mu'djam* IV,670; and since he does not speak of it s.v. Djaiḥūn-Oxus, and since Mankashlagh is nowhere mentioned before, the remark can hardly come from as old

[10] The SE part of the Caspian is so shallow, the shore so flat, that even a western wind causes thousands of square miles to be submerged.

a source as ibn al-Faqih, as W. Barthold assumed. Muqaddasī—author of the description of the Gurganj dam—however, relates a legend, according to which the Uzbōi as the main branch had carried water at an old time [that means it did not at Muqaddasī's time, A.D. 985] and reached the town Balkhan behind (N) Nisā (in Khurāsān); when once the inhabitants of Kāth [pre- and early-Muhammedan capital, 30 miles E of Khiwa] had used, for 24 hours, the whole water volume for their [the easternmost] branch, the river did not turn back to the Uzbōi bed, and the whole Balkhan region became desolated. This name appears as Balaam in Byzantine authors shortly before the Muhammedan conquest; so the region had water before that at the earliest Muhammedan epoch. And the scanty Arabic information on the Oxus discharging into the Caspian seems to go back to this time, before the ninth century, while during the ninth and tenth centuries only the Sarykamysh and the Aral were the discharge basins.

The Sarykamysh may be regarded from the geological point of view as the normal basin of the Oxus: its bottom is about 300 ft. deeper than Gurganj, while the surface of the Aral is only 60 ft. deeper than river level at Gurganj. If not too much water is used in Khwārizm and the lower course carries enough, the filled basin of the *Sarykamysh overflows and discharges through the Uzbōi into the Caspian.*

One must have these conditions in mind to understand the scarce and seemingly contradictory remarks of antiquity. The Ὠξειανὴ λίμνη, rarely mentioned, must be understood as the Sarykamysh, distinct from Caspian and Aral. What Strabo XI (*C.*510) says after Eudoxus, and independently Polybius X,48 (speaking of the Apasiákai) concerning the waterfall of the Oxus, though distorted by legend, should be referred to the waterfall of the Uzbōi mentioned by Ḥamdallāh.

Seleucus planned to connect the Caspian by a canal with the Black Sea, if Patrocles' report of the exploration of the Caspian should be favorable. This took place only under Antiochus, not later than 282 B.C. Xēnocles, the gazophylax of the archives of Babylon, had made accessible for study to Patrocles the original documents with the observations of Alexander's general staff concerning the problem. The purpose of the exploration was to develop trade. Strabo XI (*C.*509 and 518) quotes Aristobulus speaking of the transport of Indian merchandise

on the "well navigable" Oxus to the Caspian and across the sea and through Transcaucasia to the Euxinus. Patrocles used similar words. It does not matter how large was the volume of that trade. The idea was to find, besides the long overland route through Iran and the sea route around Arabia, a third communication with India.

In analyzing these records, not enough attention has been given to the fact that the plan of Seleucus and Antiochus is an exact analogy to Darius' exploration of the Indus and the Indian Ocean before building the Suez Canal. The plan of Seleucus implies that the Oxus was known to discharge into the Caspian, else the whole plan would fall to the ground. And the mere fact that Patrocles was sent off proves that in the early third century B.C. the Oxus fell into the Caspian. The information on the trade route was collected at the east of the Caspian, and is confirmed by the information gathered in Transcaucasia by M. Varro, who accompanied Pompey on his Iranian campaign in the first century B.C. (Pliny VI,17). In 128-126 the Chinese general Chang-k'ien speaks of the eastern part of the overland route to India followed by the Bactrian merchants.

Patrocles—however obscure his voyage be to us and how wrong the result (see under 'Sea')—certainly made two voyages, a western one which took him to the mouth of the Transcaucasian rivers and near Bākū, and an eastern one which went as far as the mouth of the Oxus opposite Oghurtcha. His remarks about the Caspian opening into the northern ocean prove that he did not complete his task, and reported hearsay, perfectly clear in a note preserved by Strabo: "Patrocles says, the mouth of the Oxus and the Jaxartes are 80 parasangs distant from each other." Let alone the value of this remark, but an indication of distance in parasangs is no observation of a Greek, but information received from Persians. Therefore, if Strabo, following Eratosthenes, describes the Oxus flowing through or along Hyrcania and discharging into the Caspian, as do the Muhammedan authors of the fourteenth century, this is a fact valid for the early Hellenistic period.

We have no record dating from the Achaemenian and the Median periods. But intensive agriculture in Hvārazmiš—which is indicated by the early appearance of its name in history—can easily have had the effect that no water reached the Caspian. At a still higher antiquity the

Oxus may have reached the Caspian; in prehistoric times also another line, from Amuy-Čārǰūy through the Unguz depression to the middle Uzbōi might have been possible.

There is certainly sufficient reason to assume a relation of cause and effect between these almost cyclical changes in vast regions of Turkistān and the waves of migrations which started from there, the first in about 1500 B.C., which led the Indo-Aryans through the Iranian highland to Sarasvatī and a part of them to Mitanni; the second migration in about 900 B.C. which brought the Iranians into Iran, the third in 130-110 B.C. of the Sakā which went the way of the first, and shortly before them, in 250 B.C., the invasion of Parthava-Khurāsān by the Dahae. The Fravarti ask in *Yt.*13,66 "Shall our land decay and dry up?" The analogy between the Sakā and the Indo-Aryan migrations serves to explain what happened in that high antiquity, and so does the invasion of the Dahae into Khurāsān furnish the analogy to the first steps of the Aryan immigration into Iran. Justin's short excerpt of Trogus, *Prol.* 41, says: "De Bactrianis autem rebus: ut a Diodoto rege constitutum est; deinde: quo regnante Scythicae gentes, Saraucae et Asiani, Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos" [follows: Indicae res]. Cf. Strabo 11,8,2L "The Scythai on the Caspian are called Daai (farther east are the Massagetai and Sakai); best known became those who took Baktriane from the Greeks: the Ἄσιοι (Ptolemy's Ἰάτιοι), Πασιανοί (Pt.: Πασκαι), Τόχαροι (Pt.: same), Σακάραυλαι (or -ʾκαι) (Pt.: - - αυγαλοι), which came from the Jaxartes." Trogus: "Post multa bella Bactrii ab invalidoribus Parthis velut exsangues oppressi. (42) Hi . . . Scythia pulsi solitudines inter Hyrcaniam et Dahas et Areos et Sparnos et Margianos occupavere."

This long preparation was necessary because we gain thereby several criteria to judge the indigenous tradition in the Awesta and the inscriptions.

Inscriptions:	Gr. *tribute-list:*	*Yt.*10,13-14	*Vidēvdād* 1:
Sakā	Σάκαι		upa aōδēšu raŋhayâ
hvārazmiš	Χοράσμιοι	⟨χvairizəm, gloss⟩	airyanəm vaējo
sugda	Σόγδοι	gāom ⟨suγdəm, gloss⟩	gāum suγδo.šayanəm

bāχtriš	Βάκτριοι		bāχδīm
marguš	(Μάργοι)	mourum	mōurum
vrkāna	(Ὑρκάνιοι)		χnəntəm vəhrkānō.-šayanəm
parθava	Πάρθοι		nisāim, urvąm, vaēkərətəm
haraiva	Ἄρειοι	hārōyum	harōyūm
zranga	Σαράγγαι		haētumantəm
harahvatīš	Θαμαναῖοι		harahvatīm

When first studying the OP. satrapy lists, I believed this confrontation to prove that airyanəm vaējo, the original home of the Aryans, was the land Xvārizm. As in the case of harahvatīš, opposite *θαμαναῖοι*, hvārazmiš would be a topic, aryanam vējo an ethnic name of the same country.

J. Markwart had treated the subject from another point of view in his *Wēhrōt und Arang*;[11] his main idea, not easy to apprehend, is that at the late Sasanian period, if not earlier, the two rivers of Ērānvēž had become entirely mythical.

At the Congress of Orientalists, Copenhagen 1909, Andreas had made a communication, on which first A. Herrmann (l.c. 1914) wrote: "χvārizm, dies ist der Name der Landschaft; den Namen des Volksstammes hat neuerdings Andreas in airyanəm vaedzo erwiesen, indem er hier das Heimatland der späteren Alanen des Abendlandes wiedererkannte." That means Osset. ālān < āryānām, but the report cannot be accurate. According to A. Christensen, Act.Orient. IV, 1926, *Quelques notices* etc., Andreas read vyočoh = Ved. vyačas "wide space," instead of vējah. Benveniste, BSOS 7, 1934, 265ff., rejected this and gave the right etymology: vējah to √vig-, in Iranian generally "lancer, se répandre," Skr. vega "irruption, flot." He too arrives at identifying Ērānvēž and Xvārizm.

> The name appears always in the complex form "airyanəm vējo vahviyå dāθyayå." Benveniste emphasizes that the neuter vējah, as governing the gen. dātiyayå implies the idea of water in motion, like voiγnā, vēga. But, the name being loaded with

[11] The book was printed in 1907, but not published; the contents Markwart used in his lectures; only in 1938 H. H. Schaeder published it as posthumous work; it is useful only for details.

‚airyanəm' he is forced to translate "l'étendue iranienne de la bonne Dātiyā, c'est-à-dire la portion iranienne du territoire que le fleuve baigne." The idea of motion thus is lost.

√ vēg-, viǰ-, including all known derivatives, in Iranian means either "lancer," discharging arms, like lances, spears, maces, or "répandre," discharging water by overflow, nothing else. But ‚airyanəm' is entirely objectionable in form and matter. vēǰo vahvyå dātiyayå or vahviyå dāθyayå is a regular octosyllable of the same type as the other topic terms in the same region formed with the name of the two rivers: upa uδēšu raŋhayå, on the waters of the Ranhā, upa sanakē raŋhayå, on the sanaka of the Ranhā, upa guδam apaγžāram and patīpē dvīpē raŋhayå.

guδa, *Wb.*=OI. gudá "Darm, After, bowels" is a figure for a riverine formation, cf. guts for a narrow bay, or artery, Germ. "Wasserader, Schlauch." It occurs in the inscr. name of the Panǰāb, "Five-river-Country," satagud-. The Akk. version renders the Median form in *Beh.* §21 by sa.at.ta.gu.u, *NiR a* and *Scheil* 15, sa.at.gu.šu, *Xerx.Pers.daiv.* sa.at.a.gu.du, Eg. sdgwd, Gr. sattagýdai; the -d hence is part of the stem. A Pāli syn. of Skr. sapta sindhavaḥ was rendered by Med. *sattagud-, and the Persians, not recognizing their "hafta, seven" in Med. satta-, rendered it by θata- "hundred."[12]

patīpē, *Wb.* "directed against the water=umbrandet, with surge around," is a makeshift: an island has no direction, only a thing made on purpose is directed "against the current." patīpē, patiyāpam must be a groyne or weir.[13] vēǰah belongs to the same category.

In *Vid.*1, after āryanam vēǰo, verses are interpolated speaking of voiγnā "overflow, inundation." Aw. vēǰah, like Skr. vega, Aw. vēγa, is

[12] Same type of name: Sargon, 8th Camp. 79: "Ištaraura nār[tum . . .] etēbir, I crossed the . . . rivers," with assimilation to Ass. Itar, of Med. *ašta- or *aštāti-rauδah, or -ravan, in Ṭabarī, Ya'qūbī (Hist.) haštāδ.rōδ "the 80 rivers," mod. Haštārūd in Ādharbaiǰān. gud- probably also in Abargū, Bargū, Arab. abarqūh: the nisba abarqū'iyyu in a Seljuq inscription proves the Arab. -h to be unetymological, hence "above the gud," in this case a salt-river.

[13] The deriv. MP. patiyāpīh "ablution," almost "douche." TPahl. *Mīr.Man.*III,35,2: "When Satan heard of Zoroaster's descent to Fārs, he sent hēlm-devils hwystr 'č pdy'b," Henning: "bevor noch ein Gegenstoss (geführt werden konnte) wurde Schaden. . . ." I expect "more sudden than a shower" or the like. Cf. *Vid.*, explanation of āpo nāviyå: "kts y āpdān p'sy'n." āpdān is "reservoir"; in the last word I would recognize, with -b for -n, padyāb.

a word of similar meaning, viz. "discharge, overflow, προχοή," which might mean the area of inundation or the mouth of the river. The same semantic development can be observed in Arab. madd "to extend, se répandre" and madd, mudūd "highwater," e.g. in Ṭabarī and Shābushtī, or "mouth" of a river. But in view of the special situation—conditioned by being a vast region and one in Turkistan on the Oxus—it is a perfect name for *the lower course of the Oxus, the Uzbōi*, by which the Sarykamysh basin *discharges its surplus water into the Caspian. That section of the Oxus is the vēŋ vahvyå dātiyayå.*

The adj. ‚airyanəm' changes the topographic-descriptive name into one of political geography. For, as a "Dutch portion of the Rhine" presupposes not only the existence of Dutchmen but of a Dutch state, and at the same time the existence of portions belonging to other states, thus the complex term "the Aryan overflow of the Dātiyā" presupposes the political notion of āryānām χšaθram, ērānšahr.

Apart from *Vid.*1, the term appears as locative airyənə vaēǰahi vahv. dāt. in *Yt.*5,17 and 100 (=*Yt.*9,26), in the "Awestic prayers" of Ahura-Mazdāh and Zoroaster, composed by redactors whose language was Middle Persian. Further, in the formula sruto airyənə vaēǰahi vahv. dāt. in *Vid.*11, Yama myth, which is of very ancient origin, but not so the very passages 2,20-21, the language of which is as inferior as their meter. Finally in *Y.*9,14, where the formula, applied to Zoroaster, is badly interpolated into the Hōma myth. Hence, the complex formula appears in no pre-Arsacid passage and is no true Awestic. The second inference is: only the Yama myth can be the place where the authentic prototype of the Arsacid formula once was used.

Eratosthenes' Ἀριανή documents the existence of the political name *āryānām χšaθram at his time or at the time of his source. While all Greeks regularly speak of Medes and Persians, Diodor 1,94 speaks in his story of Zoroaster's death of "παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριανοῖς," an ethnic derived from the political name of the country "*āryānām (χšaθram)." Markwart regarded Megasthenes, about 300 B.C., as Diodor's source, but in spite of the different form of the name Zathraustes for Zoroastres, the contents are so closely related to what Eudemus, pupil of Aristotle, and Eudoxus, pupil of Plato, say about Zoroaster, that I consider the passage to be older than Alexander. Eudemus speaks in Damascius, *de*

prim.princ. 125 (Kopp 384) of "πᾶν τὸ Ἄρειον γένος" and calls "Ōromásdes" a θεὸν ἀγαθὸν and "Areimánios" a δαίμονα κακόν. Even if attested only shortly after 300 B.C., the Arianoí would yet prove that the term āryānām χšaθram was used during the Achaemenian period, for it was certainly not created in Alexander's time. But in the prehistoric antiquity of the Yama myth, such political concepts did not exist.

Ērānšahr < *āryānām χšaθram is entirely genuine. MP. ērānvēž demands equally a gen.pl. āryānām, it does not descend from an adj. *āryanam. This Aw. adjective occurs only with vēǰo or with the noun hvarno in the notion rendered in Plutarch by τύχη Περσῶν. As Hertel proved in *Siegesf.* 97, all passages in which airyanəm hvarno appears, depend on *Yt.*19,0 and 1, and *S.*1,9=*Ny.*5,5, where the spelling is airyanąm. In this formula, therefore, the gen.pl. āryānām must be restored everywhere, and the adjective is limited to the vēǰo formula alone. The Pahl. inscriptions have only 'ry'n < āryānām, and only this gen.pl. can be considered as true.

The Arsacid redactors wanted to remedy the lack of relation between the names of the two related concepts, vēǰo vahvyå dātiyayå as original home and āryānām χšaθram as actual home. The gen.pl. is unfit to be used since vēǰo was already loaded with the genitive vahvyå dātiyayå. Thus the adjective was invented for this formula. It is pseudo-Awestic: in "the Aryan overflow of the V.D." the meaning of vēǰo must already have faded to "(lower) course." The process went on, and, by dropping vahvyå dātiyayå, produced "āryanam vēǰo" in *Vid.*1, "Aryan overflow," meaningless, and only possible after vēǰo had become a mere name no longer conveying any meaning. The Sasanian period reached the perfect parallelism of the two names Ērānvēž and Ērānšahr. The authentic term used in the Yama myth did contain neither "airyanəm" nor "āryānām," but was simply "vēǰo vahvyå dātiyayå," the overflow of the lawful Vahvī, that is the Uzbŏi section of the Oxus.

Thus, Ērānvēž is *not* the name of Xvārizm derived from the name of its inhabitants, and the lists, we have contrasted above, do not prove it. The inhabitants of Xvārizm were the Tūra, see under 'Anērān-Tūrān.' In *Yt.*10, the song to "Mithra in Peace"—older than Scylax's Χοραισμίη and Darius' hvārazmiš—χvairizəm is, as Benveniste saw, a

gloss; it was interpolated when also the unauthentic name *ʿāryanam vēǰo* was created for a country no longer existing and which had become a myth: the course of the Oxus between Sarykamysh and Caspian.

The rich delta of the Hētumant in Sīstān, too, disappeared. It is today a hopeless desert, a dašt i nā-umēd, but like the northern regions sowed with evidence of prehistoric culture. The Iranian legend makes Frahrasyā, the Tūra (Khwārizmian) destroy this flourishing country, as if it was transferring from the Oxus to the Hilmand a last remembrance the mythical thinking of the people had kept of their abandoning the original home.

vēǰo vahvyå dātiyayå, the genuine name of the Yama myth, was a real country. The Arsacid and Sasanian *āryanam vēǰo* does not mean a distinct region, but the mythical homeland as a whole, the Duāb of the Vahvī and Ranhā, imagined as the country of the golden age. It is an unreal country, a mēnōk in heaven, contrasted to the actual Ērānšahr as gētīk on earth.

Thus, if understood as original home, the concept that the Iranians came from there is true and historical. When the name was created, the last Aryan tribes that had stayed there, the Sakā, were just forced to leave it and to go out upon the quest of new pastures which they found in later Sakastān. But as a term of political geography, Ērānvēž is entirely unreal and unhistorical: the Duāb of the Oxus and Jaxartes was never called so. The name Tūrān is an analogous case, see under 'Anērān-Tūrān': it designates the same Duāb as the homeland of the non-Aryan adversaries of the Aryans in Iran, derived from Tūra, name of the inhabitants of Khwārizm; but Tūrān was never a name of political geography for that country. The very same country is Ērānvēž as aboriginal home of the Aryans, and Tūrān as home of their non-Aryan enemies. A contradiction is not felt, because both names are products of legend.

Whereas the names of the two rivers, of the ocean and its dike, belong to the original notion of Ērānvēž, other geographical names in the Awesta, like those mentioned in *Yt.*10,12-15 (sun-rise), in *Yt.*19,66-68, (Zranka), and the specimens of the 2244 names of mountains in *Yt.*19, the 16 provinces in *Vid.*1, have no relation to Ērānvēž at all. They belong to entirely different categories. To separate this material of different

character is the first requirement of historical criticism, and since nobody who drew historical conclusions from the topography of the Awesta has done so or even was aware of it, the attempts do not rise above the level of the many answers to the question "Where was paradise?" in Kashmīr, Abyssinia, Arabia, Babylon, Damascus or Mecklenburg. Original home of the Aryans and home of the Awesta are two disconnected problems. The treatment they have received resulted in "the Awesta was written in Ērānvēž," worth as much as "the Bible was written in paradise."

Benveniste, judging such attempts, remarks with much reserve (l.c. 272): "Si la tradition mazdéenne s'est attachée avec tant de constance à ce souvenir, c'est que le fonds historique et légendaire de l'Avesta se relie à l'Iran oriental. Contre ce fait que maint indice appuie, aucune combinaison ne saurait prévaloir." This sentence would be partly true for the background of the old stratum of the epic, but it is not meant to say that the epic but rather that the Awesta originated in the eastern regions. Against that, Meillet's statement retains its full power: "Peu importent les indications . . . d'après lesquelles l'Avesta se serait constitué dans l'Iran oriental. Même exactes elles ne prouveraient rien."

Nobody else went as far as Nyberg; he deserves thanks, for the precision of the exaggeration discloses its faultiness at once. To him, Khwārizm-Ērānvēž is the country of the "Gatha-Gemeinde," the real home which Zoroaster abandons; Marw is the country of the hostile "Mithra-Gemeinde"; the "Zoroastrische Gemeinde" on the contrary sits in the "steppes of the Turian tribe of Friyāna on the Jaxartes," where according to *Vid.*1,19 (Nyberg's History of Zoroastrian Mission) the asāro, men without heads live. On p.326 he gives to his investigation the "Schlussvignette" in spaced print: "Das nördlich von Margiana und [corr. "westlich"] von Sogdiana gelegene Land Khwārizm ist airyanəm vaējah. Es ist das Heilige Land des Zoroastrismus. Die nahe Verbindung des Propheten ist so deutlich ausgesprochen, so fest bewahrt, dass kein Zweifel daran bestehen kann, dass hier der Name von Zarathustras Lande und dessen der Gatha-Gemeinde erhalten ist. An dem Flusse Dātya der es durchströmt [according to him ice-bound during 10 months] opfert Zarathustra, ja AhuraMazdāh selbst."

The very last words sound like quoting an utterly undeniable authority, but they aim at Zoroaster's prayer—discussed here under 'Spi-

tāma'—and at *Yt.*5,17, where it is the god's caprice to pray to Anāhitā, hizvo danhahā, in language of erudition, i.e. in dead Awestic, that he himself might not get tired of inciting Zoroaster, the founder, to think, talk and act according to his religion. Only one passage surpasses these decadent verses, *Yt.*15,2, where AhuraMazdāh would pray (in Lommel's translation): "Gieb mir, übermächtiger Wind, dass ich vernichte die Geschöpfe des Bösen Geistes, nicht aber eines des Klugen Geistes," which would be not to destroy his own creatures by mistake. In Bartholomae's translation: "Gieb mir, überlegen wirkender Vāyu, dass ich zu Boden schlage die Schöpfung des Anra Manyu, keineswegs (aber) die des spənta." What a god that needs the help of the Wind for that! These ill-conceived and illiterate prayers are the product of the monkish Latin of the same Arsacid period that created the name of the place where they were delivered: airyanəm vaējo. They are certainly no proof for the persevering reminiscence of the Awesta.

From the fact that old-epical heroes are quoted in a yasht to Vrthragna, Vāyu etc. as praying at the Ranhā or Vahvī does not follow that these rivers flowed through "Vrthragna-, Vāyu- and other communities," nor does Zoroaster's prayer, in *Yt.*5,104, make him a pastor of a parish in Khwārizm. The inferences are utterly absurd. In Iran, where historiography was never developed and legend occupied its place, the "mythical thinking" of the people continuously shaped the historical events which excited their minds into the ready moulds of the older myth. The Iranians had brought with them, when immigrating, their pre-Iranian myth, with its Indian analogies, the topography of which reflects the Aryan, in some features even the pre-Aryan picture of the world. The events of the period of immigration were told after the older schemes, and nothing older than that phase is preserved. These tales originated in Iran, and their topic names are Iranian, mainly belonging to Media, Arachosia, but also Parthava and Persis. In the original myth the Fire fights the Dragon for the possession of the hvarnah in the ocean Vurukrtam; in the younger variation Frahrasyā and Husravah fight, the place remains the same because the notion of the Vurukrtam did not change. But otherwise, the locality of the legends of the Kavi, of Husravah and Vištāspa, which belong to the period after the immigration, is the actual country, āryānām χšaθram, and no longer Ērānvēž.

XXXIX. ANĒRĀN-TŪRĀN

THERE is a myth in the Iranian epic of the tripartition of the world between Θrētōna's three sons Sarima, Tūrya and Ārya.

Θrētōna, deriv. of *θritavan, is the son of *Θrita Āθwiya, the Ved. Trita Āptiyá. Bartholomae, *Ar.Forschg.* 1,8f., said: "Aw. āθβiya: OI. āptyás, equally well < *ātvyas as < *ātpyas. The Ved. Trita āptya, originally a storm-god like Indra, fights demons of clouds. Indra has, in *RV.* 1,55,1, the epithet ātapás. Hence, *ātpyás can be the original word, whence Ind. āptyás through assimilation, by pop.etymology, to āp 'water.'" Θrita is "the third." Connection with Athene Tritogeneia has been proposed, rejected, and may yet be right. Figure and name go back to pre-Aryan antiquity, for there are correspondents to the name in Slavic.

In the Iranian myth the son has completely supplanted the father, but the fact that the name Θrētōna is a derivative, not the *ὄνομα κύριον*, proves the substitution. Θrita appears only in two places, *Vid.*20: "Who among the θamnahvatām . . . yōχštivatām yātumatām . . . paraδātām (corr. -tānām) was the first physician and pharmacist? Θrita." The later legend transfers also this role to Θrētōna: in *Yt.*13,131, Θrētōna, not Θrita, the inventor of medicine, is invoked against all illnesses. paraδāta, everywhere else epithet of Hōšyanha, is here, in plural, used as name of the dynasty like NP. pēšdādiyān.

In the Hōm yasht, Y.9,4, Vivahvant is the first, in 9,7 Āθwiya the second, and 9,10 Θrita sāmānām savišto the third presser of Hōma, and each obtains as reward an excellent son, Vivahvant Yama, Āθwiya Θrētōna, viso puθro āθwiyānoiš, and Θrita the two, Krsāspa and Rvāχšaya. The inference therefrom is that the pre-Aryan Trita Āptiyá had been disintegrated into two figures, and that the legends of Θrētōna and of Krsāspa are two variants, developed in two different Iranian regions, of one older myth. Furthermore, that the epithet θamnahvant, applied to Θrita in *Vid.*20 and corresponding to sāmānām savišto in Y.9, is Old Persian, as is Gr. *θαμαναῖοι*, name of the tribe inhabiting Arachosia; the three forms belong to Ved. śamniṣva, Gr. *κάμνω*.

Θrētōna supplants his father also in being the one who divides the kingdom under his three sons. Markwart wrote in *Ērānšahr* 155: "Wenn die iranische Sage die unter Frēdōn noch geeinigte iranische

Welt . . . unter seine drei Söhne verteilt werden lässt, so hat dies in der ursprünglichen Sage einen guten Grund." The legend remembers that the later Iranians once lived in their original home Ērānvēž among Tūra and Sarmatians. But the genealogical connection of the three is no more historical than the great genealogy of *Genesis*.

The Arsacid period developed a variant of the legend, adapted to conditions of its own time, and makes (*Gr.Bdh.*233) Sām, i.e. Θrita sāmānām savišto, divide the world under his six sons: Dastān, Xusrau, Mihrēvandak (? -vanīk?), Aparnak, Sparnak (Spahrōk?) and Nimrūd. The Sasanian legend, on the contrary, retains the older form, with the names Frēdōn, Salm, Tūč and Ērič, but interprets it as historical relation of Byzantium, Turkistan and Iran, giving thereby an unhistorical antiquity to the political constellation of its own present. Those are normal conceptions, just as today political creations less than 30 years old are treated as something that always was and always must be.

Māh Fravartīn, composed under Xusrau II, says, §12: "Frēdōn divided the world, hrōm o salm dāt u turkistān ō tūč dāt ērānšahr ō ērič dāt, u III duχtar ē bōχtχusrav ē tāžikān šāh bē χvāst u pa žanīh ō pusarān dāt, Rome he gave Salm, Turkistan Tōč, Ērānšahr Ērič, and he asked for the three daughters of Bōχtχusrav (Nebuchadnezzar), king of the Arabs, and gave them in marriage to his three sons." In the more detailed version of the *Ayātk.Zām.* Messina, in Bibl. et Orient. 1, 1930, 39-42, Salm and Tūč say to each other: "What has our father done there! He has given the sovereignty not to the oldest, not to the middle, but to the youngest son!" In Firdausī's Shāhnāmah this thought is expressed by Farēdōn's giving Ērič "sword and seal, ring and crown," hence the sovereignty over his elder brothers. This is an infringement of Iranian custom which causes the murder of the youngest brother.

The succession of the youngest brother was not an Iranian, but a Scythian custom. Herodotus IV,6 tells the Scolotian legend of the "royal Scyths" who descend from the youngest of the three sons of their first king Targitaos, namely Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs and Kolaxaïs. The names Targitaos and Θrētōna resemble each other in the second element;[1] the names of the sons seem to contain totem-animals: -xaïs is evidently -χšayo; to kola- cf. Ir. kaδrva "fox, sorrel," to lipo- rzifya "eagle," to

[1] For the first element cf. τερητοέχμης, with -tōχman-, and τριτασταίχμης with -tahman-.

arpo-*harpo, *serp-, "snake." Before, Herodotus tells a third variant, with stronger Greek coloring, familiar among the Greeks of the Pontus: Heracles, i.e. Θrētōna as Vrthragna, has three sons from the Echidna (half woman, half snake, cf. Krsāspa and the parīkā Xnanθatī) and the youngest becomes his successor because he alone is capable of bending the bow, a motif told by the Iranian legend of Smerdis-Tanyoxarkes. The youngest, Yavišta, of the Friyāna may also bear his name as the heir, vāisapuθra to this house of Tūra. The succession of the youngest son was also a Germanic custom, known to me, down to our time, among some Hanoverian peasants. With the Scoloti the younger brother, once, was the agnate, āzāta.

*Yt.*5, 9, 17 and 19 put Hōšyanha as first king before Yama, in opposition to *Yt.*13, where he, still a foreigner, is the last of the heroes, also in opposition to Y.32,8 and *Vid.*2, where Yama is the first. One observes plainly that, quite disconnected with the Awesta, there were single epic songs which later were united into one great epopee. The fragments in the so-called "great yashts" are quoted from this redaction which took place in the early Achaemenian epoch, and which had put Hōšyanha at the very head of the epic.

His name is derived from √hū-, the pressing of hōma. Hōma grows on the Harā brzatī, which is also Hōšyanha's home. Thus there are reasons for associating this legend with the Sakā hōmavrgā. His epithet is paraδāta, which connects Hōšyanha closely with the Scolotian Paralatae; the origin of the legend is Scythian, not Iranian.

> Bartholomae did not doubt that paraδāta was an Awestic word, "Viell. voran, an die Spitze gestellt," impossible, for he was only subsequently "put at the head." Neither is it with Andreas-Lommel OI. purohita[2] "vorangestellt, Vorgesetzter (neutral), aber gebraucht für Ausüben priesterlicher Obliegenheiten des Königs, sacerdos civitatis." It is a very special title of Hōšyanha, a foreigner, and the application in *Vid.*20, as name of a dynasty—to which Bartholomae annotates "der Verfasser hat die eigentliche Bedeutung auch nicht mehr gekannt"—is secondary and must not be used for explaining the word, though the *Pahl.Vid.*, following just this unfit passage, trans-

[2] This would be IE. √*dhē-, Skt. √*dhā-, τίθημι with purāh "before."

lates pēš.dāt (origin of NP. pēšdādī as dynastic name) and explains it: "thus because Hōšang was the first to organize the autocracy, χvatāyīh rawāk kirt," taking "dāta" as "law, Gesetz, *τίθημι*." The NP. dictionaries propagate this mistake, but pēšdāt is in fact OP. *pašyaδāta,[3] Med. paθyazāta in (hu)paθyazāta (*Ōgmad.*) and this is *παπιζείθης*, title of Smerdis as secundogenitus or heir presumptive, agnate in second line. The derivative OIr. *pāθyāzāti was postulated by Bartholomae, *ZAirWb.* 259 for Armen. payazat "successor, heir."[4] Scyth. *παραλατα* evidently expresses a similar notion, and it is this Scolotian title[5] that is rendered by Hōšyanha's epithet paraδāta. This is not an Awestic word and does not mean the same as Skr. purohita, nor "primogenitus" like Med. *parazāta, OP. *paraδāta, but means the youngest son as heir. Its δāta is Aw. zāta, but para is OI. pára "ulterior," not puráh "before." The Pahl. transl. pēšdāt < OP. *pašyaδāta, Med. paθyazāta for *paθyāzāta "heir presumptive," comes nearest to the non-Iranian notion.

The oldest mention of the name Khwārizm is Scylax's Χορασμίη, a few years younger are Darius' hvārazmiš and Χοράσμιοι of Hecataeus' list. Formed with zam- it is geographical term. Moses of Chorene mentions a "district Tur (< Tūr) in Xolozm (< χvārizm), a trading country from which the χolozmik stone (perhaps ambergris) was exported." Tūr is a tribal name, very old, but completely lost afterwards. Moses' short note is the only historical reference to this people, outside the Awesta. In the Awesta the name Tūra, adj. tūrya, appears exclusively as ethnic of persons, not as topographic term. Frahrasyā, who bears it, is the great adversary of the Aryans; in Ctesias' version of the legend his name is Parsŏndas, i.e. *parsvant for *frasvant,[6] chief of the Cadusii, the enemies. Theodor bar Kōnē, as recognized by Benveniste,

[3] With δāta = Lat. agnatus < ad-gnatus, IE. root *g'ena.

[4] I assume that compounds were formed with para, pati, apara as well of zāta as of āzāta, and that they soon coalesced.

[5] λ may be right. Like OP., the dialect may have had δ for g'; in Sogdian every d changes into l; in Scolotian—which itself contains an l, cf. Lipoxais, Kolaxais—the change δ > l may have taken place before Herodotus' time. The tendency towards l, strong in East Iranian dialects, prevails also in Oss. ālān < āryān; Sarm. Λαίμασαι, Osset. limān = NP. ērman < aryaman, "guest, socius."

[6] For p:f cf. parasáṅges:frasaŋhya.

renders the name by Parīsag. The MP. form is Frasyāg, NP. Afrāsiyāb. He is a mythical figure, whereas the tūrya Friyāna of the Gathas and all Tūra of the memorial list of *Yt.*13 and of the yasht are historical. The only support for locating their country is the notice of Moses Chor., which shows their name surviving in a district of Khvārizm a thousand years later. If one deletes the unreal name Ērānvēž from the lists of countries contrasted with each other in the chapter 'Ērānvēž,' a gap remains opposite Hvārazmiš. Harahvatiš and Hvārazmiš are topographic designations. The inhabitants of Harahvatiš were the Thamanaioi, *Sāmāna; and the people of Hvārazmiš were the Tūra.[†]

Historical Tūra appear in *Yt.*13,143-44, paragraphs added to the memorial document of Vištāspa by the same redactors that developed this list into one of "all fravarti of the world from Gayamart to the Sōšyant" (§145). The verses invoke "the men and women of the (gen. pl.) āryānām, tūryānām, sārimānām, sāininām and dāhīnām dahyūnām, provinces of the Aryans, Tūryans, Sārima, Sāina and Dāha." Here one finds two names more than in the legend of the tripartition, and the quotation must come from a story similar to that legend.

The last two ethnic names are vrddhi adjectives in -ya. Bartholomae notes that the edition has sāininām "die leichtere Lesart" instead of sāinūnām of the good cod. F1. The edition is right, and the mechanical application of methods developed in editing classical texts, like "lectio facilior and difficilior," to the Awesta is wrong. The ending -ūnām is caused by the following gen.pl. of the regens dahyūnām. More wrong is Nyberg, 249: "Die Sāini, eigentl. sāni, sind gänzlich unbekannt; Dāha scheint ein Sammelname für nicht-iranische Nomaden zu sein." The i of sāini is not epenthetic; sāini is vrddhi of sēna, n.pr. Sēna ahumstut, to whose mention in the document the redactors add "who first appeared on this earth with a hundred pupils." The Sasanian legend, therefore, regarded him as a kind of apostle, and his nisba is Bustīk, "of Bust" in Arachosia. The Awdīhā ē Sigistān ascribe to him also the authorship of a nask in the Dēnkart, which bore his name. The Sāina are a tribe or a very great clan, with the sub-clan Pēsatah (pistor

[†] There was later another Tūrān, ṭvr'n of the Arab. geographers, to be located in Kelār in Balochistan, and connected or identical with Arab. Ṭawārān, *Tab.Persi.* Bauterna < *taubarna, cf. AMI.I,88, footnote. In Paikuli, Makurān šāh and Tūrān šāh appear as in the list of kings in ibn Khurdādhbih, 17. This region is here not in question.

or medicus?) and ten of them are mentioned in the memorial document, three among the "foreigners" of §126. The later legend connects them with Sīstān.

Dāha is no collective, but a tribal name. They appear in Xerxes' *daiv.-inscr.* l.26 as dāha, El. [ta]ha, Akk. da.a.an, and the tribute processions of Persepolis represent them in no way differing from the Parθava. The antiquated assumption is based upon comparison with Ved. dāsa, anton. to ārya, cf. the remarks about OI. dásyu: OIr. dahyu under 'Social Structure.' Strabo knew their habitat, 11,8,2: "Of the Daai some are called Ἀπαρνοι [Ἐπ°, or Ἀσπαριοι], others Ξάνθιοι, others Πίσσουροι. The Aparnoi lived next to the Caspian, the others as far as the borders of Areia (Herat), north of a sandy desert," and 11,9,2: Ἀρσάκης ἀνὴρ Σκύθης, τῶν Δαῶν τινας ἔχων τοὺς Πάρνους καλουμένους νομάδας παροικοῦντας τὸν Ὦχον, ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυαίαν. Thus they lived between the Caspian and Marw, north of Gurgān, where their name stuck as Dahistān down to the Middle Ages, around mod. Mashhad i Misriyān. The Aparnoi or Parnoi are represented by Aparnak, one of Sām's six sons, in the Arsacid legend of the partition of the world. One clan of the Aparnoi were the Arsacids, so that we have the correspondence Pārsa-Pasargadae-Achaemenids and Dāha-Aparnoi-Arsacids. In *Yt.*13 the Aryan provinces are a plurality, the others are one province each.

The Tūra appearing in the gatha are equally historical figures. In Y.46,12 Zoroaster voices the hope that "naftyēšu nafšuča tūrahya friyānahya ōjyēšu,[8] great-grandsons and grandsons of the powerful Tūra, the Friyāna (adj.)" will become his adherents. Bartholomae: "danach hat sich Friyāna . . . von den Tūra, eines Volk-stammes ausserhalb Vištāspa's Machtbereich, zwar noch nicht bekehrt, steht aber . . . auch nicht feindlich gegenüber." Friyāna is, like Asabāna, Spitāma, a family name, hence not "Friyāna," but "the (chief of the) Friyāna," descendants of a "Friya." Only one other member of this family appears in the Awesta, viz. "Yavišta yo friyānānām, the youngest of the Friyāna"[9] in *Yt.*5,81, a fragment of a post-Zoroastrian legend, where he becomes mythical. Later he is the great solver of riddles, a figure known also

[8] *Wb.* puts ōjya as "nennenswert" under √ōg- "praedicare," Skr. ôhate, Gr. «ἔχομαι; I should prefer IE. √awg-, Skr. ojas, Ir. ôjah "power," Lat. augeo, Engl. eke; cf. Gath. ōjoi Y.32,7 under 'Last Judgment,' *Wb.* to Skr. ûhati "he moves, rückt."

[9] One cannot be "youngest of a tribe" but only "of a family."

in other countries. But the mythical quality has been imposed upon him, in the memorial document, 13,120, he is entirely historical.

Only three names,[10] Rtam.yahya.rōča, Rtam.yahya.varza and Rtam.-yahmāi.uštā, separate Yavišta from a Friya who may be considered as the vispatiš of the Friyāna of *Y.*46,12. Another Friya in st.110 is mentioned without apparent connections. Friya, friyāna means "friend," and occurs just among Scythians as n.pr. φλίανος. In the following verses of *Y.*46, Zoroaster blesses those who receive him as fugitive, and in st.14-16 he says he has found Vištāspa as patronus, and wishes the Hāugava brothers success of their journey, cf. under 'Hāugava.' From these verses Nyberg concludes, 248, answering his own question "Wer waren die neuen Männer?" (viz. Vištāspa and the Hāugava): "Der Zusammenhang in *Y.*46 giebt an die Hand, dass die neuen Männer dem Stamm des Turers Friyāna angehörten." That would make Vištāspa a non-Aryan. "Grandsons and great-grandsons of Friya" are not a tribe, but a clan of the tribe Tūra, called Friyāna after their ancestor. If they are expressly determined ethnically by "of the Tūra" and the clans nōtarya and hāugava two stanzas later not, then the tribal name distinguishes them and stresses the fact that even men of foreign, far-away tribes joined Zoroaster's cause, just as in *Yt.*13,128-129, foreigners are especially grouped together. The sequence of the stanzas is not that of the progress of events: the contents of the last stanzas, the journey of the Hāugava, is the present; Vištāspa's patronage is the past; the adherence of the Friyāna is the future. Some Friyāna were with Vištāspa, but not Vištāspa with the Friyāna. The place of the gatha is not the "steppe of the Friyāna tribe on the Jaxartes," but the nmāna, palace of Vištāspa at Tōsa.

Beside Friya and Yavišta, only two names among the 216 male names of the memorial list are determined by "of Tūra," which may be tribal name or patronym. This "community" did not live in the land of the Tūra which in reality was Hvārazmiš.

In *Yt.*5,73 and 13,37-38 another clan of Tūra appears, the Dānavo, enemies of the Aryans like the Tūrian Fahrasyā and the Vēsaki-sons, see under 'Nōtarya.' Their name is known to the Veda as appellative

[10] The names are Gatha quotations, cf. *Y.*12,1; *Visp.*11,26 and *Y.*43,1; Justi, *Namenbuch*, Introd. p.ix; *Wb.*258.

and goes back to prehistoric antiquity, like that of Yama Vivahvana. Their Aryan adversaries are Rtavazdah, son of Puruδāχšti, and Rtavazdah and Θrita (brother-in-law of Zoroaster), sons of Sāyuždri, all from the memorial list.

The Dānavo immolate a hundred sheep

⟨upa⟩ brzantam ahuram χšētam	χša*θ*riyam apām napātam
to the high, kingly lord,	the χša*θ*riya ApāmNapāt.

Bartholomae: "bei dem (dem) hohen Gott . . . dem schnelle Rosse besitzenden ApāmNapāt (geweihten Ort)," which would be the mountain Npat, Ptolemy's Niphates, in Armenia. But the prep. upa, which alone suggests a place name, is an accrescence, exactly as in *Yt.*5,65 ⟨upa⟩ ušāham upa zavayat ⟨ardvīm sūrām⟩, see under 'Navigation.' Apām napātam is the normal acc. object of √yaz-, the name of the god to whom offerings are made. So it was said in the epic. In the Awesta the Dānavo bring offerings to ApāmNapāt, but pray to Ardvī, just as impossible as Pārva's invocation of Ardvī "at the Ušah" in *Yt.* 5,65. In both stanzas Ardvī has been introduced when the epical fragments were inserted into her yasht. The addition of upa hides the contradiction and may have been intended to provoke an interpretation like Bartholomae's.

*Yt.*5,73 is a late verse in bad meter and grammar, and no reason is given, as is usual, for the sacrifice. In *Yt.*13,38 "you (the fravarti) vanquished the Dānavo 'taδā,' at that time" indicates a near past, and just there the Dānavo bear a historical title: bēvarpati, Nyberg 251: "die Dānu, die aus 10,000 Männern bestanden." The dānayana are imagined to be a big clan; but a nmānapati does not "consist of houses," but is their pati, "owner," and a bēvarpati does not "consist" of 10,000 men, but is their commander, sāstar; and the bēvarpati-sons in *Yt.*14,59 are not the sons of ten thousand, but of commanders of ten thousand. Bartholomae asked in *Wb.*: "Warum hiessen die Dānavo so?" Because members of the clan were bēvarpati. Scylax of Caryanda, a Carian, was admiral of the fleet under Cambyses and Darius, and so Tūryan Dānavo may have been generals under Cyrus. In later times one of the great houses bears the title spāhpat < *spāδapati as name, and the name of the Sasanids means "commanders." The title is a military one, and just as a commander of a division is "unthinkable" without lieutenants and

captains, there cannot have been a bēvarpati, Gr. μυρίαρχος or μυριόταγος without hazahrapati, χιλίαρχοι and lower grades. The title implies the existence of the whole organization of the vast Median and Persian armies. Whether the Dānavo were entitled to it or not, when these verses were made there were generals commanding divisions of ten thousand. The legend is at any rate post-Zoroastrian, Achaemenian.

On the contrary, no connection exists between the Tūra and the fairy parīkā Xnanθatī yā upa.hačat krsāspam, "who attached herself to Krsāspa" and in after-days became the public calamity of Vāikrta-Gōzgān, *Vid.*1,9 (cf. 19,5). No other passage speaks of her. The name, without inflection, sounds foreign. The *Pahl.Vid.* replaces it by kāmakīh "desire," and explains "for idol-worship." It renders upa-hačat (=obsequi) mechanically by apar-apākēnīt, denom. of apāk "along with"=to keep company. This does not contain any moral blame, as does Bartholomae's "die Krsāspa verführte." But a secondary comment, not to upa-hačat but to apar-apākēnīt, says: "MNV.š ГN.krt 'LH.š'n.č ГN.-'BYDVN.šn L' P'N.d't'." ГN, inscr. KN, is ideogr. of ōh, ōs < avaθa, "thus, so." Hence: "who by him was thus-made; yet thus-making them was unlawful." Possibly ГN < KN masks a crude word. Nyberg 317: "Die parikā gehören zum alten Glauben der Tūrer, Krsāspa's Verbindung mit einem solchen Wesen muss aus einem rein turischen, vorzarathustrischen Kranz von Sagen um seine Person stammen: in nicht geringem Grade der Grund der Animosität des späteren Zoroastrismus gegen ihn," who, 207, "wie Zarathustra eine verborgener Mahdi und die populärste Heroengestalt der Urgemeinde, eine Art turischer Herakles war." The facts of that far past were always known, and the remarkable veering round of public opinion remains unexplained. "Liaison with such a creature" sounds like gossip of a coffee circle; the motive of those who made the epic cycle would rather be envy. The medical meaning of such "fairy visits"—an expression still in use—is made clear by an anecdote in *Aghāni*, 12,85f., after al-Madā'inī, where Dja'far, a son of al-Manṣūr dies of them. No heroic figure belongs so manifestly to a well defined region as the Sāma Krsāspa, viz. the Sāmāna in Harahvatiš and Zranka. In the Shāhnāmah his legend goes under the name Rustam, who is Sakānšāh, king of Sakastān-Arachosia.

Bartholomae *Wb.*: "vielleicht eigentl. parikā, fem. zu *paraka, später in Angleichung an jahīkā parīkā > parī." Certainly the original meaning of parīkā is foreign women, singers, musicians, dancers, like the women of the Qenite genealogy in the OT., gipsies before the gipsies. If originally an ethnic, the people might be the parikánioi; else, "from beyond, foreigners" in general. The Iranian "peries" are as famous as the Muhammedan "houries," but nothing is known of the "old belief of the Tura"; all we know of them is their name and the name of their country Tūr in Khwārizm.

As far back as historical knowledge goes, namely to Cyrus, the Duāb was inhabited by Aryan, at least Aryan-speaking tribes. The most distant were the Sakā, divided in several branches, therefore in OP. always in plural form, as against the coll.sg. of other Aryan peoples. Their language, now known, belongs to the Aryan branch of IE., but the sculptures, most manifestly those of Artaxerxes II's time, differentiate them somatically from the Aryans. Therefore, they must be a non-Aryan nation that had accepted an Aryan language. Two of them, hōmavrgā and tigraχōdā, lived on and beyond the Jaxartes; the Hecataean tribute list in Herodotus gives three names: Ἀμύργιοι, Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι and Παρικάνιοι. They did not move until the second century B.C.

The Sakā on the Jaxartes are not the Tūrā in Khwārizm, and all the less the Scythians. Herodotus makes a typical mistake in saying, VII,64: "The Persians call all Scythians Sákai"; it is the Greeks that call all Sakā Scythians, a term for Asiatic nomads derived from *skūča, reflected by Ass. iškūza, Hebr. aškūz, (cf. the n.pr. Skózos), name of the first of them to enter the Greek horizon at the time of the Cimmerian invasion of Asia Minor. Gr. Skýthai is no ethnic unit; the Persians cannot know the name of a tribe that perished in Asia Minor before their time, and the Awesta does not mention any Sakā. The Aw. adj. rviχōδa is not syn. of OP. "tigraχōδa, with pointed tiara," but means "with bronze helmets."

The inadequate name "Skythen" in Nyberg's remark, 251, "Turer und Sarima vertreten die Skythen" cannot obliterate the fact that the language of the gatha, which in his opinion were composed in their country, is neither a Saka dialect nor Sarmatic. 262: "Alle Kämpfe [between Eran and Turan] haben ihren Ursprung im Übergang des [im-

aginary] Friyāna-Stammes zur Mithra-Religion and dem daraus folgenden Gegensatz gegen die andren Turer. Religiös gesprochen spiegeln sie den Kampf zwischen Mithra-Religion und alter turischer Religion." The Iranian heroic epic is no more the result of theological disputes than the *Ilias*, and the Aryans did not appropriate a non-Aryan epopee, nor identify themselves with a group of non-Aryans.

What actually happened is obvious: To the Median poet of *Yt.*10,8 —see under 'Mithra'—the enemy at the western frontier, arzahī, on the Tigris, were the Assyrians and Babylonians, besides the aborigines of Media. The verses are so close to the historical events that the facts are truly remembered. The fights of the period of immigration are the foundation of all later legend. They were told after the pattern of an older myth, and thus an epic tale of Θrētōna and AžiDahāka came into being, the locality of which was and always remained the West. Historical figures like Bōχtnarseh = Nebuchadnezzar, Balātnarseh = balāṭšu.uṣur = Daniel, later drawn into this mythical history, remain in Babylon, Nineveh or Dašt i Tāžīkān, Djazīrat al-'Arab. When the Frahrasyā-Husravah myth was formed after the same model, they all were called Tūra, an easy change of name from a*θ*ūra. Of the Θrētōna myth we have only a phase late in comparison to its age, and the place names, varəna as that of the hero, bawroiš as that of his adversary, are not necessarily of one and the same phase.

At the original place, *Yt.*5,33, Θrētōna prays upa varnam ča*θ*rugōšam, that he might kill AžiDahāka, and vice versa Ažidahāka prays in *Yt.* 5,29 "bāwēroš pati dahyavā, in the province of Babylon." AžiDahāka, to whom the later legend gives a full millennium of rule over Iran—i.e. the time before the Median empire, when western Iran was an Assyrian province—was a foreigner. In "bawroiš" of the text Darmesteter had recognized Babylon, see under 'Ardvī.' Meillet called this "évident" and discussed in *Orient.Stud. Pavry* 302, the grammatical form of the name. I consider the Aw. and the OP. form to be identical: bābēru > MP. bāwēr, gen.abl. bābēroš. In Aramaic too, in Ezra and Daniel, and thence in Egyptian, the first syllable is always defectively written, hence BBYRVŠ, transcribed into Aw. script with wrong position of Y as bawroiš, BBRVYŠ. This is proved by the fact that the verse is one syllable short: the Y belongs between B and R. One cannot infer from "Babylon" that

this was the primary habitat of the dragon, but one can infer that at the time of the immigration the fights with Babylonians and Assyrians were told after the pattern of the primeval dragon myth, and that this became located in the West.

AžiDahāka has a second place in *Yt.*15,19, viz. Kurinta dužita, a name which can only have been introduced when the Iranians had advanced so far west, in the eighth century, because it is El. karintaš (about 1700 B.C., from Kass. karaindaš), in Isidorus Char. Kárina (=karind), still today Kirind, a place situated in a most impressive gorge, above the natural frontier between Iran and 'Irāq, the Ṭāq i Girrā pass.

Not far from Kirind is the Ḥaramkhānah i Shahrbānū, a cave in a vertical rock. Like the same name of a cave near the citadel of Ragā, this is the Shiite interpretation of a very old sanctuary of the goddess of earth, who took refuge in the rock before her pursuer AžiDahāka. The *Šahrh.Ēr.* mention this old legend in Sīstān. The sanctuaries correspond to the many "Svarog" places and "Mägdesprung" in Slavic countries and in Germany.[11] At the Sasanian epoch Kurinta dužita was also shifted to Kulangdiz i dužīt in Lāristān, Fārs, along with the shifting of the whole myth of the dragon, kirm, to Kirmān.[12] It is only natural that tales which the immigrants brought with them from their old home migrated with their bearers and were fixed at various places in the new land.

Θrētōna's place involves a much greater problem. In *Yt.*5,33 upa varnam čaθrugōšam, varna is bisyllabic. The adj. varənya appears in the Hōšyanha myth, the short fragment *Yt.*5,22, prototype of all other repetitions of the formula:

yaθa azam nījanāni	duvē θrišvē māzanyānām
dēvānām varənyānāmča	druvatām

At their original place in the epic such sentences were in narrative form; it is only in the Aw. yashts that they receive the form: "grant me that I . . ." Therefore, the meter has no argumentative power for

[11] To the notes in AMI.II,66, IV,421 *AltpJnschr.*227, I may add, from Hübschmann, *Armen.Ortsnamen* 444, the sanctuary of the Hvarnavaz rock "leap of the bride," in the canton Cluk.k' in Siunik, NE. Armenia.

[12] Cf. AMI.II,67ff.

formal corrections. druvatām is a specific Zoroastrian term by which the mazdayasnian redaction adapted the fragment to the yasht. The same faulty drugvant is added e.g. to the Gandarwa verses in *Yt.*5,38, see under 'Sculpture.' Entirely safe, as genuine quotation from the epic, are only the words

duvē θrišvē māzanyānām dēvānām varənyānāmča

"two thirds of the dēva of Mazan and of the varənya" (those of Varəna) and these are two correct octosyllables when reading varunya trisyllabic.

Both forms, varna and varunya, are authentic. Hertel came back to a long abandoned equation Ir. var(u)na=Ol. varuṇa=Gr. *οὐρανός*. Its epithet čaθrugōša syn. of čaθrusūka, term of the four cardinal points—see under 'Kršvar'—is an epithet typical for the heaven. var(u)na is the heaven. The *Pahl.Vid.* quotes to 1,14: "Θrētōna was born there." The old god Θrētōna-Θrita was born in heaven, which in the original myth was called varuna. That is the last rest of the word in Iranian.

varunya is *οὐράνιος*, varunya dēva is *θεοὶ οὐράνιοι*. A forgotten and misinterpreted synonym was "manyavā dēvā, heavenly gods," see under 'Harvatāt.' *Dēnk.*9, ch.21 (ed. Sanjana vol.17,55) describes the māzandarān < māzanyā dēvā as giants, the water of the sea goes up to their middle, at the deepest places to their chin; they are cave-dwellers, and their fights are in the bālištīh, "heights" either of mountains or of the atmosphere. In the *Ayātk.Zām.*, Messina IV,34, they come walking through the sea to invade Θrētōna's χvaniras, and to eat men, until he defeats them. This is not a mythical description of an autochthonous population, but a genuine myth. The giants come from another kršvar, and their home, varna, was not on earth.

A scholion to Hesiod, *Theogony* v.139, quotes Hellanicus saying: "There are three kinds of Cyclopes, (1) the builders of the walls of Mycene, (2) the Homeric savages, but (3) the gods themselves, *αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ*. And v.502 of the theogony calls the Cyclopes *οὐρανίδαι*. Aristides, *Rhetor*, ed. Dindorf III,408, says almost with Hellanicus' words: (1) those in the Odyssee, (2) the *χειρογάστορες* (wall-builders), (3) *τοὺς καλουμένους Οὐρανίους*. The cyclopic *οὐράνιοι* or *οὐρανίδαι* and the gigantic varunyā dēvā, both isolated and half forgotten, seem to be two remnants of one conception of remote antiquity.

Perhaps this myth had been located on the southern shore of the

Caspian. The commentary to *Vid.*1 (see under 'Vidēvdād, Varna'), tries to locate the mythical places in the political country Varna of the Arsacid period, but the identifications are contradictory and only given as alternatives. There was no real knowledge.

In making the opposition of good and evil the basis of his dualistic doctrine, Zoroaster started from ideas existing before. The Iranians saw essential qualities in natural enmity between certain animals; they saw antipathy and antithesis between things, qualities, thoughts etc., and the Bundahishn devotes a whole chapter to this antithetic structure of thoughts. In the political field it is ārya and anārya, the latter comprising all the rest of the world as naturally opposed to ārya. Though anārya appears in the Awesta only in *Yt.*18,2; 19,68, *Vid.*1,17, —none of them a really old passage—the notion is old and existed long before it became part of the title "king of kings of Ērān and Anērān." The notion goes far beyond the Greek distinction of Greeks and Barbarians, which essentially means the difference of language. It is a deep-rooted way of thinking, dominant also in esthetics: to the antithetic symmetry of abstract thoughts corresponds the urge for symmetric antithesis in Iranian art, from its first to its last works.

Because of this basic thought, the legend transformed the many enemies of the only Iranians into one hostile nation, the Anāryans, between which two existed a permanent, natural, hereditary enmity. This became the leitmotif of the epics. Ctesias is the first to give expression to this dominant idea in telling how Parsŏndas, chief of the aboriginal Cadusii, the Tūra Frahrasyā of the epopee, when dying, made his people swear eternal enmity with the Iranians. Ctesias' work has from the beginning been criticized as wholly romantic, in antiquity because the Greeks refused to accept his tales as the history which the Persians believed their legend to be, and in our times because one failed to see that what he tells is the early phase of the Shāhnāmah.

A purely negative name like anārya could not satisfy popular legend, and gradually the name Tūrya of the oldest enemy, the one who had murdered his younger brother Ārya, supplanted it. This generalization was made easy by the existence of so many Tūryan enemies. Just as the country which one imagined under the name Ērānvēž—derived from the genuine topic term vējo vahvyā dātiyayā—was indeed the

original home of the Aryans, but unreal as a political term, thus Tūrān is derived from the genuine ethnic Tūra, but unhistorical as a political term. Ērānvēž is an artificial name of the original home of the Aryans, Tūrān an artificial name for the country of their enemies. The country was in both cases the Duāb of Turkistān, but it never bore these names. When these were created the recollection had not quite vanished that the people had immigrated from abroad in a faraway past, but the country of origin had become a myth. The fact that the Iranians live in Ērānšahr dominates the whole conception of the epopee, and had the effect that their own forgotten homeland became the home of their enemies, first Anērān, then Tūrān. We have the double antithesis of Ērānšahr:Ērānvēž and of Ērān:Anērān=Tūrān.

In the fifth century H., the proper name Tūrānšāh, with its fem. equivalent Tūrānduχt—Schiller's Turandot—appears among the Turkish Seljuks of Kirmān, in the sixth century also among the Kurdish Ayyūbids of Syria, and among the successors of the Ortoqids is a queen 'iṣmat al-dunyā wa l-dīn Tūrān-malik of Baiburt, in 632 H. In the seventh century H. the Ṣalgharids of Fārs use the title marzbān i Tūrān beside Xusrau i Īrān, Rustam i Zāl i zamān. These dynasties were Turks and Kurds, and felt themselves as Tūra; with them the word has no inimical connotation. But behind all this is no historical tradition, it is merely the effect of the Shāhnāmah, which all peoples accepted to be the real world's history, as which the Iranians presented it to them. This attitude towards the Shāhnāmah is the same as that of Muhammedan and Christian nations towards the Old Testament.

Markwart believed the confusion of the old ethnological notions to have begun at the time of the Sakā immigration, 140-126 B.C.; in the third and fourth centuries A.D. one could state that no Aryan tribes lived any more in the Duāb of Turkistan. Meanwhile, the mythical name Tūrān would have been transferred to those countries. As a matter of fact, these shifts took place independently of the changes in the ethnography of the Oxus and Jaxartes region, and considerably earlier. Nöldeke had recognized and described the significance of the early Arsacid epoch for the formation of the later Shāhnāmah, and Markwart contributed much more material in proof of it. The use of the terms anārya

and tūrya for the later Tūrān is attested in *Vid.*1,17 and 19 already before the Sakā migration.

*Vid.*1,19: upa uδēšu ranhayå, country on the waters of the Ranhā, Jaxartes; Ahriman's counter-creation is a hard winter and tōžya dahyuš awištāro, "tōž-ian raiders of the province," and *Vid.*1,17, in Varna: anārya dahyuš awištāro, "anāryan raiders." The Aw. text of the *Pahl. Vid.* separates dahyuš and awištar, a better reading than the compound of other mss. dahyuš may represent acc.pl. or gen.sg. The *Pahl. Vid.* translates awištāro by apar.mānišnīh, and explains the unusual term, where it first occurs, under "Ruva," by "'MT.š mys'ny' MDM.KTLVN.d, i.e. kā.š (or kē.š) mēsānāyē apar.mānēnd, since (or: where) the people of Mēsān remain there 'above' (or 'about')," meaning either that the Zoroastrians lived among such a majority (probably of Manichaeans) or in their close neighborhood, Gath. nazdištā druχš. Bartholomae explained awištar as awi.ištar to √ēs-, "owner," with dahyuš "Landesherr." Wackernagel in *Indo-Iran.* KZ. 61, 190f. (accepted by Duchesne): "abi.š(tā)tar, people making raids." The sense is right, but not the etymology. Shāhpuhr I writes in *Ka'ba*, Pahl. l.16-17: "YB'.t, i.e. vχāst, or YB'H.m, i.e. vχāham, Gr. ἐζητήσαμεν, we raided (lit. searched) Syria and Cilicia." This "searching" consists in (11.5 and 12) "Pahl. 'trvχt 'vyrn v vrty'z 'BD.t, Pārs. 'tvrsvχty v 'vyl'n v vlty'č krty; Gr. ἐκαύσαμεν, ἠρημώσαμεν, ἠχμαλωτίσαμεν, burning, devastating, making prisoners." Thus, awištar belongs to √ēš- "to search." Skr. iṣati in gáviṣṭi "cow-search = raid" reveals quite a psychology. In Arab. ghazw "raid," ghāzi "raider" correspond exactly.

The *Gr.Bdh.*215, chapter on calamities, describes such raids: "andar χvatāyīh ē Šāhpuhr ē Ohrmizdān tāčīkān āmat hēnd u.šān Ulāi rōtbār grift ut vas sāl pat asvār tāčišn dāšt tāk Šāhpuhr ō χvatāyīh mat avēšān tāčīkān spōχt u šahr ačiš stat etc., under the reign of Shāhpuhr II the Arabs had come and occupied the bank of the Ulai river (of Susa) and had made for many years inroads on horseback, until Shāhpuhr came to the throne, repulsed the Arabs and freed the country of them." The same happened at the NE frontier exposed to the inroads of the Chionites. Gobineau has made these conditions famous by his *La guerre des Turcomans.* The *Vidēvdād* passages show these conditions already in the Arsacid period. In Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Syria it was the same: the picture is typical for the life of an agricultural population

with open boundaries along a steppe inhabited by nomads. Like the Romans in the West, the Arsacids and Sasanids built their limes and instituted margravates, marzbān, against them. It is significant that the Sasanian princes were not margraves "of a region," but "against" the foreign country, thus pāhrag ē Kūšān, "watch against Kūšān," marzbān i Tūrān "margrave against Tūrān," etc.

The adj. tōžya is unexplained: it is a syn. of anārya which it specifies; it is a deriv. of *tōča, *tūča, pseudo-Aw. notation of MP. tūč < Aw. tūrya, as a genuine old text ought to write.

In this passage of the early Arsacid period, the oldest testimony for the identity of anārya and tūrya, the notion Anērān-Tūrān is defined as counter-creation of Ahriman against Ērān. At the same time, the two places, Varna and Ranhā determine its geographical extent: the merely negative Anērān is all the low land to the north of the Iranian plateau, which in the course of history became more and more "Anāryan."

XL. MĀDA-PĀRSA

This country Pārsa, the lovely,
with the good horses, the good men!
—Darius

The gatha never mention an Iranian ethnical or geographical name, the Awesta only a few, and Māda and Pārsa are not among them. But the Assyrian annals mention the Māda and Parsua-Pārsa often, for the first time in 843 B.C., and allow us to recognize the last movements just before the immigration of the various tribes came to a final standstill.

There is only one way for great masses of men and cattle to enter the Iranian highland from the northern plains, namely through the wide natural gate near Saraχs, the valley of the Herāt and Mashhad Rivers. Through this gate the Dāha entered in the third century B.C., and turned towards Tōsa in Khurasan. The Sakā who overran the whole of Iran in the second century may have taken both ways, to Tōsa and to Herāt. The first Indo-Aryan immigration must have taken the road from Saraχs via Herāt to Sárasvatī.

The Harēva, "Aribi of the rising sun" of the Assyrian annals, seem to have settled first in southern Khurasan, Kōhistān, then in the richer Herāt valley to which they gave their name Harēv = Arab. Herāt. And with them the Thamanaioi, OP. Θāmāna, Aw. sāma—never mentioned before the Achaemenian period—must have come, probably before the foundation of the Median empire in 678 B.C., by way of Harēv to Arachosia-Harahvatī. There they may have still run against Indo-Aryans, cf. the remarks on OI. dásyu and árya under 'Social Structure.' One indication is: Esarhaddon mentions the region u.ra.ka.za.bar.na, i.e. *vrka.zbarna, beyond the Caspian Gates in Parthian territory, hence apparently containing vrkāna as the first element; and in *RV*.II,30,4 the n.propr. or ethn. vrkadvaras appears, Hertel, *Siegesf.* 25: "in halb iranischer Form, mit d statt dh," as name of an enemy of the Indians in fights on the Sárasvatī.[1]

Who turns west towards Tōsa has no choice but must go on and pass Xvār-Choarene, the narrow strip of watered land between the high Alburz and the salt desert, to the Caspian Gates, the κλησίδες γαίης Ἀσιητίδος. The mountains behind Xvār are MP. padišχvār.

[1] Cf. Gath. dvar- in Y.30,6; Aw. dvar- in Yt.19,49 (ApāmNapāt myth) for the movement of the snake AŋiDahāka, later of all "dēvs"; and cf. zbar- in syn. use.

OP. inscriptions have the vrddhi ethn. pātišhvariš, Strabo *C.*727, παρεισχορεῖς. The name first appears in the Esarhaddon annals, 680-675 B.C.: "patuš.arra, a region at the border of the salt desert in the land of the 'distant Medes,' at the foot of Mount Bikni, the mountain of uknu [El. ikni, lapislazuli], the soil of whose country none of the kings, my ancestors, had ever trodden." The Bikni is the Demawand, an old epithet, MP. dunbāvand < *dunmavant "cloud-capped." In the valley south of it lies Fīrūzkūh.[2] The name Bikni survives in Bīnah, Bīn Kūh between Fīrūzkūh and Xvār.[3]

Xvār is OIr. *hvāra < Ar. *sŭāra; patišhvāra is a sandhi formation, Duchesne §18, Ar. *pati.sŭara > *patišvāra. The two names are a pair. After *sŭāra had become hvāra, an h was developed in patišhvāra to maintain the similarity with the simplex. The reality of this phonetic development s > š > šh is proved by OP. hamaranakara ahmi hušhamaranakara in *NiR.b.* The Greeks heard pātišhvāriš > παρεισχορεῖς, surviving in padišχvār.gar e.g. ibn Khurdādhbih 17.

The phenomenon was so common that wrong analogies were formed: Sargon, *annals* year 9, 713 B.C., mentions (after parnuatti < *vharnauhati) a Median town in Ellipi, bīt-Daiaukki or Aralli, i.e. SE of Agbatana, called ap.sa.ḫu.ut.ti, i.e. afšhvati < *afš.vatī, fem. (Duchesne §22); *Yt.*17, 9 and 10 has barzišhāvant, *Wb.*: "schrullenhaft geschrieben," the same case: h restituted although the š was no h. The Assyrians heard actually *afšhvatī. Consequently, forms like OP. nišādaya to √had-, Aw. višāvaya (*Vid.*2,31) to √hu-, armēšad (in *Y.*62,8 against armē.had in *Y.*13,73) are the living continuation of Aryan words. The type pātišhvāri, purušhvāθra (*Yt.*19,54; 10,108, against puru.hvāθra), manyušhvarθa (against manyu.stāta) descend from older forms without h and are assimilated to the simplex. Compounds like armē.had, puru.hvāθra: παραχοάθρας etc. are Iranian neologisms.

[2] firūzah = turquoise and lapislazuli; the equation uknu:firūzah explains a passage in the Syr. Alexander romance, left unexplained by Nöldeke, p.16: "of the (precious stone) ﻟﺎﺟﻮﺭﺩ which is called ﻓﻴﺮﻭﺯﻩ in Persian." The first word apparently renders Akk. uknu, the second MPārs. pyrwz, Pahl. prgwz.

[3] *biγni > bīn, cf. F. Stahl, *Zur Geologie v. Persien* II, Peterm.Mitt. Erg.Heft 122, 1897, p.6. Also "Kūh i Bīl near Ray" *Yāqūt* 1,798, *Altpersinschr.*233. Aw. BYN in *Yt.*19,3 vocalized "bayana."

patišhvāra, as a local name forming pair with *hvāra, proves that, when the two regions east of the Caspian Gates received those names, *svāra was still the spoken form. The change s > h, one of the main marks of distinction between Aryan and Iranian dialects, had not yet taken place or was just happening. At the time of the immigration the Aryan dialects passed over into Iranian ones, on the Iranian plateau. The language of the original home, Ērānvēž, was Aryan.

In 843 the Aryans appear for the first time in Assyrian annals, inhabiting the Kirmānshāh region. They must have reached the Caspian Gates before, but not very long before that time. The decades around 900 B.C. are the years of the immigration and before that time one cannot speak of truly "Iranian" dialects. From the annals one can trace the order in which the Aryan tribes came and the ways they took: they follow the main natural roads of Iran. Pārsa and Māda advanced from the Caspian Gates on the road leading to Babylon, the Pārsa at the head, the Māda behind them. The Pārsa went down the 'aqabat Hamadān, the hvanvant pass of the Rχša myth, and settled in the Kirmānshāhān region, where they ran against the Assyrians. The land from the Caspian Gates near east of Ragā to the pass near east of Hamadan was occupied by the Māda. One tribe, speaking a Persian dialect—if that is the meaning of Herodotus' remark VII,86—the Asagrta, Ass. zikirti or Zikirtaja, took the northwestern road from Ragā via Kazwīn, Qahvaδ (Ass. kitpat), Abhar (Ass. appatara) to Tawrīz (Ass. tarwakisa), where the Urartaeans stopped them; they are mentioned in 719 and 713 between the two last towns, but in 522 we find them round Arbela, in Assyria proper, which they cannot have occupied before 612, date of the destruction of Nineveh. Their name survives in old Arm. syerth, syerd (Hübschmann, *Altarmen.Ortsnamen* 321f.), Arab. Si'ird on the northern Tigris tributary. If their language was indeed Persian, asawould be aspa "horse." A Median tribe, the Saparda,[4] take the southern road from Ragā, through Kum (Ass. Ambanda, Sas. Kamindān) to Isfahan, where the Elamites stopped them.

The chronicle of the "Fall of Nineveh" and other Neo-Babylonian texts, in the archaic style of their chancery, give the Māda the name

[4] Cf. Gath. sprd-, OI. sprdh- "certamen."

ummān Manda, which they took from a work like the great omina-collection of the Assurbanipal library, in which older sources were used. The name appears also in versions of the NarāmSīn legend from Babylonia and Boghazköi, but in no original old text. §54 of the Hittite Code stipulates franchises for certain trading towns and professions, among them ummān Manda, at first believed to be an ethnic name, but, as Landsberger has proved, meaning "any one, lit. who knows which." No support remains for interpreting as Iranian "māda" the word ma.da in the date of year 17 of Ammiditana, great-grandson of Hammurapi "in which he vanquished Araḫab ^{la}ma.da." This last word means nothing but "mātu, land"; for instance Subartu and Anšan were "ma.da," and the real name is dropped. No Iranian Māda can appear in the early second millennium, and there were never any Manda in Iran. There was the country "Man," later Āδarbaijān, S. and E. of the Urmiya Lake; and the derivative *man.ti, formed like Armen. regional names, e.g. enzi.te, andzi.t, or the Kass. adj. kassi.t.ri, produced Gr. Mantiané, Matiēne, name of Atropatene before Alexander. But just this fifth of Media, the most advanced in civilization before the Medes came, was never entirely occupied by them.

The Medes were a whole group of tribes, among which already the Assyrians distinguish by epithets like "mighty, distant, of the East." Herodotus reckons six "tribes." In later periods Media consisted of five parts: Hamadan, Nihāwand, Isfahan, Ray and Āδarbāijān. These parts cannot be reconciled with Herodotus' tribes, four names of which are hapax legomena, in 1,101: Παρητακηνοί, Βοῦσαι, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζάντοι, Βούδιοι and Μάγοι.

With the magi we have dealt under 'Social Structure'; they were no genetic tribe, but a social fiction of a tribe, a class. Only of the Παρητακηνοί we know that they gave their name to one of the fifths of Media, namely to Isfahan-Paraitakēnē. The name entered into the official designation of the whole satrapy which was Μηδία καὶ Παραιτακηνή, and so it is used by Ctesias and Eratosthenes. The same name was given to the middle course of the Hilmand River, in Arachosia, according to Isidorus. This region was called rūdbār "fluviatile," in the Middle Ages; syn. of Gr. parapotamía, as Polybius v,51 calls the similar middle course of the Euphrates. That is also the meaning of *paraitaka, cf. vi.ita.āpa, as recognized by Markwart, UGE II,33; without a long extension on a

river, the word means "oasis." Paraitakene in Arachosia is at the same time called Sakastane after its inhabitants, and so the Ass. Saparda were the inhabitants of Isfahan-Paraitakene.

Στρούχατες has been interpreted already by J. Oppert as an Ir. name in -h.vant; Nyberg 334: "sravahvatah, plur. of sravahvant." If so, the name would be an appellative of the "helden lobebaeren" of the epics (see under 'Yama χšēta'). Gr. str- can represent Ir. sr-, e.g. στρόγγυλος (on the Persian Gulf) for θriangura (*Gr.Bdh.*112,3); χοστρόης and χοσδρόης for husravah in the Awramān parchments; καλύστριοι < *karva + sar + ya "baldheads" in Ctesias' *Indika*, if the text transmission is right. But in Media one would expect -vat, not -χat; cf. hvanvatī > Onoadas (*Tab.Peut.*) > Arab. χunwaδ; or sikayahvatī > Sakawand, OP. θikā "pebbles." As river and placenames these are formed from the fem.sg., as is harahvatī > Raχvaδ, or Ass. karsibuti < kršivatī, Zanǰān region, whereas tribal names are formed from the sg.m., and give the mod. ending -wand. Iranian tribal names are used only in coll. singular. On the other hand, there is the Ir. name sutrišna, or sathrughna (Arab. usrūshana or ushrūsana). *strušna, *struγna, with which στρούχατες may be compared.

Arizantoi, according to Oppert, would be "ārya.zantu, Aryan tribe." Such are all of them; it would be no name. One may rather think of aγriya or arǰant in arǰat.aspa. The name appears only once; if one may doubt the textual transmission, it would be *θριζάντοι, the name of the inhabitants of Ragāθrizantuš, one of the fifths of Media.

Βούδιοι < *baudiya, to √bud-, is no vrddhi of the name of the demon būδī (Nyberg 341); būδi, būti belong to Buddha, nor is the tribe "a caste of priests occupied with oracles." The analogy "Stadt Kunduru in Medien zu dem Götterpaar Kundī und Kunda gehörig; wenn so, muss sie ein altes ḫashīsh-Nest gewesen sein" is of no avail. Kunduruš (in *Beh.*), Ḫundur of Sargon, in 714 B.C., today Mong. Quṭur, is a town of Media only insofar as this included the whole of Armenia before Darius reorganized the satrapies: it is an Armenian town. Būδi, and likewise Kunda, Kundī do not appear before the *Vidēvdād* and were no deposed gods; the only thing said about them is that they were permanently drunk even without "bang." The only historical name known to me which could be linked to Βούδιοι is the family name of the

Būyids, ahl al-Bōya(k).[8] Of the Boûσαι we know nothing. Following the above mentioned argumentation one could say "worshippers of the deva Būžī of *Y.*4,2-3, and the booze, NP. būza, she personifies."

In 843, the year in which the Assyrian annals first mention the Pārsa, they spell their name parzua; the country is called bīt Ḫamban, i.e. Kampanda-Behistūn, and was still ruled, as of old (since 1200) by a ianzu, a king of the old Cossaean house of the mārē Ḫanban. In 835, and ever since, the name is written Parsua, and the tribe is in possession of the country: one observes just the moment of their descending from the high plateau of Hamadan into that richest horse country of antiquity, the pastures of the Nēsaean horses. The Assyrians prevent their farther advance. In 744, TiglathPileser III made Parsua-Kirmānshāhān an Assyrian province; in 716 Sargon added Ḫarḫār and fortified it "for the purpose of subduing the country of the mighty Medes," those of Hamadan, a purpose actually achieved in 713 B.C. Ḫarḫār plays the role of Nihāwand at the time of the Arab conquest and is Nihāwand-Niphauanda. But the Assyrians did not keep their conquests for long: all was lost in 678, with the foundation of the Median empire.

In the record of the eighth campaign of Sanherib (704-681), troops of Parsua, Anzan, Ellipi (appr.=Saparda, old El. Simaš) and others were fighting on the side of the Babylonians and the Elamite Humanumena III (692-689) against the Assyrians at the battle of Ḫalūlē. The mention side by side of Parsua and Anzan of course does not disprove the later identity of Anzan and Pārsa. Assurbanipal, in documents dated between 642 and 639, calls Cyrus I, šar parsuwaš, i.e. king of Pārsa. In the use of Parsuwa the Assyrians follow their old chancery style. The migration from Parsua-Kirmānshāhān to Pārsa-Fārs must have taken place between 690 and 640, and probably between 680 (accession of Esarhaddon) and 670 (one generation before Cyrus I); it was not an effect of the destruction of Elam in 640. The very last decades of Elamite history are unknown; the prophecy of *Jeremiah* xlix,34ff. "against Elam, in the beginning of the kingdom of Zedekiah, king in Juda" may refer to the occupation of the country by the Persian tribe of the Huvaža,

[8] One may also compare the name Bōhak, *Kārn.Art.*: Ardašīr founded the town Rāmiān Artaxīr when Bōhak of Isfahan declared his allegiance. In the Šāhnāmah Bōhak is prince of Čihrum, i.e. Jahrum in Fārs, which the *Kārn.Art.*, under the form Čarham, calls the residence of Māhrōk i Anōšakžāt, and which Ardašīr gives to Burǰak and Burzātur.

Hūža, to be dated, in that case, in 594 B.C. This would be the last movement with which the immigration, that started in about 900 B.C., came to an end.

According to the Nabunāïd Chronicle, Cyrus II, having conquered Agamtanu in 550 B.C., carried the spoil to his residence Anšan; in the parallel record of Ctesias, in Nicolaus, the placenames are Agbatana and Pasargadae. As the Assyrians go on using parsuwa, thus the Babylonians follow their own chancery style in using Anšan. In his Babylonian cylinder l.12 Cyrus says: "Marduk pronounced the name Ku.ra.aš šar ^{al}an.šá.an," and l.13: "he humbled under his feet ^{mat}gu.ti.i gi.mir um.-man man.da, the country Guti, all the umman-manda, he allowed his hands to conquer the niše^{pl} ṣal.mat qaqqadu, black-head people." Anšan is the town of Cyrus in Pārs, Pasargadae; Guti is Agbatana, Māda; and the black-heads are the Babylonians. In his Akkadian protocols, Cyrus king of Pārsa is styled šar Anšan, but in the 9th year of Nabunāïd the variant šar Parsu appears. So the equation anšan-parsuwa-parsu-pārsa is proved. Quite apart from it, one can trace the history of Anšan back to the middle of the third millennium B.C., to Rimuš and Maništusu, sons of Sargon of Akkad, and it is always the same land, Fārs, an integrant part of the Elamite empire even before Sargon of Akkad.

This empire consisted of four parts, as the Elamite inscriptions teach, and as the inscription of Ilu.mutabbil of Dēr (time of Gugunum of Larsa) clearly expresses, who calls himself "conqueror of Anšan, Elam, Simaš and Paraḫšu," i.e. Fārs (S.), Khūzistān (center), Bakhtiyārī and Isfahān (E.) and Kirmānshāhān (N.), that means "of the whole of Elam." Rimuš who defeated Abalgamaš, king of Paraḫše, calls himself in Ur n° 9 "nēr ēlamtim^{ki} u paraḫši^{ki}, conqueror of Elam and Paraḫše"; NarāmSîn, whose original treaty with Elam is partly preserved, had extended the conquests of his predecessor to "Elam as a whole, including Paraḫše." Šulgi, one of the early god-kings of Sumer and Akkad, at whose time Gudea ruled as iššak over Lagaš, owned all these lands, and made one daughter "nam.nim, Lady"—possibly in the sense of El. "amma hastuk, matriarch" of mar.ḫa.ši, while another daughter married the iššak of Anšan. The spelling mar.ḫa.ši is due to the later redactor of the date-lists; the original must have had paraḫše, as the use of this form in the younger inscription of Ilu.mutabbil proves.

But since the time of Hammurapi marḫaši is the only Babylonian or-

thography. Agu.kakrime, the Cossaean king who extended the Kassite rule over Akkad and Babylon in about 1600, comprises the country in his protocol under the name of his homeland kaššū, i.e. Luristan in the widest application, but he speaks three times of the marcasite stone[6] which was found according to Ḥamdallāh, *nuzhat* 206, in Little Lur. Not much later, in the Kirkūk tablets, the name appears as paḫarašše (with variants) in the Subaraean dialect of Arrapḫa, the region east of the Tigris and bordering on the Kirmānshāhān region. This form is closer to old paraḫše than Akk. marḫaši. Later glossaries explain marḫaši by pa.ra.ši.i (gen.), a form used in Hittite texts from Boghazköi, which is also the late Elamite form.[7] Just as Sanherib in 690 speaks of "troops of Parsua and Anzan etc.," an Elamite list of the time of Tepti. Humban.Inšušnak, about 660 B.C., enumerates among sacrificing officials those of parašu and ancan.[8] Thus, Ass. parsua and El. parašu both descend from paraḫše of the third millennium. OP. pārsa is an ethnic, derived with vrddhi from a topic name *parsa. The name which the Assyrians render by parsua, parsuwa, is treated like Aryan *parśua > OP. *parsa, Med. *parspa. This is another phonetic change characteristic for the transition of Aryan into Iranian, attested in 843, not long after that of *śuāra, *patišuara > *hvāra, patišhvāra, and corroborates the thesis.

The Pārsa must have received their name from the country in which they resided from 843 to about 670. After their migration to Anšan, they transferred, as is the Iranian custom, their ethnic—with vrddhi—to the new home: Pārsa, Fārs.

Some Akk. vocabularies give lists of objects, like wagons, stones (e.g. marcasite) and animals, among them dogs:

(Sum.) ÚR mar.ḫa.ši = (Akk.) ka.lab pa.ra.ši.i

This is probably the Persian greyhound. The most famous product of Paraḫše, the Nēsaean horse, is not preserved in the fragments of lists. If it were, it would be:

*ANŠU.KUR.RA mar.ḫa.ši = *si.su.u pa.ra.ši.i

and we would have the documentary proof for Arab. faras being originally the name of a Nēsaean thoroughbred mare.

[6] Through Aram. marqaīthā loaned into Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Europ. languages.
[7] The h disappears regularly. [8] P. Scheil, MDP XI, 80, n° 102.

Herodotus joins to his report on Cyrus' fight against Astyages a list of the Persian "génea, tribes," a counterpart to his list of Median tribes. More manifestly than the Median list, this one is an abstract from different sources, even different in dialect; one source is Hecataeus. For the first three names, Pasargadai, Maraphioi and Maspioi, see under 'Nōtarya.'

Maspī is today a tribal name of Luristān i Puštekūh, in Layard, JRGS 16, 98-100: mastpi, cf. O. Mann, *Mundarten d. Lur-Stämme*, 1900, Einltg. p.xxiv. In Naršaχī and Ya'qūbī the name māsf, māṣf appears as that of the Zarafšān river of Samarkand. Nothing else is known about the name and the tribe.

Other agricultural tribes are the Παν*θ*ιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι, opposed to the nomads Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δρόπικοι and Σαγάρτιοι. Of these nomads scarcely one tribe is truly Persian. The Daoi, Mardoi, Dropikoi (=Derbikes) all are known sitting side by side at the SE. corner of the Caspian Sea, and the Sagartioi-Asagrta were in Assyria after the fall of Nineveh. Herodotus seems to have heard their names as auxiliarii of Cyrus against Astyages and to have inferred from it that they were Persians.

The Pasargadae were according to Herodotus the Persian "génos" to which the φρήτρη, vi*θ*, of the Achaemenids belonged. The next early mention of the name is that of Cyrus' residence in Ctesias.[9] Third, the historians of Alexander, e.g. Anaximenes of Lampsacus, and from him Arrian, Strabo and others.

Andreas denied in his lecture in Hamburg 1902 that the Pasargadae were a génos: Darius, in his genealogy "son of Vištāspa, Achaemenid, Persian, Aryan," kept strictly to the Iranian tribal constitution: (1) nmāna=Vištāspa, (2) vis=haχāmanišiya, (3) zantu=pārsa, (4) dahyu =ārya. zantu is not used in OP.; Pārsa is a dahyu, one of the largest, not a zantu, and ārya is the fifth unit above all others: āryānām χša-*θ*ram. Darius omits one step, the third, in his genealogy, and that is Herodotus' Pasargadae. Therefore, Herodotus is right in calling them a génos, Aw. zantuš. As usual, it is a topical name at the same time.

The name is only preserved in Greek. Markwart had attempted its etymology as: *pas.arkadriš, "behind (mount) Arkadriš." Long before him, Pasargadae was believed to be paišyāhvāda [p*išiy- for pēšya-,

[9] Photius, from Nicolaus b.VII, also in *Excerpt. de insidiis* and Polyaenus, *stratagemata*.

pišya-]. But that place and its mountain Arakadriš were situated much farther south, while Pasargadae was the capital of Pārsa, pre-Iranian Anšan, built by Cyrus. The distinction is historically important: Gōmāta, starting from Pēšyāhvāda, because he impersonated Brδya escaped from the islands of the exiled, had carried with him Pārsa and the whole of Iran, but the revolt of the second Pseudo-Smerdis starting from the same point, did not gain ground beyond Yutiya and Krmāna, and these two regions, not at all Pasargadae, were subsequently detached from Pārsa by Darius.

Nyberg calls Pasargadae "eine entstellte Form des reinarischen patišhuvari, die bei der nicht-arischen Bevölkerung aufkam. Nicht-arische Formen von den Griechen übernommen, z.B. Smerdis für Bardya," with footnote: "Jacobsohn, KZ 54, 1927, 260: Persische Namen durchs Lydische gegangen." The origin of the note is Markwart, UGE and *Gāth.ušt.* "p for f in parasanges fällt wohl der Vermittlung durch eine kleinasiatische Sprache wie z.B. das Lykische zur Last, die weder f noch ph besass." There are names of persons and of administration, of the Median period that passed into Greek through the medium of Anatolic dialects; Smerdis is not one of them, but is an Ionic transformation, cf. σμαραγδος < Akk. barraktu. Neither Herodotus nor Ctesias nor Anaximenes had heard Pasargadae in Asia Minor, and how could western Anatolians be the "non-Aryan population" among which Pasargadae came into use for patišhvāra? The "non-Aryan" transcriptions El. pa.t.ti.s.war.ri.s and Akk. pa.id.di.iš.ḫur.ri.iš are correct. Strabo mentions the Παρεισχορεῖς together with the Πασαργάδαι and magi, which rules out their identity, and his mistake that they were a Persian tribe is caused by the fact that Pātišhvāri was the title of the Persian clan of Gobryas as prince of Patišhvāra. The Gobryas of Cyrus was "governor of Gutium, Media"; the Gobryas of Darius is represented on the royal tomb. In the same way the Persian Vēhviya owned the Kōmisēne, next to Patišhvāra, and Vištāspa had Parθava, farther east.

The form of the name is always pasargada-; the only variant in Pliny *N.H.* VI,115, Frasargida castellum, comes from a Seleucid author. If

Ptolemy's *παρσάῤῥαχα* would mean the same place, the form is corrupt. Anaximenes explained it by *περσῶν στρατόπεδον*, which would be *pārsa dastākrta of pārsa.staχra > Istaχr. But etymology can only start from pasargada-, neither from parsa- nor -garda- (cf. Ved. gṛhá, OP. *gr∂a "pen").

In the old country of the Pārsa, the Kirmānshāhān region, Salmanassar III, obel. a° 30, 829 B.C., mentions a canton šur.di.ra, under a chief Artasiri, which the Assyrians reached from Manaš (north) and whence they "descended to Parsua-Kirmānshāhān." The region lies round Sihna-Sinna in Ardilān. In the Sargon annals, a° 6, 716 B.C., šur.ga.di.a, is the better spelling of the same placename, under an EN.ER, i.e. zantupatiš šēpašarri, an Assyrian name for OP. *χšēpayāršti (or the like). The district is added to the Assyrian province Parsua. The names šurgadia and pasargadai belong together, both as tribal names, and lead to fšu:pasu as first and something like argad- as second element. These two elements, in reversed order, form the tribal name, rendered as well by *ἀργιμπαῖοι* as by *ἀριμασποῖ* < **ἀργιμψοῖ* in Herodotus IV. Both are *argam.fšavya, derivative of the name of the Scythian Aphrodite Uraniē or Ardvīsūrā, Argim.pasa, i.e. *argant.pasu, with pasu:fšu, type fradat.fšū, vidat.fšū, see under 'Ardvī.' šurgadia < *fšurgad- and pasargadae < *pasurgad- are but a different type of composition of the same elements, though it is not clear which original sound the -d renders.[10] The ethnic *pasurgad-, *fšurgad- may survive as topic name in mod. Šulγistān not far NNE of Pasargadae.

Of Herodotus' other tribal names, *παν∂ιαλαῖοι* seems to be mod. Fahliyūn in the Mamasseni region, halfway between Fārs and Khūzistān; under the name Huhnuri "key of Anšan," its history can be traced back into the third millennium. There is the old rock-sculpture of Kurangūn, the early Achaemenian tomb of Dā u dukhtar, the ruins of an Achaemenian town, perhaps Taókē, and many other ancient remains. The name, with its only l in OIr. of the fifth century B.C., invites etymology, but Stephanus had *πεν∂ιάδαι* in his Ms.[11] *Δηρουσιαῖοι* sounds like a derivative of darγa.žīva "long-living."

[10] Cf. Gundofarr < vidat.hvarnah, type vidat.fīu, in Syr. texts farr.vindāδ etc.

[11] To *παν∂ι-* cf. Herodotus' *παντιμαθαι* at the Caspian Gates (also called "key," *κληῖδες*), Pliny's "pantitae *παρ' ὀδὸν* qui tenent Caspias Portas," hence **παντιπα(ρ)θαι* < *pati.panθya; and *Tab.Peut.* Pantyene, *Rav.* Patienas, both < *πα(ρ)θυηνή*, mod. dar-fahān, to paθana "broad." Fahliyūn < **παν∂αλιαῖοι*?

Krmāna appears only once more in Greek literature, in Berossos (Josephus, *contra Ap.*1,153) as the place where Nabunāïd was exiled by Cyrus. Fifteen hundred years earlier, the people of Anšan carried away to Fārs the last god-king of Sumer and Akkad, Ibi.Sīn. Berossus' version is right against that of Ctesias, formed after the pattern of Croesus and Astyages, where Nabunāïd becomes satrap of Karmania. Before Darius, Karmania was no satrapy, but part of Pārsa; and the far south of Iran was always a land of exile. Herodotus calls the islands in the Persian Gulf those of the "exiled," and the caliphs used them as such. The fact that Herodotus calls the Germanioi a Persian tribe shows that his source was older than Darius' reorganization of the satrapies, thus it must be Scylax of Caryanda.

It was as a punishment for having followed the two Pseudo-Smerdis that Darius separated Krmāna from Pārsa, for the people lost thereby the privilege of the Pārsa of being exempt from taxes. The same is true of the Yutiya.

The Behistūn inscription allows us to define their country exactly: §40: Vahyazdāta appears as second Pseudo-Smerdis in his home Tārava, country Yutiya. This is Ptolemy's *Ταρουανα*, inland from *Ἀρμουζα* in Karmania, mod. Tārun, about 75 miles from Hormuz-Bandar 'Abbās; together with Forg and Fārighān[12] it is one of the main towns of Maḥāll i Sab'a, district of Fārs between Lāristān and Kirmān. After a defeat at Raχan, at the border of Elam, Vahyazdāta flees to Pēšyāhvāda at the foot of Mount Arakadriš, where also Gōmāta himself had appeared as first Pseudo-Smerdis (§11), hence to be looked for where a prisoner escaping from the islands of the exiled might land: near Hormuz.

Pēšyāhvāda means "before Ahvāda," cf. hvāra and patišhvāra, Ahvāda is Ptolemy's ΧΟΑΔΑ [13] in the country *χαράδραι*, not far from *Ἀρμουζα*, according to the *Tab. Peut.* approximately mod. Rūdbār-Jīruft, 80 miles north of Hormuz, about 87 east of Tārun, between Bashākird and Kūh i Bāriz. *χαράδραι* is Greek for *raχadri < arakadri. This name of a mountain may be pre-Iranian; it appears also in other regions.[14]

[12] Hecataeus' *παριάδη*, town in Persis, and Ḥamza, ed. Gottwald 39, āstān frg'n, as old name of the district of Dārābgird, not far east of Forg.

[13] Miswritten ΧΟΔΔΑ; *Tab.Peut.* Arciotis, *Rav.* Archedotis < *ΑΧΕΩΤΙΣ for *ΑΧΟΑΤΙΣ

[14] Cf. the popular name of Artemita on the Diyāla in Isidorus: *χαλασαρ* for *χαρασαλ = Akk.

Vahyazdāta assembles fresh troops and accepts a battle at P(a)rga-Forg, about 45 miles west of Tārun, is captured and executed in Hvādaičaya. These executions all take place in the real home of the rebels. OP. Hvādēičaya, El. wa.te.ci.s (nom.), > χvāč, NP. χvāš, Bal. wāš, Arab. χvāṣṣ, near south of the volcano Kōh i Tafdān (13,400 ft. high), south of the Gaud i Zirih, the kanso.tafδra of *Yt.*19,3. I once had a good view of it from Mīrǰāwā, between Warechah and Duzdāb.

In 520 B.C., thus, Yutiya was the land between Hormuz and Kirmān, and its inhabitants had close relations to Balōčistān in the east. They are the Οὔτιοι[15] of Hecataeus, in his list of satrapies (Her.III) where they are grouped with Σαγάρτιοι, Σαράγγεις (Zranka), Θαμαναῖοι (Arachosians), Μύκοι (Maka) and the "islands of the Erythraean Sea," the Persian Gulf. In the army catalogue of Doriscus, Herodotus VII,68, year 480 B.C., the Οὔτιοι and Μύκοι are equipped like the Πάκτυες, Afghans east of the Hindūkush.[16] Yutiya, Οὔτιοι gives MP. *žut, NP. ǰut, ǰat, Arab. Zuṭṭ.

Zuṭṭ is the old name of the gypsies. According to Longworth-Dames, "Balōchistān" in *Enc.Isl.*, ǰat means "camel-herdsman" in bulōči. Either that is the meaning of yutiya, or camel-herders are called so because the yutiya were such. One would expect "buffalo men," because the bos bubalus (not the bison) was their animal. al-Ḥadjdjādj imported "ten thousands of buffaloes with their Zuṭṭ" from Sind to the swamps of Wāsiṭ (Balādhurī) and Mas'ūdī, *tanb.*, even believed that they had brought the buffalo into the 'Irāq, where it was indigenous since the beginning of history. But Ptolemy, who ignores the Οὔτιοι, has in VI, 8,12 καμηλοβόσκοι in the same region, at the border of Karmania, "desert" Karmania, and Persis, and this name survives in mod. Dēh i Shuturūn "camel-country,"[17] almost 100 miles north of Forg-Tārun, between Kirmān and Fārs.

The Muslim conquerors met the Zuṭṭ as good soldiers of the regular Sasanian army in Baḥrain and Xūzistān. After embracing Islam, those were settled near Baṣra. Those imported by Hadjdjādj were partly sent

and El. ugār.salu, ugār.sillam. TiglathPilesar III, in 744 B.C., mentions Ḥaliḫadra near Kitpattia-Qahvaδ and Abdadani-Bījār in Kurdistan; Ptolemy has 'Αλεκόδρα in the Korōnos in Media and one in Bactria. Furthermore mod. Xalχāl, e.g. in Ādarbaiǰān.

[15] Regular loss of init. y- as in aspa.yōδa; οὐδιάσπης; Iākīn:'agine;' Islman; Alwan etc.

[16] Markwart, WOR II,144 read ΚΑΙ ΟΥΤΙΟΙ for ΚΑΣΠΙΟΙ also in Her.VII,86.

[17] Not far from there was καρθωνική < *kāθwanika, "donkey-country," mediev. Kāhun, of Kirmān, see under 'Hōma.'

on to the Cilician swamps, partly, after having caused serious trouble in 205-220 H., deported to the Cilician border of the caliphate. In 241 H. they were captured, a good riddance, still 12,000 strong, by the Byzantines. Part of them went to Egypt, whence their further career as gypsies began. Some had stayed at home, the Zuṭṭ of Qēqān < OP. Kāpiš(a)kāniš[18] of al-Badḥa and of Mēd and Daibul (near Karachi). The Mēd are Ptolemy's Ichthyophages on the south coast of Iran. There are still today Jat in Makrān and Kacchi, pure Dravido-Indian tribes of low cultural level, related to the Mēd.

Down to about A.D. 1000, the Zuṭṭ < yutiya are often mentioned together with two neighbors, the Qufṣ and Bulōṣ, e.g. in Mas'ūdī, *mur.* III,254: "Qufṣ, Bulōǰ and Jut in Kirman."[19] In the Shāhnāmah and in Istakhrī, Mas'ūdī, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (*Hist.Seldj.*) these two used to form a pair, like an old dvandva: Kōč u Bulōč.

The first are the akōfačiya of *Xerx.Pers.daiv.*,[20] represented in the great tribute processions of Persepolis. The name, formed like maka: mačiya from *kōfaka, means "mountaineers": akōfačiya > kōfič, kōhič, kōč. Ibn Khurdādhbih mentions the Qufṣ šāh among those to whom Ardashīr I conceded the title šāh. Šērōy b. Šahriyār, 509 H., in *Yāqūt* IV, 149, describes the Qufṣ, others the Bulūṣ, as total savages. Istakhrī, 67, says about the dialects of Fārs: "the Qufṣ, Bulūṣ and Bāriz speak their own languages besides Fārsī." In the same way, today, the Turkish Kashghai in Fārs are bilingual. The Bārič, bāriṣ, lived according to the Arab geographers in the Kūh i Bārič, north of the Qufṣ-kōhič, south of Narmašīr. In the *Kārn.Art.* (Nöldeke 9,2) they are called bāričān, thereto Ṭabari 1,894, cf. *Vid.*1, explanation to varuna: bārič. The name supposes an old *vārika, but which var-? The home of the Akōfačiya was the inaccessible mountain region of Bashākird, east of the road from Hormuz to southern Kirmān.

The region of their eastern neighbors, Bulōčistān, stretches from Kirmān to Sind. The meaning of the name bulōč results from passages like *Y.*50,6 (cf. under 'Poetry'): "The poet who raises his voice, vāčam barati = vociferatur," and Aw. "brzam vāčam, the loud voice," cf. *Yt.*

[18] For the phonet. change cf. Ol. kapiśthala, καμβισθολαι > kaithal; kaniška > kanikkh.
[19] Cf. Margoliouth, *Eclipse of the Caliphate* II,300, III,349.
[20] Akk. akūpiš suggests the OP. pronunciation akōfičiya.

10,89; *Frhg.Ēv.* 3,2: yazata zōtā . . . brzatā vačā. Bulōč < Med. *'brza.-vačiya, OP. brδa.vačiya, from *'brza.vak- "loud-shouting," opposite to namravak "speaking low-voiced, politely."

For the inhabitants of eastern Bulōčistān the Greeks of Alexander's time heard a name which they rendered by Γεδρώσιοι rarely with κε- or γα-. Arabs, like Balādhurī,[21] Mas'ūdī, mention beside the Zuṭṭ people like 'ndγ'riyya and sayābīja. The first, whose home was the frontier of Kirmān and Zrang, bear evidently a military term as name. 'nd- is doubtful, but -γāriyya is MP. gārī, as in kilghāriyya "pioneers," gilkār. This is clear by their use in the campaign of Afshīn against Bābak in Ṭabarī.[22] Sayābidja is in analogy to other broken plurals of quadriliteral loanwords like šahrīg:šahārīja, an Arab. pl. of MP. šēpāg "slinger." To this sphere Gedrosii may also belong. I believed I had found the etymology when reading Y.32,10: "yasča vadar voiždat rtāunē, who 'swings the mace' against the rtāvan,"[23] hence *'vaδra.vīj.iya "mace-swingers" > gedrōsioi. Tomaschek tried kadrú-, NP. kahar "sorrel" which but for the difficulty of initial k- would open more than one possibility. Another way is: gandarwa:*gadarwačiya; Nearch records an island on the Gedrosian coast, Δενδροβοσα, perhaps Γενδροβοσα (unless it be dvanra, *Wb.*85). The problem cannot be solved because there is no younger name connected with it.

At a dark passage in *Šahrh.Ēr.* §29, among the "eight kōfyār" (lords or inhabitants? of mountains), the bulōč form pair with the mly?vč'n, which may be no name at all, but simply an imaginary m-formation: bulōčān-mulōčān. Markwart, UGE 1,214, read marūčān and connected it with marūzān in Ḥamza, marucan in Faustus Byz., names of which nothing is known. The text has actually something like malgūč-, malinǰ-, mlēvčān, and the last can be compared to OI. mleccha, Pali milakkha, which means the same as Lat. balbus, blaesus, "welch."

One of the leading tribes of the Bulōčī are the Brāhōi who gave the

[21] Avicenna mentions a tree and a fruit balādur [which may lead to belladonna]; but the name is MP. burzātur in the *Kārn.Ard.* brother of a burzak. The full name on a seal in the Brit. Mus. Horn 2no6 44, 672, n° 615: burz.'tvr.gvīnsp zv mgv.

[22] It is also Syr. qlgr', not = kārgar "Handwerker," in *Chron. of Zuqnīn* quoted by Markwart, *Südarmenien* 85: "a° 1072 = a.d. 752: 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad, king of the Persians (= 'Abbāsid) sent 'AbdWahhāb with a numerous army and 'pioneers' from all over Mesopotamia and rebuilt Melitene in Cappadocia."

[23] hunivixta, epithet of vazra, shows that √vēg- "swing, sling" is the typical verb for the mace, hence voiždat and voiždayant in Y.9,31 belong to it; *Wb.* "der den Schädel, kamrδam, hochträgt" is wrong.

name to the Dravidian language. Their legend tells of their immigration "from Aleppo," and all Bulōč still today glory in their descent from Abraham. No historical record exists of their coming from the West, let alone from Media, which one might expect since their language is a Median dialect. Aleppo is the maqām Ibrāhīm, the provenance from Aleppo, therefore, expresses no other idea than the descent from Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl. It is a genealogy invented when the tribes embraced Islam. Since nobody would have given credit to their claim of descent from Muhammad, they chose the second best. Bulōčī is a Median dialect, as is Kurdish, and there are Kurds living among the Bulōčī and Brāhōi. Brāhōi is Kurdish for Ibrāhīmī, and that is the origin of their name. They are certainly not a remainder of the "Lost Tribes of Israel." That the Bulōč brought their language with them from a northern region is a probable but not the only possible assumption. They first appear in the late Sasanian period, and their spreading south —if they did so—was no longer an effect of the old Iranian migration. Even if they were not more numerous than the few Kurdish elements among them today, they may have imposed their language upon the aborigines.

The administrative name of this vast region which stretches from Pārsa in the West over Kirmān and Bulōčistān as far as Sind, was in the OP. inscriptions Maka (subst.), Mačiya (adj.), today Mak(u)rān. It is the country Magan, often mentioned since the middle of the third millennium. Scylax, and following him Hecataeus and Herodotus, call the people Μύκοι. These people were pre-Iranian aborigines. The Yutiya, too, were neither Iranians nor Indo-Aryans. The names brzavačiya—implying the notion barbarians—akōfačiya, šēpāg, probably Gedrōsioi, are all Iranian, but of a type entirely different from Pārsa, Māda, Parθava etc., clearly names given by Iranians to "anāryan" tribes. Against this fact the modern expansion of Median bulōčī dialects cannot prevail: the whole south of the plateau has never really become Iranian. The same is true of Mazan, the low country between the Caspian and the Alburz.

It is only natural that the Awesta does not speak of these regions. The pre-Awestic epopee is too old even to know such a new land. The younger legendary cycle of the kavi and of Husravah is located in

Media, the home of the kavi-dynasty, conquered by Husravah-Cyrus. Vištāspa belongs to Par*θ*ava, not to Pārsa. There is no occasion at all to speak of Pārsa. It is enough that not a few Persians appear in the memorial list and the gathas, and that the architectural descriptions of *Yt.*5 have Persepolis with its thousand columns in mind.

There is one material of a different kind which is an exception: the many names, specimens of the 2,244 mountains in *Yt.*19,3. Suppose the Swiss people were immigrants from Holland, and a religious book they had left to the world spoke of a thousand mountains, these mountains, of course, would be in Switzerland and not in Holland. Thus the 2,244 mountains are all mountains of Iran, the home of the yashts, not of the alluvial Duāb of Turkistān, the home of the old myth.

2,244 is 11.12.17, a queer mystic number. The series 7, 17, 27, 37 occurs in tablets of Kikkuli of Mitanni, an Aryan; the same series occurs in the criminal Code of Jingizkhan, and—overlooked by me in AMI II,8 and 75—in the UtNapištim legend of the Gilgamesh epic and the Noah legend of *Gen.*6,10—8,14. Among those mountains quite a few can be recognized as West Iranian: ašta arvanto "the eight racers" are Ptolemy's Orontes, Pliny's (C)arbantum, *NH.* VI,133. The English maps of 1918-20 note, beside the main summit, over 11,500 ft. high, of the Alwand massif, seven more, all over 10,000 ft., hence eight summits. The hvanvant, point of the R*χ*ša legend, lies at the northern end of this massif. rzifya, Ass. arzibia, Urart. arṣibi, is east of the Urmiya Lake, the Čēčistā > Šēz of the Husravah legend; rziš > lištar, Ass. araziaš is south of Nihāwand. The asan(g)vant > Sahand, Ass. sangibuti, is the very high mountain south of Tawrīz. Here we have mentioned the kanso.tafδra, Kōh i Tafdān, a volcano, 13,400 ft. high. If the analysis, given under 'Sea,' of rvnyv'd-myt?k' proves true, the first must be a high summit on the Indian Ocean, the second perhaps the Kōh i Namak in Lāristān. Every progress in the determination of these names will increase the number of western and southern Iranian mountains in Yasht 19, for the horizon of the oldest dateable parts of the Awesta is circumscribed by the four frontiers of ārya.šayanam: Indus, Jaxartes, Tigris and Indian Ocean, and in the later parts it includes the three great seas.

XLI. VIDĒVDĀD

From its title the *Vidēvdād* is a "Code against the Dēva," from its content a collection of ecclesiastical ordinances on purification, in which pieces widely differing in age, some of them without apparent connection with the purpose of the book, are put together, in faulty language and infantile form, to be learned by heart. A very great number of words are inverse Awestic reconstructions from Middle Iranian. The character of the language, cf. Bartholomae, *ZAirWb.* 177, forbids assumption of any early date for the compilation. Aw. dāta vidēva does not occur in any passage old enough to imply that such a collection of "laws against the dēva" existed before the Arsacid period. The discrepancy between this title and the contents will one day find an unexpected explanation.

The first three chapters are no collection of ordinances. *Vidēvdād* I is a little poem, of originally 18 stanzas, in praise of 16 countries; chapters II and III contain the Yama-myth. Nyberg 337: "Die alte zoroastrische Urkunde, die der Schrift als Einleitung dient, . . . zeigt dass der Zoroastrismus Raga und den Westen erreicht hatte." If chapt. I were the introduction of the code, then II and III would be the preface to the second edition. The fact that these pieces are preserved in the same volume creates no connection of contents. We have three disconnected works: I, a poem on geography, II-III, the epic of Yama—see 'Yama χšēta'—and in all the following chapters a code. This code was put together after the first half of the Arsacid period, about the beginning of our era.

Of the stanzas of *Vid.*I, the first is the introduction, 18 the conclusion. The rest is built after the same pattern for all the sixteen countries: "I, AhuraMazdāh, have created as first-best country the country A, epithet; Ahrimanyuš has created as patiyāram, 'opposition, antagonism' against it something." The introduction explains what this means: "azam daδām aso rāma.dātim noit kudat.šātim yaδi azam noit daδyām aso rāma.dātim noit kudat.šātim vispo ahuš astvå āryanam vējo frašnvāt."

All translations, among them one by G. Hüsing, Mitt.Wien.Geogr. Ges. 1909, 392ff., follow Bartholomae: "Ich, A.M., machte auch den nicht irgendwie Freuden bietenden Ort zu einem friedengewährenden: wenn ich (literally repeated) das nicht gethan, würde die gesamte

Menschheit nach dem Arischen Vēǰah gekommen sein." Benveniste, BSOS VII,265ff.: "Tous les hommes s'y fussent concentrés, si A.M. n'avait pas rendu habitables mêmes les lieux ingrats." The term āryanam vēǰo has been fully discussed in its chapter. Such "unless" sentences are typical for late exegetical passages in the Awesta. The Pahl. translation renders the verb frašnvāt by frāč-rawišnīh būt hē, as if reading fra-šyavāt, which apparently was the better text; the country stands in the accusative of direction.

Nyberg, who mocks the 19th century picture of Zoroaster as "Landpfarrer," paints the god as superintendent visiting his churches: "Wenn A.M. nicht die verschiedenen Gebiete besuchte und 'guten Weidefrieden' [for 'rāman'] in ihnen aufrichtete, so wäre Ār.Vēǰah der einzig bewohnbare Ort der Welt. A.M. spricht *natürlich* im Sinne der . . . Gemeinde; die . . . Sätze *motivieren die zoroastrische Mission*. Wenn die Gemeinde sich nicht verbreitete, so würde die ganze Menschhait genötigt sein, in der ursprünglichen Heimat der Gemeinde, Ār.Vēǰo, zu wohnen, die ganze Welt wäre dann unbewohnbar." Instead of this conclusion one expects "the whole world would know nothing about this institution" or something about scarcity of lodgings in Ērānvēž. On p.326, in spaced print: "Die Aufzählung der Länder des Vidēvdād ist der Ausdruck eines geschichtlichen Ereignisablaufs, der zoroastrischen Mission." There was never a Zoroastrian "mission" in the Christian, and not even in the Muhammedan sense.

The understanding depends on kudāt.šāti. This word is formed like kudo.zāta in *Y*.39,2: "the souls of the where-born men and women," which does not mean locality, but rank: low, high, well born. The base šāta, for old šyāta, Lat. quietus, here and in OP., means the peace brought about by religion. Without religion and law, violence dominates. Here [kudat]šāti is opposed to the following syn. rāma[dāti], as šād and rām alternate in TPahl. and in Sasanian placenames, revealing the dialect-mixing character of the language. kudāt.šāti means "wherefrom, by whom peaceful?", with negation noit-kudāt.šāti "from-nowhere-peaceful, if I had not made them rāmadāti,"[1] that is "otherwise unpeaceful."

[1] Cf. the idiom NP. kuǰā?, Arab. wain?, "where is . . . ?" for something that is not the case or that makes all the difference: Ubi sunt?—Fuere!

That is not at all "not anyhow offering pleasure," but "peaceful only through my work," and explains at once the composition of the stanzas: the first half tells, by the praising epithets of the places, the good qualities given by AhuraMazdāh, the second half describes their bad qualities as work of Ahrimanyuš.[2] Whereas in pre-Zoroastrian polytheism rāma.-šayana "making abide in peace" is a special epithet of Mithra, here AhuraMazdāh plays the role, as he does in the OP. inscriptions: "hya imām šyātim adā." The verses say:

"I, AhuraMazdāh, have made peaceful the otherwise unpeaceful countries; if I had not made peaceful the otherwise-unpeaceful countries, the whole humanity would want to emigrate to Ērānvēž."

That means, if there was only Ahriman's work, the earth would be uninhabitable, men would want to leave it. No community is excepted, and all mortals, not only missionaries, would suffer. Ērānvēž, in this poem which might be composed today, is an unreal Elysium. Therefore the *Pahl.Vid.* considers it—like the Babylonians their "nagē" beyond the nār marratum—as an inaccessible kršvar outside the oecuméne: "čē ač kišvar ō kišvar bē pa parvān ē yazdān ʜ.ʏ.'ʏ' raftan nē tavān,[3] for from kišvar to kišvar one cannot travel without passport from God," as today. The Bundahishn (*Gr.Bdh.*75, *Ind.* xi,33) makes a similar remark about the "fortresses" ('ʋʙ."ʋʋ?) of χvaniras, "the access to which has been shut off by heavenly power at this period of calamity, counterparts to the six outer kišvar" (cf. under 'Post and Travels').

Among the gifts of Ahriman are araθwiyāča daχštā in st. 17 and 18. Markwart translated, *Wēhrōt* 132, "unzeitige Menstruation"; Nyberg 472 (note to 322): "ungebührliche Erkennungszeichen" and comments: "nicht-ratu-isch, d.i. keinem der der Lichtwelt zugehörigen ratu's unterstellt, nämlich Kleidung, als politisches und religiöses Kennzeichen der Zugehörigkeit zu einer Kultgemeinschaft." One could easily adduce as evidence al-Mutawakkil's decree against the ahl al-dhimma, in Tabari III,1369ff., ruling that all Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians were to wear "two yellow patches, each a span long and wide, on breast and back of their dresses," like the yellow star in Germany. But the following §18 says: "In Haft-Hind (Panǰāb) araθwyāča daχštā araθwyamča *garmam

[2] The Pahl. comment. calls them "daχlak," also used for translating Aw. daχšta, characteristics, as opposed to the patiyārak, the gifts of Ahriman.

[3] The word not transcribed is perhaps "ʏl.y = kas(ē), somebody," with negation "nobody."

(Mss.garmāum) prevail," i.e. intemperate climate, excessive heat. raθwya is adj. of ratu, OI. ṛtú "space of time, period, season," also καιρός, in Gathic also = iudicium, hence "anomalous, excessif, without ratio and proportio." Benveniste translates e.g. araθwya.brta by "traité illégalement."

Many of the words for Ahriman's counter-creation are not only hapax, but spurious. Three times they are raids, ghazw, four times immorality, three times vermin, four times diseases or vermin, once a bad fairy, once scepsis and once hyperscepsis. The last two presuppose mazdayasnian religion, and scepsis prevails just at Nisāya, capital of the first Parthian kingdom, hyperscepsis at Ragā-Europus, the alleged "Hauptmissionsstation im Westen," Nyberg 320, 342 and 396.

The dualism of good and evil, expressed in the structure of the single stanzas, dominates the entire composition. It explains the sequence from the "first-" to the "sixteenth-best" country, and the conclusion "there are more lovely, marvelous and praiseworthy towns and countries." The sixteen are but a selection out of many, as all Iranian lists of countries are. The good qualities, well known to the hearer, manifest themselves only in the epithets of the places; the devil's work, told with more detail, is a warning for the pious. Thus the strange impression is produced that one had better emigrate even from the very best of countries, Ērānvēž.

The dualism explains also the lack of topographic order. This style begins in the lists of the OP. inscriptions which show in parts a certain geographical order, but then again strange leaps. Choice and order of the *Vidēvdād* list are determined by sentimental reasons, it is a "moral introduction to geography."

This specifically Persian literary type lives on. If the *Šahrihā ē Ērān*, Countries of Iran, composed for Kavāt shortly before A.D. 500, are said to have been written because the king wanted to choose the "first-best place" as his residence—a purpose which hardly required the treating of 60 not-best places—this is the Arab interpretation of the same literary principle as that of the *Vidēvdād*. The *Gr.Bdh.* 79 quotes the *Šahrihā* under the title "ayātkārihā ē šahrihā, memorabilities of the provinces" as source of its chapter on the "čigōnīh, qualities" of the mountains; it is likewise the source of the chapters on rivers, seas etc. The translation "provincial capitals" of šahrihā, therefore, is wrong: šahr means "prov-

ince"; the chapter on "towns" is preserved in the treatise, of the other chapters only the quotations in the Bundahishn. The term "čigōnīh" reveals the same leading principle as in the *Vidēvdād*. When reading *Vidēvdād* 1 and the introduction of the *Šahrihā*, preserved in ibn Faqīh and Muqaddasī, the same impression is produced: as if the Iranian countries had none but bad qualities. That is Ahriman's work. *Vidēvdād* 1 is not a "history of the mission," but "geographical character sketches."

They start with Ērānvēž, mentioned by AhuraMazdāh in the introductory stanza: it is the first-best country, Elysium, though only two plagues are mentioned: rōδita snakes and a hard winter. For rōδita "red," the *Pahl.Vid.* has lvtyk, river snakes; the *Pahl.Vid.* has "lvtyk, water-snakes." The epithet of the winter, dēvaδāta, properly "created by the gods," in the style of the late period means "the much-pernicious Ahriman created it."

To Ērānvēž some verses of different character are added:

dasa avaθra māho	zayana dva hāmina
tēča hanti sarta āpo	sarta zəmō sarta urvarå
aδa zimahe maδim	aδa zimahe zrδēm
aδa zyåščit paripatati	aδa frēštəm voiγnanām

"There are ten months winter, two summer; and in winter the waters are frozen, the earth frozen, the plants frozen; it is the winter's middle, the winter's heart; when the winter breaks (περιπέρεται) there is nothing but inundations."

The verses are ungrammatical but archaic, perhaps differing in meter from the other stanzas, and could be restored. Waters, earth and plants being frozen means that agriculture and cattle-breeding are impossible during ten months of the year. *Pahl.Vid.*1,4 adds: "v.'ʜʀ.č hafta hanti hamino māha panča zayana āškār, normally seven months summer, five winter, of course." This is obviously no description of the "first-best" country. Already Darmesteter wrote *Z.A.*II,7: "tout ce passage a les allures d'une citation interpolée," cf. AMI II,104,2 and assenting Benveniste BSOS VII,265ff. "Only two months of summer" would allow one to determine the latitude near the Polar Circle, while Nyberg 315 locates Ērānvēž in Khwārizm, latitude of Constantinople and Rome,

and yet refers, 326, this description of a tundra to it: "it was the best of all lands."

Two points of support were enough to interpolate these old verses into the younger poem: winter is Ahriman's counter-creation in Ērānvēž, and in the Yama myth which the conception of the late period places in Ērānvēž, the cataclysm of the winters puts an end to the eternal spring, cf. *Yt.*10,50 under 'Ērānvēž.' *Vid.*2,22, Yama-myth, says: "The (bad?) winters will befall the (bad?) mankind; first the clouds from the high mountains will drop snow, cubits high, . . . only a third of all beasts will escape. . . . Before the winter, the land was grass pasture; when the snow melts, water will submerge it, it will be impassable." The myth is related to the Sumerian legend, and the flood in Berossos' version is equally a "katáklysmos, world-winter," one that recurs in the great "world-year" every time all planets stand in one straight line in the configuration of "aigokérōs." The complementary idea is the "ekpýrōsis," the end of the world in fire. The Aryans modified the thought to "A worse winter would force mankind to emigrate."

The commentary to *Vid.*2,22 calls these winters "markūšān," a name which also *Dēnk.*VII,i,14 gives to a "winter," *Mēn.Xr.* to a "rain." It is mahrkūša of *frgm.Westerg.*8,2:[4] "The month of cold shall die off, . . . from the Druχš the hard deadly winter will come, . . . mahrkūša will die off." Cf. *Gr.Bdh.*, microcosmos chapter: "now the summer is stronger, sūrtar, now the winter, but the summer is the stronger one, sūrtar." Hence the OP. name of the month *θ*ōravā(ha)ra "when spring becomes *θ*ūra, strong." *Wb.*1147 quotes an eschatology for mahrkūša which connects it also with the Yama myth: "In the year 300 of the millennium of Uχšyatrta, mahrkūša will destroy, by three years of snow and cold, almost all mankind; Yama's var will be opened."

The name of the eighth month of the OP. calendar, 21.X-20.XI, with spring equinox as new year, is mar.ka.ca.na.s (*Beh.* §50, El. vers., and El.*Pers.tablets*) or mar.ka.sa.na, °na.s (*Pers.tabl.*). It corresponds to Akk. araḫšamna, this to Aram. mark'ešvan, which obviously renders the OIr. form of MP. markūšān. The passages quoted above leave no doubt that this is the name of a month; maršavan in *Vid.*18,8 and 19,43 is the same word. El. markac/sanas is the oldest attested, but an am-

[4] With the quotation of Y.30,10, sraγaθra, cf. under 'Astronomy,' and Hertel, *Vemat.*

biguous form; next comes the Aramaic, both reflecting the OP. original, while markūš is already MP., hence malqōš a loanword from MIr.[5] The words "the deadly mahrkuša will die off" play upon the name which belongs to √mark-, cf. the part. s-aor.med. mrχš(āna); El. mark°- suggests vrddhi.

The words for the countries are asah and šoiθra, Pahl.transl. ǰāk and rōstāk, both general expressions for settlements, the first a more definite spot, the other an area. Since Marw, Harēv and Ray are called so—and since Isfahan is used as an example for the "most populated of asah"—the terms mean capital and province, like Gath. vrzana and zantu. And since Ērānvēž, the first country, is an Elysium to which all mankind wants to emigrate, all the others ought to be real provinces:

2. gāom yim suγδō.šayanəm
3. mōurum sūrəm
4. bāχδīm srīrąm
5. nisāim yim antar mōurumča bāχδīmča
6. hārōyūm yim višharəzanəm
7. vaēkərətəm yim dužakō.sayanəm
8. urvąm pouruvāstrąm
9. χnəntəm yim vəhrkānō.šayanəm
10. haraχvatīm srīrąm
11. haētumantəm
12. raγąm θrizantūm
13. čaχrəm sūrəm
14. varənəm yim čaθrugaōšəm
15. hapta həndu
16. upa aoδēšu raŋhayå

The names are badly spelled, some are inverse pseudo-Awestic formations. But they are all real. Only the last one is characterized as mythical, like Ērānvēž, by the addition "Where the a.sāra, the headless-ones dwell."

The lists we have opposed to each other under 'Ērānvēž' show that the center of all these countries of the poem, Parθava, would be lacking unless it were represented by Nisāya, Arab. Nisā in the north, Ruvā, mod. Rūy i Khwāf in the south, and by Vēkrta, Gōzgān. Nisāya is the capital of Parthava, Νισαία—Νισὰκ of Isidorus, at the very beginning of our era. The Near East of Iran is the part described with most detail; the westernmost point is Ragā, unless Čaχra would be a more western

[5] Not vice versa, as Hertel, *Venus*, assumes; cf. Halévy in Darmesteter, *Ét.Ir.*II,204.

region, the easternmost point is the Panjāb, Haft Hind. The Jaxartes has become mythical and Khwārizm is not mentioned, Arachosia on the contrary is represented by two names, and yet the name of the Sakā does not appear. That their name and that of the younger capital Aparshahr-Nīshāpūr is missing, while the older one is mentioned, gives a clue to the date of the poem: the geographical horizon is that of the early Arsacid period, before the conquest of Media was completed in about 145 B.C., and before, in 130-110, the Sakā migration came to pass, after which the knowledge of the Oxus and Jaxartes region, now occupied by peoples from Central Asia, faded out. This date is in harmony with the character of the language, which is artificial.

From the fact that just the two capitals, Nisāya-Alexandropolis in Parthava and Ragā-Europus in Media Rhagiane, are blamed for scepsis and hyperscepsis, one might infer that magi from a more orthodox country were the authors, that would be Atropatene. Under the younger line of Arsacids, Artaban II and Vonones II, Atropatenians from the paternal side, the orthodoxy spread from there, among the achievements of which was the first writing of the Awesta. One must read in Tacitus and Pliny[6] the humorous description of the bigotry of Tiridates, brother of Volagases II, on his journey to Rome. But such an assumption meets obstacles, and it is quite enough to explain "scepsis" and "hyperscepsis" as expressing the hatred of all Arsacid priests for Hellenism, which the kings favored who bore the title philhéllēn with regard to the Greek towns in their countries.

The poem is a geographical work of the Arsacid period, of approximately the same time as Hipparchus, and scarcely a hundred years older than Strabo, whereby its value is characterized.

Among the plagues created by Ahriman are interment in Harahvatiš and cremation in Čaχra; višhrzana, in Harēva, is wrongly interpreted as a funerary custom. This does not imply that everywhere else exposure of the dead prevailed, for instance certainly not in Hafta Hindu, the Panjāb. At the very beginning of our era, Isidorus still mentions the *ταφαί*, tombs of the Arsacid kings at Nisaia, the capital where "scepsis" prevailed. Trogus, in Justin's *epitome* xli,3, mentions exposure among

[6] Cf. AMI.IV,85ff. and *Arch.Hist.Jr.* 38ff., 65f.

the Parthians, not the old Parθava, but the Sakā tribes that had invaded Khurāsān in 250 B.C. Herodotus, speaking of the Massagetae, and at Alexander's time Onesicritus, in Strabo XI,2,3, record exposure as an otherwise unusual custom of tribes in Turkistan, in one case prohibited by Alexander. The contrast throws the fact into relief that about 300 B.C. exposure was not yet practiced in Iran proper, and that Herodotus is right in restricting it to the magi,[7] 1,140: "The above [remarks] are made without hesitation as from my own knowledge. But as to what relates to their dead, this is of a secret nature: I will not say decisively that these are not interred till some bird or dog has been preying on them. This custom, however, I know unquestionably, is observed among the magi who do it quite publicly. But the Persians [i.e. Iranians, not as opposed to Medes] enclose the body in wax and then place it in the ground etc."

If exposure, which Nyberg calls "la forme classique de sépulture zoroastrienne" were the touchstone of Zoroastrism, one would be forced to the paradoxical conclusion that down to 300 B.C. the magi, the Iranian priests without whose cooperation no sacrifice or prayer could be performed, were the only Zoroastrians, monotheists, yet administering day by day to the polytheistic cult of the nation.

Neither the gatha nor the old yasht contains any allusion to exposure. Conceding this, Nyberg says, 310: "Wir haben nicht den geringsten Hinweis darauf, wie die Gatha-Gemeinde mit ihren Toten verfuhr. Aber wenn dem Indizienbeweis in historischen Fragen überhaupt irgendein Wert beizumessen ist, so haben wir vorauszusetzen, dass es wie bei den Steppenvölkern Zentralasiens geschah: die Toten wurden ausgesetzt etc." The Gatha-Gemeinde is a "construction"; a reference to people of the Asiatic steppes is no "proof by means of circumstantial evidence." What he has in mind is a deduction from "historical analogy," in which case the gatha ought to be "peoples of the steppes" instead of a collection of odes. Against his sentence "Das Problem des Todes war gewissermassen nicht vorhanden, weil die Frage des toten Körpers nie aktuell war" it must be said that exposure is a more complicated procedure than burial. Only where tribes, like the Massagetae of Herodotus, eat their grandparents, is the "question of the dead body no longer actual."

[7] Emphasized by Benveniste, *The Pers. Religion*, Ratanbai Katran Lectures, Paris 1929, 32f., whose conclusions, however, I cannot accept.

In IAE,205-220 and *Arch.Hist.Iran* 31-40, I have published with illustrations some material concerning old Iranian tombs. The monuments cover the time from the immigration to Alexander the Great. The richer tombs imitate houses, whether cut into the rock or built up in masonry;[8] the simple tombs are loculi, cut into rock, vertical or horizontal. It is not the size of the tombs or the shape of the houses that are important for the religious question, but their interior arrangement. The older tomb-chambers were lavishly furnished, the bodies lying on a klínē, in Cyrus' case a golden klínē. In these chambers the tušnišaδo were meant to feel comfort, to be šāišta (*Vid.*3). The last tombs of this type are those of Cyrus and the unfinished tomb of Cambyses. With Darius comes the change: the dead are put into tightly closed loculi or sarcophagi; they no longer need furnished chambers or any earthly possessions. Funerary customs belong to the things that change little. Changes must have deep reasons. No external reasons can have brought about a change between Cyrus' and Darius' reign, only a change of religious conceptions. Darius no longer shared the religious beliefs of Cyrus. He was a Zoroastrian.

Exposure was not the "classical" and no Zoroastrian custom, not even an Iranian custom at all. Both, the pre-Zoroastrian and the Zoroastrian Iranians buried. Exposure was a custom solely of the magi, as Herodotus says, and in the oldest known ostotheke of Sakawand, we have the astodān of Gōmāta the magus, killed at Sikayahvatiš.

While no word in the gatha and the yasht refers to exposure, there are two words referring to interment. The term tušnišad in *Yt.*13 describes the fravarti as sitting, living in the silence of their graves. And the Zoroastrian notion is implied in the term for "resurrection" in *Yt.* 19,88, us.hištān, which means "they rise up (from their graves)." The records of exposure in Greek sources and *Vid.*1 clearly show how exposure spread and invaded Iran at the time of that chapter, the early Arsacid period. This again is supported by archeological evidence, see IAE and *Arch.Hist.Ir.* Exposure became finally adopted at the post-Christian, Atropatenian phase of the Arsacid empire, as attested by the

[8] A great number, built in sundried bricks, and probably still containing the burials, have not been explored.

ordinances of the *Vidēvdād* proper, which are not older than the first century A.D.[9]

*Vid.*6,44 gives rules for the arrangement of a daχma as place of exposure: they shall be made on high places, so that dogs and birds can perceive them. Then follow prescriptions against parts of corpses being carried away, in 50 a rule for the astodān, the ostotheke, in which the bones are collected. There, they are called uzdāna, and shall be made so high that dogs, foxes, wolves cannot reach them, at the same time they must be protected against rain. That is why they always have rain-grooves around. The height is expressed by upari.spāna etc., "too high for a dog." If possible, they must have a bedding of stone, gypsum or at least of clay.

"daχma" is used for pyres, for the place of exposure, and for ossuaries; in the Pahl. inscriptions it mostly means the ossuaries. Originally it meant "funeral pyre," to √dag- "burn." It must come down from a period when the Iranians cremated. A change of habitat may produce a change from cremation to burial, and certainly cremation could not have been kept up in scantily wooded countries like the Oxus and Jaxartes region and the Iranian plateau. The people of IE. language in Europe—language of course is not responsible for customs—practiced originally interment. The Greeks went over to cremation after the Dipylon period. Pliny says of the Romans, NH.VII,187: "Ipsum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti, terra condebantur." In Western Europe cremation prevailed: the Romans did not notice interment any longer with the Celts and Teutons. The Thracians, Lithuanians and Borussians used both methods simultaneously.

Nyberg, to whom *Vid.*1 is the history of Zoroastrian mission, says 322: "daxma heisst 'Scheiterhaufen.' Religionsgeschichtlich liegt die Sache so: Der Zoroastrismus findet übermächtig [6‰ only in Čaχra, where (297) "heidnisches Wesen noch unter der Asche glimmt," though no fire is recorded] Leichenverbrennung vor, und schliesst, da er sie nicht ausrotten kann, ein Kompromiss: er behält die Form des Scheiterhaufens bei, verwandelt sie aber in einen Ort für die Aussetzung der Leichen." Such methods he calls "realpolitisch." Between a daχma, e.g.

[9] al-Baiḍawī, *nīrām*, in his description of Fārs, gives an amazingly good observation: "The tombs, gōr, of the pre-Muhammedan Persians are of three types: (1) in caves, ghār, and daχma's cut out on the mountains; (2) below the mountains, with so many stones heaped upon them, as if they were mounds, tall; (3) sepulchral urns, χunh, hidden in the ground."

at Ray, Karachi, Bombay—a high circular wall with fan-like compartments for the bodies around a central pit—or the older simpler form on the rock above Istakhr, and a pyre, there is not the remotest formal similarity. It is a general and necessary phenomenon that shapes and names of things live on even after their essence has changed. Nature needs thousands of years to bring a new form to its own perfection, always with some atavistic characters. Railways needed a hundred years, motor cars less, to detach themselves from the stagecoach. If places for exposure are called daχma, and ossuaries uzdāna, both originally "funeral pyre, pile," and if the uzdāna are small imitations of tombs, the unavoidable conclusion is that the older form of interment was succeeded by the younger exposure, and that a change in the constant and immovable customs has happened.

I assume that the great stalactite cave in the mountain behind Bīshāpūr, with the colossal statue of Shahpuhr I, cut from a stalactite, is his daχma, and that the statue is the one mentioned in the Bīshāpūr inscription. Xusrau I decrees in his testament, *Pahl.Texts* 1,55: "kā ēn ǰān ač tan ē man yudtāk bēt ēn taχt ē man apar dārāt u pat 'sp'vvr barāt u pat 'sp'vvr bē nihāt, when this soul will have departed from my body, lift this bed of mine, carry it to 'spōvar, and put it down there." The name is that of the old city of Ctesiphon, see under 'Harvātāt.' Anōšazāδ, son of Xusrau II, says to his mother Shīrīn in Firdausi: "Ne me prépare pas un daχma et un trône et de longues cérémonies, donne-moi une tombe chrétienne! Il ne faut ni camphre ni ambre. . . ." Tabari III, 1833, telling of the fights that preceded the end of al-Muhtadī in A.D. 870: "The body of abu Naṣr b. Bogha had been thrown into the pit of a qanāt, was not discovered at once, and was embalmed with 300 mithqāl (1,3 ko) of musk and 600 mithqāl of camphor. After the burial the Turks broke a thousand swords over the tomb: they do that when one of their sayyids is dead."

In *Vid.*3,1-13, the world is graded in first- to fifth-best, šāišta, loci. The principle is that of *Vid.*1. The fifth-comfortable locus is "verily where small and large cattle urinate most." 3,8: the second-uncomfortable, a.šāišta, is "verily where most corpses are buried, nikantē," that means, where interment is general. 3,9: third-a.šāišta, "where most daχmā uzdēzā kryantē, funeral pyres are piled up," that is where crema-

tion is general. The sequence is not a grading of antipathy but for purposes of mnemonics. *Vid.*7,53ff. shows which thoughts may have caused the bias against cremation and interment: "where most funeral piles are piled up, uzdēzā uzdištā, upon which corpses are laid, there is the dēva, the dēvayasna etc." At this late period, beginning of our era, the dēva are mainly demons of diseases. "As if the dēva would eat and vomit at these places, as you men stew meat . . ." the rest is so faulty that it cannot be translated. 57: "ētēšva daχmēšva hambavanti aχtišča garnušča, round these daχma (here=pyre or cemetery) assemble (various kinds of) diseases." Burial places apparently were considered as unsanitary. 58: "Round these daχma the worst people assemble after sunset," to which Nyberg remarks, 32 "offenbar um dort Thaten der Finsternis zu treiben." Today it is a Persian custom to sit down, on summer evenings, for instance at Tadjrīsh above Teheran, on the desolate cemeteries, as in Europe in a café, only one brings one's picnic, usually with some rakki or an opium pipe. Other "deeds of darkness" have not come to my knowledge. The sight of the tombs enhances the pleasure of being alive. On the contrary, when in August 1916 I sometimes walked by night, at 120° F., over the cemetery in front of my house in Mossul, a Turkish sentry came asking me not to do it, not even armed, on account of aghwal, dēvs.

*Vid.*8,73-81—see under 'Industries'—is an ordinance telling how to purify fire used for cremation, nasu.pāka. The adj. is spelled nasuspačaya in *Vid.*1.16, an artificial sandhi formation for *nasu.pačiya. Bartholomae and Nyberg translate the noun by "(die unsühnbare Sünde, die im) Kochen von Leichen(teilen besteht)." The meaning cremation is indeed "über jeden Zweifel erhaben" as Nyberg says, banishing the doubt into a footnote "So auch die Pü., die indessen in 1,17 das kochen von wilden Tieren [small ones of the genus 'dog'] vorauszusetzen scheint." "Teile" parts, added for improvement, makes things worse because it creates the impression that the "cooking" was done for eating, and thus evokes the idea of cannibalism.

The fault is Germ. "kochen" which means "in water," as the proverb says "es wird überall mit Wasser gekocht." *Yt.*8,58 rules that only white and black sheep, but none piebald, are permitted to be sacrificed, pačayān, to Tištriya, and that Anāryans and bondmen (Bartholomae's "Schurken und Dirnen") shall not partake of this "roast." The sacri-

fice was done directly on the fire and, of course, the fire was not defiled by roasting meat on it, an idea which seems to have caused the translation "to cook." The Iranians pak-, "bake," bricks and pots, cf. zmani.-pačika-fire; the Romans panem coquunt and make coctile, but nobody translates "to cook bread" and to make "cooked bricks." In NP. āšpaz "the cook," pak- is generalized because āš < OP. *āšθ*a, Med. āštra "porridge, grit" was the primitive, national food (see under 'Hospitium' and 'Industries').

*Vid.*16,17, a revolting passage, says: "(as bad) as if he would fra nēzam pačāt his own son's corpse, nasum," *Wb.*: "zu Brei verkochte, das Fett dem Feuer darbrächte"; "nēza, Klumpen, formlose, breiige Masse" exists only in Bartholomae's imagination; fra is not preverb of pačāt, but first element of the compound fra.nēzam, nēza = spit, hence "to roast on a spit," as the Pahl. transl. has it. There are dozens of such compounds with fra-, and already in the Rgveda roasting on the spit is especially appreciated. The fat is not "dem Feuer dargebracht," the father does not skim off a sauce from the corpse of his son, cooked into pulp, but fra.bar- means simply the dropping of fat into the fire when roasting on a spit.[10] The Vidēvdād is a bad product, but not as bad as the translations make it.

It orders that the nasu.pāka "cremator" shall be killed, ava ǰanēta (formed after MP. ōǰatan); the dištā (fem.) "pile" shall be pulled down, apa barayān, also the uzdāna, ossuary. The fire shall be extinguished at once, but be saved by nine times rekindling one branch at the other, and be brought to the cult place, dātiya gātu, of a Bahrām fire. dištā, fem., is not a "big cauldron (Kessel)" (*Wb.*)—another wrong translation caused by "cooking," ruled out by the verb apa barayān alone—but "funeral pile." The neutr. dišta, too, in *Vid.*8,92 is not "kettle," but a pile of wood, of a charcoal-stack.

The provisions are rigorous, such as could be carried into effect only in regions under full control. They show therefore that cremation, and by analogy interment, had not yet completely disappeared from Iran as late as the beginning of our era.

[10] Cf. frabartar, who makes the water run to the field, not "Darbringer," under 'ApāmNapāt.'

THE FIFTEEN COUNTRIES OF VIDĒVDĀD I

SUGDA AND GAVA

Sughd, on the gold carrying Zarafšān, between Oxus and Jaxartes, is a country known through all times. Its main towns are Samarkand on the middle course, and Bukhāra in the delta, where the river disappears in sand. The overwhelming beauty of this country is shown in Rickmer's book *The Duab of Turkestan,* Cambridge 1913. The name may have been originally that of a river, see Bartholomae, *Ar.Forschg.* I,11. In OP. it is an ethnic.

The name gava appears twice. The old town of Isfahan bears it: Gr. Gabai, Pahl. g'b, Pārs. gby, Gr. ΓΗ (in *Ka'ba* l.32); BPārs. 𐭢𐭁, adj. gavīk-wine in Xusr.Rēt.; Arab. Djay—Isfahan would be *gava mādašayana.

Tomaschek[11] identified gava suγδa.šayana with Ho of the *Wei.šu,* in A.D. 437, which again is Kwei-šuang, Arab. kūšāniyya near Samarkand. Istakhri 323 calls this "heart of Sugd," cf. *Vid.*I,3 "the winter's heart"; ibn Ḥauqal transfers this designation, 370 and 374, to 'nahr Qay,' a canal mentioned by Tabari II, 1422 and 1441. Markwart, therefore, identified gava with nahr Qay. But in Tabari, the editor, D. H. Müller, has emended, against the Mss., FY of the texts into QY on the strength of the spelling in ibn Ḥauqal, as W. Barthold has shown, and the true name is, as in *Yāqūt* III,936, nahr Fay, mod. Nar.pai. Thus gava suγδašayana, Ho of the Weišu, seems to have disappeared as name in pre-islamic time.

The name seems to form the second element in the comp. Abargō, Bargō < *apar.gava; the nisba abarqō'ī in an inscription of the Seljuq period proves that the h in Arab. Abargūh is not etymological. The meaning seems to be "above the low land, hollow ground," viz. the depression of a salt-lake east of the town. The *Pahl.Vid.* explains gava by "dašt, plain"; Darmesteter compared Goth. gawi "Gau"; at any rate it is not gav- "cow." The meaning was unknown already in antiquity, the word a mere name.

Samarkand, Μαρακανδα, is mentioned in classic literature only in the context of Alexander's campaigns as capital of Sogdiana. Curtius gives the circumference of the town as 70 stadia, i.e. 8 miles—reliable

[11] *Zentralasiat. Studien* I: *Sogdiana,* p.96, SB.Ak.d.W. Wien 87,166.

as all measurements of the bematists—which would be a circle of two and a half miles diam., a very large area for a town of that antiquity, enough for about 150,000 inhabitants.

Gr.Bdh., chapt. "Rivers": "χvaǰand rōt pa miyān ē sumarkand u fargān bē šavēt, the river of Khoǰand (Jaxartes) flows forth between Samarkand and Farghāna." The correspondence of sumar.kand and Gr. mara.kanda (Sogd. kand=town) makes one think of √šmar-, mar-.

As the *Vidēvdād* begins with gava, so the *Šahr.Ēr.* begin with Samarkand, which Kaikā'ūs started and Siyāvuχš completed, and with a temple founded by KaiXusrau, in which a complete copy of the Awesta written by Vištāsp's order was kept. Against Markwart's opinion, this legend is entirely unhistorical, as is the similar legend of the foundation of the āδar farnbag near Tōs and Nišāpūr, which Vištāsp is said to have "rediscovered by Zoroaster's order" on mount hvarnahvant in Xvārizm, and transferred to mount Rōyēn.

With the canonization by Shāhpuhr II of the Awesta text in Awestic script in A.D. 360, all oral tradition ceased, and when in A.D. 490 the original of the Ayātkārihā ē Šahrihā was written, the authors could no longer imagine that things had ever been different, and projected the conditions of their time into the high past. Whatever one may think of the tradition of the Awesta or parts of it before it was first written down under Volagases I about A.D. 50, but a written Awesta—or an Awesta at all—at the time of Vištāspa is as impossible a notion as a New Testament in the lifetime of Christ.

The Khwārizmians began their legendary history with Siyāvuχš and ascribed to him, as Birunī tells, an era with the epochal year 1300 B.C. This may be a legendary expression for the historical fact that Mithradates the Great had introduced in 120-110 B.C. the Seleucid era, which was used in Khwārizm and Sughd till the end of the 10th century A.D. In the Shāhnāmah, Siyāvuχš takes refuge in Tūrān and marries there the daughter of the Vēsak Pirān, cf. Benveniste, BSOS VII, 275f. This legendary motif has historical precedents in the Arsacid period and seems to be the variant of an original story in which Siyāvuχš was a Tūra. This is suggested by the Armenian form of the name šavarš,

which corresponds to Sak.-Soghd. *šyāva.ršan, not to Ir. syāva.ršan.[12] But the value of this observation is impaired by the other one, that Armen. šavarš can also be Akk.-Aram. *ḫšvrš, aḫšiwaršu, i.e. χšaya.rša, Xerxes, and the names may have been contaminated like Arm. Azdahak and Ir. Astyages.[13]

BALKH

Before the vague term "Eastern Iran" came into use, one had accepted Bactria as "home of the Awesta," without scrupling at the fact that this name appears only once in the Awesta at as late a place as *Vid.*1: bāχδīm, acc. The authenticity of this form was not questioned till much later. It is not (Nyberg) "a younger," but an "inverse" form, reconstructed from MP. bāχl under the wrong assumption l < δ. Benveniste, BSOS VII,290, calls it "revêtu du déguisement avestique."

The genuine form of the OP. inscriptions, bāχtriš, is rendered in the Elam. versions in two ways: pa.k.t[a]r.ri.s, i.e. bāχtriš, the Median form, and pa.k.si.s, i.e. *bāχθ[a]iš, *bāχsiš, the OP. form. The analogy of Aw. duγδaire, i.e. *duγδrī (against OP. *duχθ[a]iš in El. tu.k.si.s) suggests a third form *bāχθri, which must be the indigenous one because it alone leads to bāχl. It is attested in *Yt.*19,14 by the name of a mountain "hača garayo vāχδrikē," which is not (*Wb.*): "anscheinend vrddhi aus einem vaχδra," but *bāχθrīka, the "Bactrian mountain," with (normal) χδ for χθ, and v for b as in Skr. vāhlīka, beside bāhlīka.[14]

Later, Bactria is called bāχl i bāmīk "the matutinal," and in Bactria lies Bāmiyān < *bāmikān, famous for its colossal Buddhas. In the *Vidēvdād* Balkh has the epithet rδwa.drafša "with lifted banners." Nyberg 15: "Erhobenes Banner bedeutet im Munde des Awesta keinen Ruhm, im Gegenteil . . . da ist es nun um so merkwürdiger, dass die Fravaši . . . in *Yt.*13,37 entfaltete Banner tragen." The origin of the flag is the totem or idol of the tribe, carried into battle, round which the warriors swarm; thus it was everywhere since remote prehistory, and everywhere and always it was the highest glory. That is why men are called to the colors, swear "Fahneneide," or else "hold up the flag" of something to the present day. Iranian flags are first mentioned in

[12] Cf. Hübschmann, *Arm.Gramm.* 61, and Markwart, UOK 1,503.

[13] Book Tobit, Lat. 14,6, Gr. 14,4-5: Ahasverus, Ασυηρος i.e. *ḫšvrš, Xerxes, and Nebuchadnezzar destroy Assur.

[14] In Atharvaveda V and Mahābhārata; Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.?) has bāhlīka, ethn. to bāhl; also Pantañjalī, in second century B.C.

the Nabunāïd chronicle: after the conquest of Babylon, the "warriors of Gutium," i.e. the Median garrison under Gobryas, take over the protection of the temples, "the sentinels of Gutium went round Esakila, (but) no banner, sīmānu (=drafša) entered it," namely because Cyrus did not permit a desecration of the sanctuaries. On the alleged "steer-banner," the Iranian imperial standard, compared in *Y.*10,12, with a drunkard, see under 'Hōma.'

Benveniste AOS 49 s interpreted the epithet bara.hvarna of Vrthragna in *Vid.*19,37 as "standard-bearer of the gods." I believe he carries, instead, his own weapon, the hvarnah, as Mithra carries the vazra in *Yt.* 10,132, Indra the vájra. hvarnah, the lightning, and vazra, the thunderbolt, are equivalents; cf. OP. ršti.bara, vaθ°abara. *Vahm.Yt.*III,17: "a king comes, 30 years of age, with uncounted banners and lifted arms."

But the banners of Balkh are a most peculiar case. Yāqūt, *mu'dj.*IV, 817f. describes them s.v. naubahār: "the naubahār has been built before the time of the Ashkān (Arsacids) by the Barmacids who were idolaters, butparastān (i.e. Buddhists), like the kings of China, India and Kābul, who went there in pilgrimage. Inside it was hung with silks, long banners were on the famous dome, qubba, called al-ustun, a hundred cubits in diameter and a hundred cubits high, with colonnades all around and 350 cells for monks. The banners stream in the wind as far as Tirmidh, a distance of twelve farsakh." Mas'ūdī, *mur.*IV,48, says "built by Manučihr" and mentions the "green banners," over 100 cubits long and made so that they do not tear in the wind.

Buddhist pilgrims—S. Beal, *Buddh.Records* 1,43f.—describe the town Little Rājagriha outside of Balkh with the monastery nava.sanghārāma, where there was a figure of Buddha, of the Vaiśravana deva, and Buddha's washing basin and broom; to the north of the monastery was a stūpa, 200 feet high, to the southwest a vihāra; "many years have passed since they were founded."

H. Rawlinson, JRGS 1872, 510, had recognized in naubahār a nava vihāra "New Monastery," and "ustun" in Yāgūt is "ustub," the stūpa. Since an early period the whole East of Iran had been converted to Buddhism. In the Kārnāmak and the Shāhnāmah, Kābul and Balkh are the typical representatives of butparastīh. MP.NP. butparast "idolator" means Buddhist because they worshipped images, idols, Arab. aṣnām. Ya'qūb ibn Laith sent the caliph in Samarra "idols from Kābul."

Even if Aw. būti > NP. bût [TPahl. bvt, pl. bvt'n, BPārs. būt-dēv] in *Vid.*19 (Zoroaster's temptation) and būδi in *Vid.*11,19, were genuine Aw. words, yet in the passages where they appear the notion of Buddha is behind them. Pērōz, brother of Shāhpuhr I, who favored Mani, represents on his Kūshān coins Buddha enthroned with the legend "bvld' yzdty, the divine Buddha." The epithet rδwa.drafša means the banners of the Buddhist temple, and designates bāχδī, i.e. MP. bāχl, as a Buddhist town, just as the scepsis and hyperscepsis characterize Nisāya and Ragā as Greek towns, at the end of the second century B.C. So old was the nava vihāra whose priests and mutawalli were the Barmacids who ruled the Islamic world at the glorious days of Baghdad. A member of this house, a full thousand years later, was the fair 'Arīb, to whom belongs the anecdote told under 'Vēhviya.'

NISAYA

Nisāya > Nisā, adj. nisān on the great seal of the andēmānkarānsālār, means "settlement" and is a common name, differentiated by epithets. There was one in Khurāsān, in Hamadān, Kirmān, Bamm, Fārs etc. The one in Hamadān, mentioned already by the Assyrians and in the Behistūn inscription, is the most famous, as the pasture of the Nēsaean horses, the *Νησαῖον πεδίον*. But the *Vidēvdād* means Nisā in Khurāsān, for, else, the main country of the whole list, Parθava, would be missing. The definition "between (miyān i) Marw and Balkh" shows that it was the place called Nsai mianak by Moses Chor., and this again is Isidorus' *αὐλῶν Παρθαῦ· Νισὰκ πόλις - - - ἔνθα βασιλικαὶ ταφαί, Ἕλληνες δὲ Νισαίαν λέγουσιν*, also Pliny's "Nisaea, Parthyenes nobilis, ubi Alexandropolis a conditore," *NH.* VI,114, and Strabo's Nēsaía.

In this Greek town, alias Alexandropolis, with the tombs of the early Arsacids, orthodoxy did not root deeply: Ahriman had created scepsis, vimanahya, gumānīh. The town does not lie on the straight line between Marw and Balkh, but, as Isidorus accurately indicates, east of Ustuwā, Gr. Astauēnē, where ibn Ḥauqal, Muqaddasī, Zakariya Qazwīnī (II,311) and Yāqūt put their Nisā i Khurāsān, between Saraχs and Abēward, Apavartiké; today Kūčān near the sources of the Atrek. It is wrong to look out, as Tomaschek and Markwart do,[15] for Nisā farther east at Maimana-Yahūdiyya, because the support, Ptolemy's

[15] *Hist. Topographie v. Persien* I,74, a valuable work, but which ought to be worked over.

Nisaia in Margiane, does not hold: Ptolemy doubles and shifts a lot of names in those regions, among them the Nisaioi, because he worked into his map materials of Alexander's time and others of Nero's time, when the Hyrcanians negotiated with Rome. The remark "between Marw and Balkh" is no exact topical indication—no other one occurs—but a kind of gloss, an interpretation of the epithet miyānak, indispensable because there were many Nisaya. Miyānak alone occurs also as placename, cf. Arab. Wāsiṭ "Middletown," called so allegedly because it was founded at equal distance from Kūfa, Baṣra and Ahwāz; but in fact the name "Wāsiṭ al-qaṣab" existed before the Muhammedan foundation. The points to which the situation of a town may be referred are arbitrary.[16] Nisāya was the capital of Parthia before the foundation of Aparšahr = Nišāpūr, important for the date of the poem.

HARĒVA

Harēva višhrzana: a gloss in *Pahl.Vid.*1,9 says: "vyš.šʙkvn.īh (i.e. called višhil because), while we keep our [višhil] for a length of nine nights and a month, they abandon the house, χānak, at [once, or: after a span of] time and go away," thinking of the višhil custom, which the *Bdh.* defines by "they abandon a house in which a person died." But the epithet of the town expresses the quality by which the god made Harēva rāmaδāti, and this explanation neither fits such a meaning nor is linguistically acceptable.

Bartholomae's etymology, based on the gloss, slightly modified by Duchesne: "Ar. *vik'.sarg'hana, with k's > kš > š > šh" would involve that "house-abandoning" was a pre-Iranian custom, but the gloss does not imply that viš meant "house," vis, and the connotation "abandon," not attested in OIr., is not that of the simplex, but results from preverbs, e.g. MP. ʙʀ' šʙkvn = bē.hil, Arm. apasarjan "divorce, separation." The simpl. √hrz-, NP. hištan, hil-, is the verb for outpouring water, used e.g. in *Vid.*6,2 and 3 for irrigating fields, in *Vid.*5,51 with upa for besprinkling a daχma, in *Nir.*108 for the watering of Hōma; it means also "filtering." The spade of the mīrāb—see under 'ApāmNapāt'—is kāstram patišhrzanam, where šh results from sandhi as in patišhvāra (see under 'Māda-Pārsa'). višhrzana is the same case: not "vis, clan,"

[16] P. Scheil, *Ann. de TukultiNinip* II,48, remarks to Isidorus' explanation of the name Phāliga (half, middle) on the Euphrates, as μεσοποτάμιον: "artificiel; il n'est pas de localité qui ne se trouve au milieu d'un parcours ou d'une section de parcours imaginaire."

but the distrib. prev. vi plus sarg'hana, meaning "distribution of water."[17]

Harēva is one of the Iranian provinces richest in water, and the archaic character of the epithet shows that its irrigation system was developed in high antiquity. If the epithet referred to the town itself, it would mean a dividiculum aquae, as ibn Ḥauqal 298f. describes in the town Zrang: "three canals in the inner city, together strong enough to drive a mill, fall into two large basins, ḥauḍ, in the Great Mosque, and are distributed from there to the sardāb (lit. 'cold-water', basements) of the houses."

Ahriman's counter-creation, saraska and driwika, may both be diseases, the first one perhaps locusts. Only the mistake about višhrzana causes the Pahl. transl. and *Bdh.* to interpret the words as an "unorthodox bewailing of the dead."

West of Herāt lay the old town Pōšang, with a famous bridge, founded according to *Šahr.Ēr.* §13 by Shahpuhr I, but indeed much older: pōšang < upōšanhva "matutinal," cf. *Yt.*19,1: "The Harā hems in the frāpiyā dahyuš upōšanhvåšča, the western and eastern countries."

VĒKRTA

Tomaschek identified vāikrta or vēkrta with Ptolemy's Οἰχάρδης, tribe Οἰχάρδαι, VI,16; though he puts them in Serica, the names are evidently Indo-Iranian. S. Lévi, *JAs.* 1925,1,67, compared Vaikṛtika in the catalogue of Mahāmāyuri. The name resembles the nn.ppr. Ved. vaikṛṇá and Ir. u.ma.ki.ir.tu in Sargon, 8th Camp. l.44 (beside m/wa.ki.-ir.tu). The topic name is not formed with vāyu "aeolian formation"; Ved. vikrta is "modified, altered," also "malformed, maimed" and the like. The *Pahl.Vid.* says "k'pvl, Kābul" for it. I tried previously to find the country in Bāχirz < *vāta.hrza, or in Jājirm, if = *gāgirm < vāikrma. But there is another way.

The epithet dūžaka.sayana, *Wb.* "home of the hedgehog," Pahl. transl. "duš-sāyak, with bad shade"—impossible as good gift of Ahura-Mazdāh—"thus because the shade of the trees, others say of the mountains, is bad for the body." This is meaningless, but confirms the spelling

[17] Arm. apasarjān < *apašarzana would show "Lautausgleich," š after i prevailing over h after a. The religious term vilhil is *vilhrz with separative instead of distributive meaning of the prev. vi.

with s, though half of the Mss. have š. √sī- (med.), "to lie, camp" has the participles sayana, Ptolemy's Σῆνα in Marw, and sayamna, Σήμνα, today Simnān, near Dāmghān. šayana is better fit for the name of a country, sayana for a town. But the elegant variation dūžaka.Sayana against ārya.Šayana (*Yt.*10), suγda.Šayana, vrkāna.Šayana (*Vid.*), is very doubtful. In all cases the first elements are names of tribes, and one must read ɢv for ɒv, in Ars. script similar, in Pārs. script identical: *gōzaka.šayana. *gōzaka < gav.aza- "cow-driver, puncher."

Gōzagān is the district between Herāt, or Marw-rōt and Balχ. In the list of kings subject to Ardashīr I, ibn Khurdādhbih 39, is also the Gōzagān χudāh. In the Museum of Lahore, made famous by Kipling's *Kim*, I once found a kufic inscription, the oldest Arabic inscription from India, on the building of a well by a Gōzagānī.

Towns of Gōzgān were Maimana-Yahūdiyya and Šuburgān, Šibirgān, 80 miles west of Balkh, which can be traced in antiquity:

Tab.Peut.:	PARTHONA	lxx	SCOBARU	lv CARSANIA
Ravenn.			SCOBARUM	CARSAMIR

This is a straight road from the plain of Mashhad-Tōs, αὐλῶν Παρθαῦ of Isidorus, to mod. Kišm < *kršm in Baδaχšān, about 185 miles SE of Balkh. The total of 125 par. is about 15 par. short. From Baδaχšān comes the lapislazuli, and a Latin author says "Oscobares ubi laser nascitur." On Ptolemy's map the name is disfigured to Ἐστοβαρα, between Bactra and Maracanda, mod. Shibirgān. The Arab geographers write š*/ub-, sub-, šuf- and s/usp-; the original initial was sp-, hence *spurgān from Aw. spryа. Syr. šbvrqn translates χάλυψ and means "steel" like Aw. spryа ahēna, "iron of Šuburgān," see under 'Industries.'

Ahriman's counter-creation is the fairy Xnan*θ*atī, apparently a non-Iranian name, which the Pahl. transl. renders by "kāmakīh, desire," adding "ān ē uzdēsparastīh, of idol-worship," perhaps because the commentator knew that the country was Buddhist, see under 'Anērān-Tūrān.'

RUVA

Wb. translates ruva by "Mesene," because the *Pahl.Vid.* explains it by mys'n.[18] This may be caused by the awkward transcription of urva by

[18] Conform with its wrong translation of awištar by apar.mānīlnīh, expl. "because the mys'n'y, Mesenians, apar.mānēnd," see under 'Anērān-Tūrān.'

(Aw.) u + (Pahl.) l + (Aw.) e, which suggests an association with Ūlē, Eulaeus, river of Susa, and (other variants) with 'VLD', which the *Šahr.Er.* §23 enumerate between Slēvak-Seleucia and Bāwēr-Babylon. Markwart, *Cat.Prov.Cap.*, believed this to be Orha-Urfa. But the ethnic of this name is spelled 'vlh'y in Shahpuhr's *Ka'ba* inscription, and 'VLD' means in reality the old Sumerian town Uruḫ-Warqā, written 'vlk' (not 'vld'), famous in Hellenism as seat of Babylonian astronomy, Ptolemy's Orchoé, *Ezra* 4,9 'rkvy', ark°vāyē, Syr. 'vrk, still in A.D. 775 mentioned as bishopric beside Kaškar. Ruva is no western country.

The name must be compared with ruvaδā in *Yt.*19,67 both connected by the same surname puruvāstra "rich in pastures." For the unexplained -δā cf. *Yt.*5,45 Usa, *Yt.*13,132 Usaδā; also vēsa:vēsaδa. It is Ptolemy's Ῥουδα, mod. Rūy i χvāf, district on the way from Kōhistān (Kā'īn) to Herāt, with the towns Rūy, Zōzan and Khargird (also Farrgird). The name seems to be an appellative, cf. Rūyān in Tabaristan. Ctesias seems to render the same name by Ὕρβα, with β for v, the place where Cyrus defeated the Medes, at the frontier between Media and Persis, hence perhaps "Great and Little Urd," not far from mod. Īzadχvās-Ἰσακοῦς.

The counter-creation of Ahriman is "aγa awištāra, evil raiders"; the country was a border land and the raiders came apparently from the South, the frontier of Kirmān and Fārs, not yet belonging to the Arsacid kingdom.

XNINTA

The epithet vrkāna.šayana determines Xninta as Hyrcania. Therefore the name can be identified with that of the tribe χρῆνδοι and the river χαρίνδας in Ptolemy VI,9. Since he makes its mouth the NE point of Media, the river must be the westernmost river of Hyrcania, the Gurgān. Tacitus, *Ann.*XI,8, calls it Erindes, i.e. 'Chrindes, and says "Dahas Ariosque disterminat," speaking of the fights between the Atropatenian Vardanes and the Hyrcanian Gotarzes. Arii, though this may be Ἀρεῖοι =Harēva as well as Ἄριοι=ārya, means here Iranians, at a time when Dahistān did not belong to the empire. Either r replaces n in Greek, or in the Vidēvdād n is disfigured from r. The Pahl. transl., too, explains χnąn as a river: rōt e gurgān-mānišnīh, "on which the Hyrcanians dwell."

In old times Vrkāna and Dahistān were the heritable country of the Vēfikān, see under 'Vēhviya.' In the Behistūn inscription it belongs to the satrapy Par*θ*ava, whereas Marw was part of Bactria. Scylax had mentioned the country, but it became well-known to the West only through Alexander and more so through Antiochus the Great, at the end of the third century B.C. and again in the first century A.D., when Hyrcania as an independent kingdom entered into diplomatic relations with Rome, cf. AMI IV,63f. It never seems to have included Māzandarān, but did include Kōmisēne on the plateau: Dāmghān-Shāhrūd. Thus the western frontier was a north-south line continuing the East coast of the Caspian Sea. In the NE it bordered first on the Turcoman steppe, then on Marw.

HARAHVATIŠ

Harahvatī, Ved. sárasvatī, is the name of a river; it seems that the Indo-Aryans brought it with them about 1500 B.C. from their original home and gave it to the country in which they settled for a while—as did the Sakā in about 110 B.C.—before going down into India. The name appears also in Media, imported by the Medes, as araquttu, in the Nimrūd tablet of TiglathPileser III, 728 B.C. Its MP. form is Ra*χ*vaδ, later alru*χχ*aǰ.

The area at the mouth of the river had been cultivated since the end of the Stone Age, and the region resembles in formation and climate the Duāb of the Oxus and Jaxartes. The southern delta has not been cultivated in historical times; the Iranian legend places its desolation in the high antiquity of Frahrasyā. Arachosia is the theater of the old Krsāspa, the later Rustam legend.

The topical name harahvatiš has been attested since the time of Darius; the name of the inhabitants was *Θαμαναῖοι*, OP. for **sāmāna*, to sāma > Sām, cf. *Grdr.* §282. The Sāmānids claim to descend from a Sāmān *χ*udā. Vivāna, the Vēfik, was satrap of the province under Darius; Sēna, of the memorial list of *Yt.*13, one of the first followers of Zoroaster, was according to the *Awdīhā Sag.* a "bustīk, of Bust" in Arachosia, a town founded "while Vištāspšāh established the religious doctrine at the Frazdān," *Šahr.Ēr.* The country is the vast river basin of the Hilmand, Afghānistān south of the Hindūkush, with the Hāmūn lake as discharge basin. The mod. name of the river is old hētumant,

"with many dikes," for irrigation and against inundations. hētu may belong to √hā-, hi-, "to tie to a line," cf. the Arab. terms for canals and dams: ḥabl "rope," khaṭṭ "line, groove," khaiṭ "thread"; as OP. yuviya "canal," OI. yavyá "river" may belong to √yu-.

The old name of the Hāmūn is Kansavya, see under 'Last Judgment,' a name derived from *kansu- of unknown meaning. Hāmūn is appell. "flat plain," zamīn i hamvār, without elevations or depressions. Thus it is used in *Ayātk.Zar.* §19, not as I formerly believed as n.pr.: "in the white forest, arus.arzur, and Marw, where there is no high mountain nor a deep lake, but on this dašt ē hāmūn, we will fight!" Hence, hāmūn is OIr. hāmagōna.

From the lake rises Mt. Ušidam, today Kōh i Xwāja, see under 'Hvarnah.' The modern delta at the northern end of the lake is called Miyān Kangī, i.e. antara.kanha, in *Yt.*19,4 enumerated under the names of mountains. In an old diary I had noted: "kang designates an island in Sīstān."

The Hāmūn has a much lower-lying escape basin, a remarkable geographical feature, the gaud i Zirih, a name in which zrayo, zranka survives. This escape is the Aw. frazdānu in *Frhg.Ēv.*4,g and *Yt.*5,108, where Vištāspa prays. Duchesne §208: "Skr. fra.dhā- 'déplacer d'un lieu dans l'autre,' plus dānu-," "running water" gives a name which fits this surplus basin as perfectly as vējah the communication between Sarykamysh and Caspian. It is Ptolemy's *Φράζανα*, *Rav.* Parazene, *Tab. Peut.* disfigured Tazarene from **φαραζηνή*.

In *Vid.*1, harahvatiš and hētumant are mentioned side by side as two countries, while the names are practically identical. The first has the epithet "the lovely," the second "rēvant hvarnahvant," see under 'Fravarti' and 'Tištriya'; Pahl.transl. r'y'wmnd ꝺꝺʜ.'wmnd, explained by "χvēškār u tuχšāk mēnōg sigistān, the dutiful and industrious genius of Sigistān." But at the turn of our era, in Isidorus, the country was divided into three portions: (1) Zarangiane, the old "Sealand" Zranka with the capital Zarin and the old fire-temple Korok, Karkōy; (2) Sakastane, "Sakā country" or Paraitakene, i.e. Rūdbār, the long middle course of the river; to these first two parts hētumant corresponds in the *Vidēvdād*; (3) Arachosia, at that time "White India," with many towns, among them Alexandria Arachosiae, near mod. Qandahar < *Γουνδοφάρρων*, these two at that time with Greek constitution. This eastern

part is harahvatiš of the *Vidēvdād*. Not far east from there was the frontier of the empire on the Bolan pass.

The Sakā, coming from the Jaxartes, were allowed to settle in the country about 110 B.C., and founded from there their vast but short-lived Indian empire. A mixture of foreign nations lived there already before them. In the *Vidēvdād* the name of the Sakā does not yet appear.

Ahriman's counter-creation is interment of the dead, no reason to assume that old-Zoroastrian missionaries fought there against this custom. In Hētumant the counter-creation are locusts. I have met with locusts in Sīstān every time. As in Assur, they came from the desert in the West.

RAGĀ

The Awesta mentions Ragā only in the catechism of *Yt.*19,18 and in *Vid.*1,15, both passages as late as the Arsacid period. In *Vid.* the form is fem., as in OP.; the differing inflection in *Yt.*19 is not genuine. The OP. form in *Beh.* §§32 and 36 is Ragā, fem., El. rak.ka.n, Akk. ra.ga.'; at Alexander's time Ῥαγαί; Strabo XI,13,6: ἡ Ῥάγα τὸ τοῦ Νικάτορος κτίσμα ὃν ἐκεῖνος μὲν Εὐρωπὸν ὠνόμασε, Πάρθοι δὲ Ἀρσακίαν; source of Pliny NH.VI,14,17. In *Shahp. Ka'b.* Pahl. ryd? (or g?), Pārs. ldy, Gr. PINΔ (most improbable); *SarMašh.* and the coins spell rdy, the d is inverse as in Gdy for Gay. *Pahl.Vid.*1,15: l'k (or l'g), l'y, l', lyy; *Gr.Bdh.* ldy.

If Ragā were "das einzig sicher medische Land, das im Awesta genannt wird" (Nyberg 342), it would say nothing, for the horizon of the Awesta is the Seven Kršvar with ārya.šayana as center, and this is the concept of the pre-Zoroastrian passages as well as of the gatha. Ragā has two epithets: zāraθuštriš, which the Skr. transl. and the Pahl. gloss "dēh ē χvēš, his own province" understand rightly as "belonging to Zoroaster." As discussed under 'Spitāma,' it was Zoroaster's home and birthplace, Pahl.comm. to 1,15: zrtvšt MN ZK y'k YHVVN.t, with the variant pyt'k YHVVN.t, "Zoroaster was or appeared from that place." The other old epithet θrizantuš means "consisting of three zantu," viz. Kazwīn, Ray and Kum. The term resembles Gr. τριχάικες, and there is a possibility that Herodotus' Ἀριζάντοι were in reality θριζάντοι.

A. V. W. Jackson saw in Ragā zāraθuštriš a "Papal See" on account of the catechism of *Yt.*19, which we have discussed under 'Spitāma.'

Nyberg caught at that faulty idea, transforming it into a "Hauptmissionsstation" and connecting it with the "abolition of the kavi-title," see under 'Kavi.' He writes 298: "Der zaraθuštrōtəma ersetzt den Titel kavi. Im Westen konnte man dafür einfach zaraθuštra sagen. Offenbar war zaraθuštrōtəma zuerst der höchste Herrschertitel der zoroastrischen Gemeinde, dem zoroastrischen Stammeshäuptling eigen und dem alten kavi-Titel gleichwertig. . . . Die Ursache ist also nach allem zu urteilen die, dass die Stammeshäuptlinge sich statt dessen 'der am meisten Zarathustra-gleiche' nannten."

"Nach allem" is the remark in *Wb.*579 to čaθruratu in *Yt.*19,18: "vier ratu, nicht fünf wie die übrigen Länder; Raga hatte keinen besonderen ratuš dahyuma, dessen Stellung vielmehr mit der des zaraθuštrōtəmō in einer Person vereinigt ist, nach Markwart, *Ērānš.*112." As a matter of fact, the catechism says that Zoroaster himself kept the office of ratuš dahyuma, satrap. The catechism does not mention the zaraθuštratama at all. It was a wrong combination of Markwart who wanted to explain the MP. title maşmoγān in Tabaristān. The superlative occurs only in post-Alexandrian passages, *Vispr., Gāsamb., Yt.* 1 and 2, and in *Yt.*10,115; 19,18, in a series of adjectives which predicate nothing. The medieval Pārsism saw in zaraθuštratama a yazata, head of priesthood, an abstraction. Superlatives of names do not signify "coming up nearest to," i.e. not-reaching, but the highest degree: at the side of a zaraθuštratama even Zoroaster would be small. Perhaps this unreal word was made to express a notion like "most Zoroastrian of all." The town where one could simply say "zaraθuštra" is Ragā; but there, Nyberg does not speak of a "Stammeshäuptling" but of the "Oberhaupt der Hauptmissionsstation" of the "Priesterstaat" which never existed. Thus the zarathustrissimus becomes a clerical serenissimus.

Ahriman's counter-creation is, in *Vid.*1,15, the "hyperscepsis, uparo.-vimanahya," and, as in the case of Nisaya-Alexandropolis, with its scepsis—this epithet describes Ragā as the Greek town Europus.

ČAXRA

Such a topical name, "wheel," is unknown. The "hostile host on chariots," hēnā čaχravatī of the *Ōgmadēča* has nothing to do with it, see under 'Kršvar.' Lexicographers of the 16th century A.D. note čarχ

as local name in Khurasan, but I have found no support for this name in medieval or modern geographical literature.

But since the name must not be truly Awestic, and since Aw. čaχra changes to NP. čarχ, one may consider, especially as the name follows upon Ragā, whether it be Ctesias' *Ζαρκαῖον ὄρος* called *Ζάγρος* since Alexander's time. Zagros is usually believed to come from the Ass. expression ḫuršāni zaqrūti "high mountains"; but this could only be true if the Assyr. appellative had become a name in Iran, not a probable assumption, and rather disproved by Ctesias *Ζαρκαῖον*. The only Iranian assonant is mod. Jahrum, *Shāhnāmah*: Čihram, *Kārn. Art.*: Čarham, but this is a canton in southern Fārs, too small and too far away to be identified with čarχ < čaχra.

Ahriman's counter-creation, cremation of the dead, points to a non-Iranian population.

VARNA

The very origin of the name varuna čaθrugōša, as explained under 'Kršvar' is the heaven with its four cardinal points. The epithet čaθrugōša is taken from *Yt.*5,33; from the same source comes the addition: "Θrētōna was born there, the slayer of AžiDahāka." The two creations of Ahriman are "intemperate climate and non-Aryan raiders," the latter pointing to a situation near a frontier.

The commentary of the *Pahl.Vid.* says (1) to varuna: "vrn, p'n.-dvšχv'lgl dylm[19] 'yt mnv kyrm'n ymllvn.yt, Varn: patišχvārgar dēlum; one says kirmān"; (2) to čaθrugōša: "čahārgōš 'p.š iv-gvšyh hn' 'yk: l's iv byn br'-ykvymvn.yt 'yt' mnv 'ytvn' ymllvn.yt: štr'st'n.š bb' iv 'yt, four-cornered, because four roads exist therein; one says: its capital has four gates"; (3) to awištāra, understood as mdm.mānišnīh, neighborhood: "mnv p'n.dvšχv'lgl ymllvn.yt dylm'y, mnv kylm'n ymllvn.yt b'lyč, the one who says patišχvārgar: dēlumāyē, the Delumites; the one who says kirmān: the bārič."

Patišχvārgar, the "mountains of patišhvāra" or Tabaristan, are the slopes of the Alburz towards the Caspian Sea east of the Demawand; they comprise the virgin forests round Āmul, Barfurūš and Sāri, and the plains east of them Māzandarān proper. Dēlum is the slopes of the

[19] Var.l. ptšχv'lgl, ptšv'l, NP. pdlχ'rgr: Two mss. have kyl and dyl (or gyl) for dylm, but these variants are disproved by the following ethnic dylm'y.

highest Alburz, stretching west to the deep transversal valley of the Safīd rūd, north of Qazwīn. The western half of the plains, both banks of the Safīd rūd, with the towns Rasht and Anzalī, likewise virgin forest, is Gēlān.

The commentary gives two contradictory localizations: (1) varuna = patišχvārgar and as neighbors the Delumāyē in the West. The reason is: varuna is the land of the Θrētōna myth, to which the text alludes, and in the later form of this myth, AžiDahāka was imprisoned under the Demawand. A further help was the formula of the Hōšyanha myth in *Yt.*5,22: duvē *θ*rišvē māzanyānām dēvānām varunyānāmča (see under 'Anērān-Tūrān'), because Māzandarān, the country of the māzanya, is comprised in patišχvār.

(2) varuna = Kirmān. The reason is: Kirmān was believed to be the country of AžiDahāka, the kirm, i.e. worm, snake, and the late form of the AžiDahāka myth, the legend of Ardashīr and the kirm, is located there. The neighbors, Bārič, are the inhabitants of the Kōh i Bāriz, south of Kirmān, see under 'Māda-Pārsa.' In support of this interpretation, there is a second Demawand in Kirmān, the volcano Kōh i Tafdān, kansotafδra of *Yt.*19,3.[20] *Gr.Bdh.* 93: "Near Damindān [on the SW slope of Tafdān] is an abyss, from which smoke always rises . . . they say, a source of hell is in it." The *Bdh.* adds a legend, that the chasm accepts or rejects certain things thrown into it; a similar story is told of the Frambar fire in Kōmis. *Burhān,* s.v. nōšāδur: "Salmiac pits are also on a mountain near Damindān, which belongs to Kirmān; on this mountain is a cave from which smoke rises that solidifies." Finally ibn al-Faqīh, 206: "Xvāṣ (also spelled χvāč, i.e. OP. hvādēči) in Kirmān, at mount Dumbawand, with sulphur-mines, seven farsakh from the mountain."

Both sources of the commentary try to locate the Θrētōna myth in the Arsacid country Varna, but contribute nothing to the location of that country itself. On the contrary, if they can waver between Patišχvār and Kirmān, it was entirely unknown to them. čaθrugōša, as its miscarried interpretations make only the more apparent, was not a surname of the Arsacid country, but of the mythical varuna. But Ptolemy has a town Οὐάρνα placed between Μοροῦνδα-Marand and Ναξούανα-Naχ-

[20] Percy Sykes in Geogr.Journ.x,1897, 486; Vredenburg, Mem.Geol.Surv. India, xxxi,2, 1901, 271-73, pl.iv; cf. under 'Māda-Pārsa.'

čawān, hence near the modern Russo-Persian frontier, and a tribe Οὐάρνιοι which he locates in Bactria. The source of the first name is presumably some record of Pompey's campaign, while the second Bactrian name can only come through Eratosthenes from Alexander's time. With both names the Arsacid country Varna can be linked.

Ptolemy mentions also the Γῆλαι of Gēlān, which Pliny VI,48 calls "the former Cadusii"; in Ctesias the Cadusii are typical representatives of the Iranian aborigines. Strabo, confirmed by Syriac authors,[21] describes the customs of the Gēlai as matriarchal. Such prevailed in Elam through all her history, among the peoples on the Pontus—the Mossynoikoi e.g. practiced the couvade—and as late as the beginning of our era with the eastern Sakā. Xenophon describes the Mossynoikoi living in pile-dwellings, and such strange buildings are still the rule in modern Gēlān. Evidently the Gēlae and Cadusii were aborigines. Strabo mentions as his source Theophanes, who took part in Pompey's campaign, and Plutarch mentions the Gēlae in his *Life of Pompey*, 35.5. Thus the name became known to the western world through Pompey in 66 B.C.

The fact that Ptolemy mentions both, Varna and Gēlae would be no counter-argument against Andreas' etymology:[22] "gēl < varnya, ethn.adj. of varna." The phonetic change rn > l is entirely possible, though so far without parallel;[23] v > g, after 130 B.C. (date of *Vidēvdād*) and before 66 B.C., would be unexpectedly early: still in 20 B.C. the second Awramān parchment shows v, not g, in Ὀλεννζείρη = *vrdančihr, and only in A.D. 50 we find Geopothros < *vēvapuθra and Gundophares < vindat.hvarnah. The lack of similarity between gēl and varnya may be the reason that the Sasanian commentators failed to recognize in it Ars. varna. On the other hand, the name of the Gēlae may be much older and may be a non-Iranian name. Arm. gail, etym. = lupus, λῦκος, corresponds to Ir. vṛka "wolf"; in Georgian "wolf" is mgeli. Like the Tapuri, Tabarī of Tabaristan, who are Tabal, Tibareni from the Pontus, the Gēlae may be a people from the Pontus who always bore that name. Thus the identity of Arsac. Varna and Gēlān

[21] Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, transl. pp.19-20. [22] See H. Jacobsohn, KZ.1928, 128.

[23] Except in ōṛmuṛī, which is too far away. The Zāzā Kurds who speak a Median dialect, call one of the Tigris tributaries Bylqalēn < āb i dhī l-qarnain, cf. W. Belck, Verhdlg. Berl. Anthrop. Ges. 1900, 463, and Markwart, *Südarmenien* 60 and 557, but this is a singular case. Markwart's parallel: Arm. karnoy k'alak' > Arab. qālīqalā is inconclusive, for this may render karin k'alak', cf. Georg. kari, Gr. Kárana = Erzerum.

depends solely on Andreas' etymology and an assumed change of sound, not otherwise attested, but perhaps right.

The commentary to Varna does not even think of Gēlān, it does not mention Māzandarān as country of the māzanya—though this belongs to patišχvār—and so the name varna is not the cause for locating the myths of Θrētōna and Hōšyanha in Patišχvārgar. In the Iranian epic Hōšyanha's place was the harā brzatī, on which also Miθra vurugavyūti dwelled, the mountain encircling the earth. The name Ariobarzanes, i.e. *(h)arabarzates, preserved in Orosius from a source of Alexander's time, proves by its Old Iranian form that the mountain was called so long before Alexander. Ἀαβούρας in the history of Antiochus II is Γαβούρας < gavyūti and came together with harā brzatī. This name of the Alburz is as old as Hvāra and Patišhvāra, and was given to it when the immigrating Aryans first saw the towering range above Hvāra.

Attempts to locate the old myths in that region are much later than the transfer of the name Alburz, and this first transfer may have caused the names Varna and Māzandarān to be fixed on the unconquered northern slopes of the mountain. Māzandarān "country of the māzandar" superposes itself upon older Tapuri, Tabaristan. It was used as appellative. I remember an anecdote in the Aghāni, where someone says to a duellist famous for challenging everybody "when you are dead you still will challenge the māzandar, the devils!" The name has the form of a comparative and may mean "worse than, outdoing the māzanya."

UPA UDĒŠU RANHAYĀ

*Vid.*1,19: upa aoδēšu raŋhayå yo asāro aiwyāχšayeinti. The second half of the sentence is construed in MP.: yo as iḍāfa resumed by awi, replaces Aw. yahmi. The verb, from which awi must be separated, stands either for šayanti "where the asāra dwell," or for χšayanti "where they rule."

Because upa aoδēšu and upa sanakē are opposed in *Yt.*12,18 and 19, Bartholomae assumed "source" and "mouth" of the river. For *Vid.*1,19 one needs a wider notion than "source," for which the usual word would be χan. Bartholomae compared aoδa to Lat. unda; as Ir. correspondent of Skr. udaká, udnáh, it is better to read, as Tedesco proposes, uδa, uδēšu "on the waters." The entire term is an analogy to vēǰo

vahviyå dāθyayå and upa sanakē ranhayā. All names belong to the Duāb.

sanaka, too, correlates the region and the river. For its meaning there are only two indications: it is opposed to uδa in parallel or contrast, and it stands between ušastare, dōšatare, east, west and vimaδyē "middle" (of the earth). One may think of "bank," perhaps a certain bank, like cis and trans Jaxartem, as in Gr. Transoxiana, Arab. mā warā l-nahr, "beyond the river (of Balkh)." Cf. sadan, san-, Sogd. san "monter," Benveniste, JAs. 1936, 204f.; Tedesco zii,11,39; Bailey BSOS IX,1,231: Iran. base san-, sa-, in χvar.ā.sān "sunrise, east." TPārs. has χvar.parān "west," χvar.āsān "east," -parān to OI. parāyaṇam "departure, occasus," to pāra, Germ. "Fahrt"; with aδa "downward" TPahl. aδapār, Pars. ēwār "occasus, evening." The opposition makes the signification of √san- "rise" probable.

On the asāra *Vid.*2,5 (*PüZ*) says: "ēn ku.š daχšak ē martomān andar tan kirt ēstēt, ač ān ǰāk pētāk: abaršnuva pasčēta asāra martiyākēbyo, those to whom this mark of mankind is made on the body, as is evident from the passage: with the men without neck, without head." *Wb.* misinterprets both, asāra and abaršnuva. *Draχt As.* describes them in §44:

yut.sartak martomak	abnormal men,
kē mānēnd tar ō būm	which live beyond the earth,
*vitastīk u varčašm	the pygmies and the "chest-eyed"
kē čašm pa var ast	whose eyes are on their chest.

yut-sartak "heterogeneous, allophyl" is used in the *Dēnkart*, chapter on the literary history of the Awesta, where Shāhpuhr II canonizes not only the Awesta written by Ātarpāt, but also yut-sartak texts. These are not the "nachträglich hinzugekommenen," as Nyberg translates, 418f., but the "heterogeneous," i.e. non-religious texts, the scientific literature translated by Shahpuhr's order from Greek and Syriac.

varčašmān and vargōšān, chest-eyed, chest-eared, sagsarān, "dog-headed," and vitastīkān "span-long, Germ. Däumling," Gr. δάκτυλοι, are all described in *Ayātk.Zām.*, Messina ch.9, cf. *Gr.Bdh.* 107. Ctesias and Megasthenes describe similar prodigies after Indian fairy tales, but Ctesias' sources were Iranian, and the *Vid.* passage shows that they were known in Iran. "The headless, ἀκέφαλοι, that have the eyes on their

chest" of Herodotus IV,191 are in Libya. The same ἀκέφαλοι = asāra appear in Pseudo-Callisthenes III,28, and were propagated all over the world with the romance of Alexander. They entered old English miniatures and the *Nürnberger Weltchronik*. Hence, Shakespeare mentions them in *Othello* and the Storm. Nor are they lacking in *1001 Nights:* ed. Cairo II,97: "and I saw many creatures who had their eyes on their chest." They are really well known everywhere.

Bartholomae actually found something religious even in these figures of fairy tales: a αἵρεσις ἀκέφαλος, a sect without chief. And in Nyberg's theory, which considers this chapter of the *Vidēvdād* as the true history of the Zoroastrian mission, the country of the headless ones, on the Jaxartes, becomes the country where Zoroaster, after his "headless" flight from his homeland, founded his first community.

Under 'Arithmetic' we mentioned the verses of *Yt.*13,16, where Buddha appears under the name nāδyah Gōtama, and under 'Balkh' some other allusions to Buddhism at the time of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom. The only other allusion to Hellenism in the Awesta, so far discussed, was "scepsis and hyperscepsis" as characteristics of Nisaia and Ragā as the Greek towns Alexandropolis and Europus. However scarce, such allusions are important for dating the parts of the Awesta in which they occur.

Alexander himself, though admitted into the Iranian epics, has left no trace in the Awesta. But Ionians appear, and they may be either Greeks of the Seleucid or the Bactrian kingdom. The name is *yōna like OP. yōna < Gr. *ἰων-*, while OI., like Akkad. has yavana from older Gr. *ἰαϝων*.

In a linguistically poor fragment of the Vištāspa legend in *Yt.*9,29-31, Vištāspa prays for victory over several adversaries, among them:

"maryahya ŋyōnahya arǰataspahya, the hyonian slave Arǰataspa"

and

uta azam fra.rvēsyāni	and (that) I may bring home
humāyā vrdakanā(m)ča	Humayā and *Vrdanakā
ŋyōnaya hača dahyāvo	from the hyonian countries
uta azam niǰanāni	and I may slay
ŋyōnīnām dahyūnām. . . .	of the hyonian countries. . . .

The ethnic ŋyōna appears only once more, in *Yt.*19,87, verses modelled after 5,108, where "and the evil . . . ŋyōna," from 9,31, is added to "victory over Arǰataspa." In all other fragments of the Vištāspa legend—*Yt.*17,48 (=9,29-31 shortened), *Yt.*5,108-109 (Vištāspa on lake Frazdānu) and *Yt.*5,113 and 116—Arǰataspa and his people are called dēvayasna and drugvant, but their ethnic, if mentioned at all, is not ŋyōna, but tūrya. In the oldest and most explicit form of the legend, as told by Chares of Mytilene, Homártēs, i.e. Homárgēs, the ethn. (Saka) hōmavrga, replaces the n.pr. Arǰataspa. The Sakā were Iranian subjects when Cyrus was killed in the far northeast; under Darius and Xerxes their country is counted as satrapy. When Alexander arrived there, they were independent like the Hvārazmiya. They must have regained their

independence in the course of the fifth century, and appear as foreigners in the legend of the fourth century.

The Pahl. commentators—and the later epic—understood ẖyōna as hiyōn, the Chionites.[1] Western authors mention them first as auxiliaries of Shāhpuhr II at the siege of Amida in A.D. 356-359, and it is only Bahrām V, Yazdegird II and Pērōz who have continuously to fight a group of central Asiatic peoples, among them the Chionites, that had invaded the area of the former Yōna kingdom. Josua Stylites, in A.D. 466, identifies them with the Kidara Huns, or Hephthalites: "XYVNY' that are the HVNY'." Hephthalite coins with OIONO, i.e. HIONO, confirm Josua.[2]

The yasht passages are not old, but none can be as young as the fifth century A.D. Nyberg 296: "einem andren [not saying which] Zeitraum der Geschichte Zentralasiens gehören nach allem zu urteilen die hyaōna an . . . Herzfeld's Ansicht, dass hyaōna für yaōna steht, finde ich unannehmbar, da hyaōna nicht von χiyōn getrennt werden kann." That is why I did not separate them: "ẖyōna can be an orthography of Sasanian copyists who saw the hiyōn in YVN = yōna of the text." "Copyists" was no good expression; one can define it better.

Into the epics the name of the Chionites entered during or shortly after the fifth century A.D. *Gr.Bdh.* 198f. and *Mēn.Xr.* (Ankles. 61) write, in two versions:

"tvrk BRH-y // χyvn" or "tvrk-y BRH V χyvn KLYTVN.t'"

The verb KLYTVN.t = χvānt, demands a preceding relative MNV = kē instead of or after the ligature BRH; // indicates uncertain reading, hence perhaps -š:

"tvrk BRH-y" or simply "tvrk-y [MNV.š] χyvn KLYTVN.t"

"a (young) Turk—who are called hiyōn"—hits Sām with his arrow, he falls asleep, lying in dramnak (see under 'Ardvī') and covered by snow,[3] awakening only at the resurrection. Turk, at the time of the *Bdh.*, translates "tūrya," and the gloss "hiyōn" may have had some support in an old YVN, yōna, of the text.

[1] Cf. Markwart, *Ērānšahr* 50; *Volkstum d. Komanen* 70f.; A. Christensen, *Kayanides* 25 and 157; and ASIt VI,27f.

[2] Cf. *ASI.*Mem.38, *Kushan.-Sasan. Coins*, 19.

[3] The legend, usually located in Pīlīn, Arachosia, is also told on the Savalān mountain near Ardebīl, see C. Ritter, *Erdkunde v. Asien* IX,801: "in einer Schneespalte liegt der ewige eingefrorene Mann, der sich immer gleich bleibt."

The changing designations reveal: The old myth spoke of tūrya; the Achaemenian version, attested by Chares, in which the myth coalesced with that of the Bactrian Druvāspa-Luhrāsp, introduced the name hōmavrga. The third ethnic, (h)yōna may refer to the Greeks of Alexander's time, but since the legend developed in eastern regions, (h)yōna was more probably introduced in Arsacid times referring to the Greco-Bactrians. In Sasanian times, the hiyōn occupied the region of these yōna, names that call for identification. When the Bactrian kingdom was long since forgotten, the old yōn and new hiyōn were actually believed to be the same people.

The epic which never ceased to absorb new historical events, admitted the Hiyōn; but to appear in the Awesta the people came much too late. The Awesta writes ẖyōna with a special sign, not with normal h, and this occurs as initial only in the name ẖyōna and in "ẖyat" for the particle yat or the opt. of √ah-, Lat. "siēt." One ms. writes ahyōn-. In medial position the sign is used for h before y, e.g. in daẖyu-, but never exclusively; certain copyists only—here the expression fits—transferred it from initial to medial, but originally it was a special sign for the name ẖyōna only.

In the Muhammedan period one may imagine changes in the Awestic text, but not the invention of new characters, the less so as there were two signs for h available. And during the Sasanian period, the text could not be changed, because Shāhpuhr II had canonized the whole corpus as written by Ātarpāt: "now, since the religion is visible to the world, we shall not tolerate anybody's irreligiosity, that shall be our continuous endeavor; and he acted accordingly." Thus the sign must have been invented, along with the whole Aw. alphabet, for use in this name.

Much has been written about imaginary ordeals of Zoroaster—see under 'Last Judgment'—but the real ordeal which Ātarpāt underwent has received little attention.[4] The *Dēnk*. says: "pas ač bōχtan ē ātarpāt pa gowišn ē passāχt, after A. had been acquitted by the testimony of the ordeal," that means the divine confirmation of the accuracy of the text he had written. At the first writing, under Volagases I, in Arsacid Aramaic, and at the second transliteration of this archetype into Sasanian script under Ardashīr I, no such divine testimony was required.

[4] See Sacr. Books of the East v,376.

The ordeal raises Ātarpāt's achievement far above the former attempts, and besides, it is the last one. Therefore, *Ātarpāt was the inventor of the Awestic script.*

That is why he ranks high in the history of the Zoroastrian religion. The *Bahman Yt.*1,1[3] tells of a vision of Zoroaster: First he had prayed for immortality, but the god declines, because granting this wish would contradict resurrection and salvation, eternal life in heaven. Then he sees a tree with four branches, of gold, silver, steel and "mixed-with-iron," which the god explains as degeneration until, after a thousand years, the first sōšyant appears. The *Dēnkart* interprets the four phases as (1) revelation of the religion; (2) Vištāspa's accepting the religion; (3) Ātarpāt restoring it; (4) the time after Shāhpuhr II.

Taken as a paleographic problem, all the signs of the Awestic script are derived from Sasanian cursive during a phase this cursive had reached in the middle of the fourth century, in perfect agreement with the above result. This theory diverges widely from the eclectic way of invention which H. Junker advanced in his treatise on the Awestic script. It is based on the paleography of the Sasanian inscriptions, and, unfortunately, cannot be proved without publishing the squeezes and photographs of all inscriptions and legends on coins and seals referring to the problem, a material which is in my hands.

The 𐬭 used in 𐬭iyōna is—like ə:ɔ, ē:e, γ:k, ǰ:č, ţ:t—differentiated from hv by a diacritical hook or flourish under the letter, which makes it a sign hy, h only used before y. The other h signs replace a letter of the Aramaic archetype. If the archetype had an h in the name HYVN, there was no need or reason to create a special sign: the diacritical hook marks the sign as an addition which interprets YVN as hiyōn. The Chionites appear first in 356-59, the very time when Ātarpāt was working, and the invention of the Awestic script is dated thereby in about A.D. 360.

About that time a strange passage in Y.9 must have been composed (st.24):

> hōmo . . . krsānīm apa.χšaθram nišāδayat
> Hōma . . . has expelled the krsānī from the empire.

[3] West, *Pahl. Texts* I, and SBE V.

nišāstan, "to settle," cf. J. H. Kramers, BSOS VIII, on the nišāstagān, military colonists on the Caucasus limes. apa.χšaθra, a spurious compound with the MP. privative apa "away from," hence "settle outside, expel from the country," IPārs. MN štry RDYTN. apa.χšaθra implies the notion "foreign country, Ausland" like late Aw. (*Nir.*9) uzdahyu from TPahl. uzdēh, in a political acceptation not possible before the time of Mithradates II, end of the 2nd century B.C.

"yo rōsta χšaθrokāmyo yo davata"

Bartholomae: "rōsta, der jammerte." The following lines speak of čarāt, and comparing Y.51,12 rurōst ašto and *Vid.*1,49 čara and aparōδaya, one must translate "he forbade." χšaθrokāmya, Bartholomae "in der Sorge um seine Herrschaft," but kāma is never "anxiety," but the "bon plaisir" of one who has power over something. A χšaθrokāmya has power over the χšaθra, is a šāh ē kāmkār, cf. Pāpak's letter to Ardashīr in *Kārn.*: "Ardavān is kāmkārtar patiχšāy over us," absolute ruler; often in inscriptions, kāmkār u patiχšāy. χšaθrakāmya is the same as χvatāvya: the *βασιλεὺς αὐτοκράτωρ*, hence:

he forbade, the emperor, he issued an edict.
noit mē apām āθrava awištiš vrδyē dahyava čarāt.

"not shall henceforth an āθravan sojourn in my country in order to . . ." an ungrammatical sentence, cf. Benveniste, *Inf.av.* 39. čarāt means "to live, travel"; awištiš vrδyē, according to Bartholomae "studia (sacra) ut augeat"; but Pahl.transl. "pa kāmak, as he pleases." The inf. vrδyē stands for MP. varzišn, "for the work" at an activity expressed by awišti, a pseudo-Aw. noun abstr. to awyaχšaya, "inspection," or—thinking of "awištar, raider"—"incursion, immigration."

ho vispē vrδīnām vanāt ni vispē vrδīnām ǰanāt

The general sense of Bartholomae's translation is "the foreign, Persian, student steals and kills our—the exiled krsānī's—knowledge." The awful sentence is no part of the edict, but laments over its consequences. The subject of "ho vanāt—ǰanāt" is the same as of "yo rōsta—davata," viz. the emperor. vanāt cannot belong to MP. vanītan, vanquish, but must be syn. of "ni ǰanāt, ruins." The usual MP. phrase is vināsēt-ǰanēt, here perhaps √ van- "annihilate." All is Sas. Pārsīk transposed into Awestic.

The Pahl. transl. of krsānīm is "kilsiyāk," explained by "tarsākdēnīh, Christianity"; Skr. transl. equally kalaśiyākaḥ. The Sasanian government had expelled Christians, and the Byzantine emperor answered by forbidding Sasanian priests to travel in his countries. This sounds like the beginning of persecutions of Christians in Iran, and the oldest recorded by western sources was in A.D. 346 under Shāhpuhr II. But there seems to have been an earlier one, for a passage isolated by large gaps, and hence not quite comprehensible, of the Kartēr inscriptions, time of Shāhpuhr I (Bahrām II?), *KiZ* l.9, *NiR* 29, *SMash.* 14, says:

kyšy ZY 'hrmny v šyd'n MN štry RDYTN v pl..'k? v yhvdy v šmny v brmny v n'čr'y [v.l.:n'sr'-] v klsynyk'n [v.l.:krs°] v m. . . . v zndyky BYN štry MḤYTVN YḤVVN.d 'vzdysy gvk'nyhy v glsty ZY šyd'n VB. . . . yhy v yzd'n g'sy v nšdmy. . . .

"the doctrine of Ahriman and the dēvs driven from the country, and the . . . and Jews and Shamans and Brahmans and Nāsrāya and Kilsiyanīk and M. . . . and Zandīk in the country were killed, destruction of the idols and . . . of the dēvs. . . ."

A shorter enumeration of non-Iranian religions appears in a tolerance edict, quoted in a retrospective speech delivered at the time of the Armenian rebellion against Yazdegird II by the chief Mōbaδ:[6] "in our country the Magus, the Zandīk, the Jew, the Christian and what other religions there are, shall live for their faith in peace!" The intolerance of Shāhpuhr II, to whom Schaeder attributed the edict, is a fact, and I would still prefer to ascribe it to Shāhpuhr I, although the inscription reveals persecutions in his time: the edict may have put an end to them.

The inscription distinguishes between n'čr'y and klsynyk'n. The first is Syr. nāṣrāyē, N.T. naṣōrāyā, *Ναζωραῖοι*; the second is *χριστ[τ]ιανός*, seemingly influenced in form by *ἐκκλησια* Pahl. kalīsak, kanīsak, associated with the notion.[7] *Vahm.Yt.*: "ač avēšan hēšm.tōχmakān salmān dēhān druǰ šētāspīh u kilsiyākīh, Mahvindāδ guft ku hrōmāyīk bavēnd, from that Asmodaeus-brood of Salm countries comes the šētāspīh demon and the kilsiyākīh, Māhvindāδ says: they are the Rhomaeans." Salm, sarima of the old myth, of the tripartition of the world, represents Byzantium. MP. šētāsp, as n.pr. on a seal, Horn 23, n.1125,

[6] In Elīše Vardapet, quoted by H. H. Schaeder, *Iran.Beitr.*

[7] Cf. Lidzbarski, *Z.f.Sem.*, 1, 1920, 23ff.; Nöldeke, *Pers.Stud.*: kunīšt, synagogue, in Shāhnāmah, from k°nīštā; *Burhān*: "al-kanīsa is the place of worship of Jews, Christians and Infidels."

Berlin, Kurd. hasp i šī, is "sorrel." The calamity chapter of the *Gr.Bdh.* speaks of worship of dēvs by "those with vijat.vars (tonsure?), of the kilāsiyāk, šētāsp of Hrōm, Arabs etc." Thus, the expression aims at the color of the hair of these red-heads, and is the same as Arab. banū l-aṣfar, "yellow, blonde" for Byzantines and later Franks.[8] The opposite is banū l-aswad "black-heads," Arabs, just as the Babylonians call themselves ṣalmat qaqqadē. Markwart, *Südarmenien,* gave another explanation, not really contradictory: Talmudic scholarship made Zephō, ṣfv, son of Eliphaz, son of Esau, *Gen.* 36, the ancestor of the Romans, equating Rome with Edom; the LXX write Σώφαρ, and the figures are the same as Eliphaz and Sophar, friends of Job. The Arabs, e.g. Biruni, accepted this genealogy: al-Aṣfar b. Elīfaz b. al-'Iṣ (Esau); and Dīnāwarī: "al-Rūm b. Elīfaz." But the reason for this equation was the interpretation of ṣfv, ṣōfar, as "blonde." In an inscription of a wife of Saladin at Ṣāliḥīn, Aleppo, the protocol of the sultan contains the words: "conqueror of the green ṭirāz from the banī l-aṣfar, the yellow ones." Green is the color of the prophet, and the words play upon the colors.

kilsiyākīh, therefore, are the Byzantine Christians, seemingly in opposition to the nāčrāy as Nestorian Christians of Iran. Y.9,24 designates by krsānīm the Christians of Byzantium. It is a pseudo-Aw. word, derived from MP. kirsyanīk, kirsēnīk. Y.9,24, written under Shāhpuhr I or after 346 under Shāhpuhr II, immediately before the writing of the Awesta in Awestic script, is the youngest dateable passage in the Awesta.

The picture the *Dēnkart* gives—end of b.III and beginning of IV, vol.IX,450-456—of the literary tradition of the Awesta starts from the primary assumption that it was written by Zoroaster under the reign of Vištāspa, a notion produced by its mazdayasnian redaction. Either Vištāspa or Dārāy b. Dārāyān, the last Darius, had one copy deposited in the ganj i šēčigān, the archives of the temple of Šēz, another one at Diz i nipišt, i.e. Naqsh i Rustam, considered as archives of Persepolis. Under the reign of the "cursed Alexander," the copy at Diz i nipišt was destroyed by the fire, that of Šēz was carried to Egypt and translated into Greek (in the library of Alexandria).[9] Under Valāxš i Aškān,

[8] Cf. Goldziher, *Muhamm.Stud.* I,268; pre-Muhamm. poets, Tabari I,354, Mas'ūdī II,294, *tanbīh* III etc.

[9] Pliny N.H. XXX,2,4: "Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et vicies centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius positis explanavit, praeceptorem a quo institutum diceret tradidit Agonacem." To this striking statement Cumont

Volagases I, all written or oral tradition that had escaped destruction was collected and preserved. A similar collection, with redaction—admitting and eliminating of parts—was conducted by the ēhrpat Tansar under Ardashīr I. Shāhpuhr I ordered translations to be made from Indian and Greek works on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, chronology, geography, chemistry, physics, economics, philology and other arts and sciences, and to add them to the Corpus of the Awesta, the originals being kept at the ganj i Šēčīgān. Shāhpuhr II after his victorious wars, had a redaction of the whole material made, including the non-religious works, and had them arranged in "Nasks." This was done through Ātarpāt e Mahraspandān. The work, for which Ātarpāt passed an ordeal, was canonized. Xusrau I, after having destroyed Mazdakism, had a commentary written.

From our studies a picture results which essentially agrees with this tradition: The oldest dates we can ascertain of pre-Zoroastrian materials in the Awesta, lie between 678, foundation of the Median empire, 612, destruction of Nineveh, 550 conquest of Agbatana, and 539 conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. The memorial document of Vištāspa's temple, in *Yt.*13, is near 527 B.C. The datable gatha are between 539 and 522, accession of Darius.

Collecting of songs and hymns started after Zoroaster's death, at the same time as the redaction of the epic songs into a great epopee. The mazdayasnian redaction of this material began under Artaxerxes II and ended with Alexander. There were among this material hymns to gods, to which all definitions of Gr. "hymnos"—see Wünsch in Pauly, RE.—can directly be applied, but no more than the Greek hymns were these Iranian hymns "liturgies." The mazdayasnian redaction was made for liturgical purposes, and this character became more and more accen-

remarks, *Mithra* 1,23: "Hermippe, disciple de Callimaque, ouvrage en plusieurs livres 'peri Mágôn'; au dire de Pline il aurait catalogué, suivant la méthode Alexandrine, les oeuvres de Zoroastre qui auraient compté au total 2.000.000 de lignes. La précision de ce renseignement semble garantir son authenticité. Cette immense collection était évidemment pseudoépigraphe. Le bibliothécaire Hermippe qui ne se piquait pas d'une exactitude scrupuleuse, peut avoir classé sous le nom de Zoroastre tous les écrits religieux des Perses que l'on possédait peut-être même ceux des Chaldéens, mais il n'en subsiste pas moins ce fait remarquable qu'il existait au Musée une série considérable de traductions des idiomes iraniens à côté de celles, aujourd'hui mieux connues, de l'Égypte et de l'Hébreu."

On pp. 32-33 Cumont says that all notes preserved in classical literature are apocryphal, not a single one Awestic. Therefore, the only possible explanation of the two million verses attributed to Zoroaster is that the Museum owned translations of late Babylonian literature.

tuated during the further long history of the Awesta. From Alexander to Mithradates II, who consciously attempted the restoration of the old empire, there were probably no accessions to the Awesta, only losses. Then came chapt. I, geographical poem, and II-III, Yama myth, of the *Vidēvdād* during the earlier, and the *Vidĕvdād* proper, the Code, during the second half of the Arsacid period, when the magi of Ādharbāijān were powerful under the rule of the Atropatenian line of Arsacids.

Parts like the gatha and the memorial document may have had, of old, an aide-mémoire in Aramaic script, but the whole corpus of the Awesta was not fixed in writing before the middle of the first century A.D., under Volagases I, when the oral tradition was failing. The *Vidēvdād* must have been written from the beginning.

This Arsacid prototype was transposed into Sasanian script under Ardashīr. That Shāhpuhr I had scientific books translated from Indian and Greek is confirmed by the identification of a few book titles by Nallino. The youngest datable passage in the Awesta, Y.9,24, may belong to the time of Shāhpuhr I or of Shāhpuhr II, after A.D. 346, and in about A.D. 360 the writing of the Awesta in Awestic script was completed. Thus the genesis of our Awesta took just a thousand years. From that time on it was only a question of preservation and transmission.

XLIII. INDUSTRIES

I have another weapon in this chamber,
it is a sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper.
—Othello, v,2

TOGETHER with history, that is with documents we can read and date, about 3000 B.C., the Bronze Age begins in the Near Eastern countries. A thousand years of Copper Age precede it, and the Stone Age recedes into the fifth millennium. The alluvial lowlands, with the more intensive and, since the beginning of history, more advanced civilization, had no metals and imported them from the highlands. Thus the development of both, in this respect, was inseparably linked together. The Bronze Age lasted about 1,500 years, and after 1500 B.C., iron—a metal known since about 1900—appears, first rare and valuable, but in the 6th century B.C., at Pasargadae, already used as building material.

One can no longer maintain the thesis, formulated in 1882 by W. Geiger, in his *Ostiranische Kultur,* that the Awesta belonged to the Bronze Age, because iron was unknown, and the alternative "copper or iron" implied by Nyberg, 257: "Für die Gatha-Gemeinde war Metall soviel wie Kupfer, nicht Eisen" is at all events impossible, because 1,500 years of Bronze lie between the two. Sentences like "Dass Gold in den Gatha fehlt, mag Zufall sein; auch Silber kommt nicht vor," "der Mithrakreis kannte sowohl Gold wie Silber," 262: "Anāhitā [who was bedecked with gold] gehört nicht zum Mithra-Kreise" would have no meaning even if they did not refer to words in a few poems, but to results of extensive excavations, for, gold appears as early as copper, earlier than silver, but neither of them characterizes a period. The Gatha-Gemeinde of course did not flourish in the Stone Age or at the Copper Age—the period of original Indo-European language—and was not a thousand years older than the Mithra-Gemeinde. These communities never existed.

The linguistic material shows that the IE. languages began to branch off with the Bronze Age, after 3000 B.C. There can be no common IE. word for iron, because iron is too young. Copper, on the contrary, was known: Skr. lohá̍ "copper," later "iron"; Aw. rōδita = OI. róhita,[1] OP.

[1] rōδita only in *Yt.*19,2 as name of a mountain, "copper-mountain," in *Gr.Bdh.* rōyiīn, in *Ind. Bdh.* better rōyēn kōf. Besides, rōδita as epithet of snakes, "copper-snakes" in *Vid.*1,2. Sum. urudu has been compared to Bask. urraida "copper," which H. Schuchardt explains as "like gold." The Hittite form is still hidden behind the ideogr. URUD.

*rōda in MP. rōy, Arm. aroir; Lat. raudus, "piece of ore, mineral." This leads to IE. *raudha which reflects the same original as Sum. urudu. Neither the people of IE. language nor the Sumerians, nor the Semites, were miners; all borrowed the word from the language of Anatolian miners. Since old Sum. BÁD URUD.NAGAR[83] "enclosure of the coppersmiths" is read Bád.Tibira, "of the Tibira," i.e. Tibaroi, urudu seems to render the word for copper in their language.

The region west of Ḥamāh in Syria, with copper mines, is called in Boghazköi and T.Amarna texts (15th-13th centuries) nuḫaššē, whence Akk. naḫuštum (only in T.Amarna texts), Hebr. neḥōšāt, ('îr) nāḥāš, Arab. nuḥās "copper." Assurnāṣirpal writes luḫūti instead,[3] and Zākir of Ḥamāt lu'ūš. Nuḫaššē and lu'ūš reflect an Anatolian original for "copper," and since it is connected with O.T. k^{bv}lūb^{b}, Gr. chálybes, it seems to be the word for copper in their dialect.

When the alloy, bronze, became known and other metals with it, new names were borrowed by IE. languages and the signification of older names shifted. To Ved. áyas, Gath. ayah correspond Lat. aes, Goth. aiz, Nord. eir, AS. ár > ore, hence IE. *aiǫs "ore." Meillet, *Introd.* "mot I.E. ou du moins répandu au moment où les langues de la famille I.E. étaient encore en contact."

A "mountain Aïsa" appears in the annals of TiglathPileser I, and its position can be determined from the following sources: Salmanassar I, about 1260 B.C., invaded Uruaṭri, southern Armenia, and eight of its districts, of which some belong to Enzitene and Melitene (opp. each other on the united Euphrates). He destroyed Arina, "the well-founded fortress" and "strew kudime, 'cress' on its ruins" (see under 'Kršvar'). Therewith the "whole of Muzri was subjected" and he returned by way of Ḫanigalbat, south of Enzitene. TiglathPileser I, a° 5, about 1100 B.C., occupied the country Muzri; its neighbors, the Qumani, came to help, yet he seized "the town Arini (var.l. arinni) at the foot of mount Aïsa," then turned against Qumani and took its "strong place Ḫunuša and its royal city Kibšuma." AdadNerari II, a° 1 (911 B.C.) fought in Kumani, situated beside Kutmuḫi, and Sargon, a° 10, ab. 713 B.C., occupied Kammanu, destroyed Meliddu, and rebuilt Tilgarimmu after having conquered "the whole of Kammanu"; he returned via Mar'aš and Gurgum (Zenjirli-region).

[3] Identification with Chalkis-Qinnasrîn is erroneous, source Talmudic.

Qumani, with all its variants, is Komana; Kutmuḫi is Kommagene, Meliddu Melitene. Muzri, with its town Arina, must be the region of Zētūn, i.e. "olivetum," old Ulnia ["ul" is the original Anatol. word for olive, oil], 25 miles N. of Mar'aš. The name Muzri is the same as mod. Mzur, district of Dersim in Armenia, in the angle formed by the two Euphrates confluents, N. of Melitene-Enzitene, Byz. κλίμα Μουζουρῶν; Arab. djabal Muzūr in ibn Serapion. But this lies west of the Euphrates. The name seems to have had a wider application in antiquity, but to have survived only in its northeastern part. Zētūn lies in the Qabaq Dagh, near the famous iron- and copper-mines of Saryčiček, which apparently are Mt. Aïsa, the "ore-mountain."[3]

In Ved. and Aw. ayas has the adj. yellow, red, black, it is bronze, not copper. And yet, in later times, Ir. ayah may as well mean iron, as Skr. loháḥ, once copper, became iron.

Hübschmann, *Pers.Stud.* 10, called NP. āhan "obscure" and postulated OP. *āsaina for MP. āsēn; Tedesco, *Dialektologie*, MO. XV,189, explained it: "NP. āhan < OP. *āθēna, MP. āsēn < Med. *āsēna"; hence Ar. prepal. k', and no connection with ayah. In *Yt.*10,129 the text has ahēna sparya, which *Wb.* registers as clerical error under ayahēna; it means a special kind of iron, hence perhaps *āsēna sp(a)rya. In *Yt.*10,130, *Vid.*7,74 and 8,90, another name of a special kind of iron, hōsafnēna appears, Pahl. transl. pōlāvatēn "of steel." Both words denote material of common weapons and vessels, and whatever the special meaning is, they are enough to show that assertions like "Eisen fehlt im ganzen Awesta" are wrong. Not even parts of the Awesta can possibly belong to the Bronze Age.

*Yt.*10,128-132 describe the arms lying in Mithra's chariot. As there are a thousand of every one, their form is the gen.plur. (see under 'Mithra'). Two old glosses are embodied in the text:

128: θanvartīnām hukrtānām	a thousand well-fabricated bows
(gloss): asti yo gavasnahe snāvya jiya	there are such with strings of tendons of a stag,

[3] Cf. with this Aïsa the name of Cyprus, i.e. "copper-island": Seti I, T.Amarna, Knudtzon p.1571: '(a)sy; Thutmosis III, about 1460, *Lis.*y, = *a.jas.ja.

129: išūnām krkāsaprnānām zaranya.zafrām srvi.stāyām	arrows with feathers of buzzards, gold-mouthed, lead-loaded,
(gloss): asti ya ahēna sparya	there are such of sprg-iron,
130: rštīnām broiθra.tēžānām čakušānām hōsafnēnām bitēyānām	lances with sharp blades, hatchets of hōsafna with two bits,
131: kārtānām waya.dārānām gaδānām ayahēnānām	daggers with two edges, maces of ayah, ore.

A whole arsenal lies on the chariot, but only the number 1,000 is hyperbolic: lances, spears, bows, arrows and hatchets in quivers, swords and daggers are all represented on sculptures of normal Assyrian chariots.

išūnām krkāsa.parānām[4] offends against the meter. Since one can scarcely assume haplologic shortening to -p(a)rnām, one syllable of the first component is redundant. In the song "Mithra as warrior" (see below, *Yt.*10,39) išavo rzifya.prnā, arrows with eagle-feathers are twice mentioned, and feathers of buzzards and eagles may have been used. But arrows for great armies were mass-products. Bazaars of nashshābīn (Arab.) or tīrgarān (NP.), arrow-makers, existed in all Oriental towns until recently, and the feathers were those of the prosaic cock, the krka, highly esteemed as announcer of the dawn, parodars. Without hesitation one may read, in good meter "išuvām krka.p(a)rnānām, with cock-feathers," cf. *Yt.*15,61: mryahya krpa krk(ās)ahya under 'Navigation.'

The other metrical offense in the following verse is easily cured: especially in parallel with srvi.stāy one must read *zari- for zaranya.zafar. Bartholomae took this word as a figure for the arrowheads' "biting" like the mouth of an animal; A. V. W. Jackson as "golden-notched." In srvi.stāy, against former interpretations, srvi- stands for srva "lead," cf. *srvi.zanga "with shanks of lead," epithet of Snāviδka, under 'Kršvar'; stāy, to √stā- "stand," means the balance of the arrow in the air: a small counterpoise of lead for the metal arrow-head.

The gloss in 129 refers to *zari.zafar and means "arrow-heads for real use are not of gold, but of sprya iron." Lommel, by drawing the gloss

[4] Thus all Mss. for -*prnānām.

unduly into the text, came to translate: "der Schaft der gutgemachten ist aus Eisen(?)," but shafts were never of iron. From Aw. sprγa comes Syr. šbvrqn, loanword from MP., used by Elias of Nisibis for Gr. χάλυψ, name of steel of best quality, because the Chalybes in Halybe on the Pontus made the best steel. In the Syr. Alexander-book the ethnic χάλυβες, too, is rendered by šbvrqny'.[5] NP. dictionaries give no authoritative passages for their šābūrān, šāburak, šāburgān "steel," which is taken from Pahl. glossaries, as the MP. ending -ak betrays; the vowels are inconclusive, evidently assimilated to šābūr < šāhpuhr. MP., Syr. šbvrqn is like χάλυψ a name of provenance, and the place is Šuburgān, Šibirgān in Vēkrta-Gōzgān, see under 'Vidēvdād.' The same place has given the word suburgan, supurgan to Uiguric and Mongolic in the meaning "stūpa"; cf. the case of kaθwa "donkey" and qahwa "wine" under 'Hōma.' The origin of the name is sprγa ahēna "iron of Sprγa."[6]

To differentiate words for steel from iron by names of provenance is almost a rule. I am inclined to connect also Assyr. ḫabalkīnu[7] "of steel" with chályps. Hattusil III, owner of the iron mines of Kizvatna, i.e. Cappadocia Pontica, in his famous letter[8] is decidedly reluctant to allow the export of the rare material, and sends, on request and as appeasement, only one dagger blade of iron. Tušratta of Mitanni sends Amenophis III as precious gift two dagger blades and ten "giakatu ḫabalkīnu, of steel." The only place for him to get them was Kizvatna; ḫabalkīnu, here, expresses the provenance from the country in which the Chalybes lived, and is apparently an original 'ḫalabkīnu.[9] From this very region, the town Samsūn, came in about 1890, an iron dagger of

[5] Th. Nöldeke, *Denkschr.*Wien.Ak.d.W. 38, 1890,16, n.10, who quotes G. Hoffmann for the obvious emendation of šbrvnqy' of the Mss.

[6] Not "zu Ol. sphûrjati 'es bricht hervor'" = sprout, sprig.

[7] Vorderas.Biblioth. II,158,32; 168,7; 172,49.

[8] *Keilinschr.* Boghazk. I, nº 14; the addressee was formerly believed to be Ramses II, cf. B. Meissner in ZDMG 1918, 61, and IAE n.84, p.346, and this is not entirely disproved by Goetze's recent proposal that it was Salmanassar I of Assur. I have treated the whole problem in an unpubl. Ms. on the geography of the Anc. Near East, and am unable to accept Goetze's argument: Kizvatna (cf. Ass. kitpat) is originally Med. Katpatuka, Gr. Kappadokia Pontika; only after Alexander the name was extended to include the southern Komana, and there the name survived after the original country had become simple "Pontus."

[9] Change of liquids in foreign names is especially frequent in Sem. languages when the name contains a labial. Cf. also Hom. málibos, Rhod. bólibos, Epid. bólimos, Lat. plumbum. In the region in question was also a town to which the term ḫabalkīnu may possibly refer. Strabo 12,3,16: "behind Themiscyra is the Sidēnē with the fortified places Sidē, χαβακα and Rhabda on the coast; so far goes Amisēnē (Samsūn); then Pharnakia and Trapezūs." Strabo's Xábaka seems to be the town χαβακα of Sidēnē, of which coins are known.

that period, in the Khanenko collection in Kiew, of which six or eight specimens have turned up in recent years in Luristan.

Before determining hōsafnēna, the weapons themselves deserve some study.

In *Yt.*10,39-40, stanzas belonging to the same song as 128-131, the almost identical series of arms recurs, as arms of the enemies, made ineffective by Mithra:

39: išvasčit rzifya.prnā	The arrows with eagle-feathers
huθaχtāt hača θanvanāt	that from the well-bent bow
jiya.jatâho vazamnā	fly off when shot from the string,
rštayasčit tiγrā daryā - -	the lances, pointed, long,
zarštvāčit fradaχšaniyā	the earthen sling-stones
vazamnā hača bāzubyo	flying by the force of the arms,
ašamna.viδo bavati	they all miss their target,
40: kārtāčit hufrāyuχtā . . .	The daggers, well suspended,
vazrāčit huniviχtā yoi niγrārē	the maces well swung down which shall
sarahi martiyākānām	descend upon the heads of men
ašamna.jano bavati	they all miss their target.

A third corresponding passage is *Yt.*13,72, where the fravarti make their friends proof against the arms of their enemies:

13,72: yaθa noit tat pati kārto hufraharšto	that not the daggers, easy to draw,
noit vazro huniviχto	not the maces well swung down,
noit išavo huvāθaχto	not the arrows well shot off,
noit rštiš huvawiyāstā	not the lances well thrown,
noit asāno rma.šuto	not the stones moved by (force of) arm,
avasyāt	may hit him. . . .

These poor verses again are the model of *Yt.*1,18:

1,18: noit dim naram ayān avasyāt	not would hit this man
noit akavo noit čakavo noit išavo	neither akavo, nor hatchets, nor arrows,

noit kārta noit vazra — nor knife, nor mace,
noit visante asāno avasayāt — nor can stones hit him.

The five arms in *Yt.*10,128-131 are the same as in 39-40: (1) bow and arrow, (2) lance, (4) dagger, (5) mace; only for (3) čakuš, hatchet or axe, the other verses have sling-stone.

The most detailed description of military equipment is in *Vid.*14,9, a passage compared by Nöldeke with Tabari's story of Xusrau, who first, believing himself to be exempt, did not appear at the roll-call, then, rebuked by the general, came, but forgot his arrow-heads. This late Sasanian tale resembles indeed the *Vidēvdād* passage, and yet this must be a very old piece. ra*θ*oišti alone, though a deformity, proves that the original described the equipment of an old ra*θ*eštā, and the wrong context in which the piece is put is conclusive: this equipment is imposed, among endless other deliveries, as a punishment for having inadvertently deprived an otter of one of its eyes. *Vid.*14,9:

yēšām zayanām ra*θ*oišti — To the equipment of a ra*θ*ēštā belong:
prvyo rštiš bitiyo kārto — 1. lance 2. dagger
*θ*ritiyo vazro tūrya *θ*anvar — 3. mace 4. bow
puχ*δ*a zēnāuš mat akana — 5. belt(?) with quiver,
mat *θ*risās aya.aγrāiš — with thirty iron-pointed (arrows)
χštvī fradaχšana snāvar.bāzura — 6. sling with arms of sinews
mat *θ*risās fradaχšanyāiš — with thirty sling-stones
hafta*θ*o zrā*δ*o aštamo kūriš — 7. cuirass 8. collaret
nāumo pati*δ*āno dasamo sāravāro — 9. cheek-piece 10. helmet
ēvandaso kamara dvadaso rānapo — 11. sword-belt 12. greaves.

1-6 are offensive, 7-12 defensive weapons. Herodotus, when describing the army at Doriscus, 480 B.C., names the defensive weapons first. The weapons of the Persians are (1) long bow, cane arrows in quivers, (2) long lances, (3) daggers suspended from the belt, worn at the right thigh: *ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μῆρον παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης*. He adds "properly speaking, that is the Median equipment." The sculptures show the slight differences between the Median and the Persian armament: the Medes have the bow in a case, the Persians have a quiver only for arrows. The Medes wear the dagger suspended

as Herodotus describes it, but the Persians wear them sticking in their belts. Herodotus is right in calling the equipment Median.

Aw. kārta are the ἐγχειρίδια. kārta, MP. kārt, NP. kārd, is every knife; in *Vid.*14, the Pahl. transl. adds "šampšēr, sword." The adjectives mean: waya.dāra, "sharp at both edges," in distinction from "one-edged"; hu.frayuχta "well-suspended" παραιωρεύμενος (not "gut-geschwungen"); hu.farhršta "well-drawn," easily drawn from its scabbard.

gaδa in 131, everywhere else vazra, are synonyms; a distinction of throw and blow is not probable. Herodotus mentions ῥόπαλα only as weapons of Aethiopians and Mesopotamians, aθūrā, and wooden ones at that, studded with iron, cf. sata.fštāna "with a hundred studs" as epithet of Mithra's vazra in *Yt.*10,96.

The sling, fradaχšana, is not among the military equipment at Doriscus, and was perhaps a hunting weapon. The Pahl. transl. is kvpyn, NP. gōpāl. I have an object of earthenware like an Assyrian ziqqatu, from Gannāwa, N of Bushire, where they are found in heaps and are called gōpāl as "sling-stones of Rustam."[10] In 130, instead of the sling, we find čakuš, i.e. NP. čakūš, čakūj "hammer." Like "tabar," word for the same instrument, this may be a loanword from a non-Iranian language: the n.pl. čakavo does not agree with the gen. čakušānām. Herodotus mentions battle-axes, ἀξίνας σαγάρις only as weapons of the Sakā, VII,64; whereas the sculptures show the Sogdians wearing them and offering them as tribute. In the Ermitage are some golden originals from Kelermes. bitēya means a hammer with blade and butt; they are double axes.

aku, by which one is "hit," cannot mean "scissors" (*Wb.*), for which, besides, one would expect a dual name. It may belong to aka (instr.sg.) in *Yt.*10,125 and anχnah in *Yt.*5,11 (see under 'Mithra'), Gr. ἀγκύλη "thong, noose," cf. Lat. ānus "ring" < *aŋknos; then, akavo would be lasso, rope. Herodotus mentions such σειρα (to √hī-, Germ. "seil") with the Sagartians.

Thus, the verses of *Yt.*10 describe Median weapons of the 6th and 5th centuries. Among them is the čakuš, the material of which is hōsafnēna, a word for steel, important for cultural stratigraphy.

čakušānām hōsafnēnām bitēyānām is the only verse of 12 syllables in st.128-130; one of the two adjectives might be added subsequently.

[10] Cf. Pelly, Bombay Geogr.Soc., 1865, XVII, 138.

The arrows have three, all other weapons only one adjective. bitēya is an essential quality of the weapon and is covered by the analogous adj. wayadāra of kārta. On the other hand, hōsafnēna as adj. of material is covered by ayahēna "of bronze," epithet of gaδa in 131. čakušānām hōsafnēnām are bad forms as to grammar, it should be *čakušām *hōsafnēnānām. This seems to me decisive: a thematic gen.pl. čakušānām is inadmissible in verses of the 6th century, and čakušām bitēyānām would be faulty in meter. The verse requires an epithet, in the gen.pl., of five syllables; hence hōsafnēna is a genuine part of these verses, of the 6th century B.C. The two old glosses in 128 and 129 may be as old as the fifth century.

hōsafnēna appears a second time in *Vid.*7,74, in a rule, how to clean āhvarna, eating vessels of gold, zarnēna; silver, rzatēna; bronze, ayahēna; hōsafnēna and zarštvēna.

The last one is usually translated "of stone," Pahl. sangēn. There were plenty of stone vessels, in Persepolis mostly of green stone, which protects against poison: patizahr > bezoar. But in *Vid.*8,8 and 10, the noun zarštva is coupled with išti, "sun-dried brick," see zmoištve, i.e. zam+išti, under 'Yama Xšēta,' and means "burnt brick." The OP. word for enamelled bricks, Akk. agurru, missing in *Dar.chart.Sus.*, is a[g]ūra[vā], corresponding to El. halat.ukku, "on burnt clay-tablets" in *Beh.* §70, see under 'Memorial Document.' zarštva is the common brick; zarštvēna as adj. of vessels "earthenware." In *Yt.*10,39 fraδaχšanya "sling-stones" are called so: like the gōpāl from Gannāwa, they actually were made of brick, and the very oldest ovoid slingstones are of sundried clay only. Thus the sequence of the vessels is: of gold, silver, bronze, hōsafnēna and earthenware.

The third passage with hōsafnēna is *Vid.*8,90, soon to be discussed in full, a series of industrial works, among them, in the same order "places where gold, silver, bronze and hōsafnēna are forged." This proves the word to be a metal, iron or steel, but something is wrong, for not the adj. "of iron," but the subst. "iron" is forged.

The archetype of Aw. haōsafnaēna would be H(')VSPNYN, with -YN, -ēna, as ending of adjectives of material. The word for steel is in Afghan ōspana and ōspīna, in Ossetic äfsän, in Pamir dialects spin, according to

Tomaschek also ispīn.[11] These surviving forms prove the Aw. vocalization of H(')VSPNYN to be wrong: not haōsafnaēna, but *hōspa/inēna. It is a foreign word, the first syllable of which has been treated, by popular etymology, with vrddhi—a sure sign of antiquity—as if it was Ir. hu- "good."[12] hōspa/inēna is the adjective, but in *Vid.*8,90 the noun is required. The surviving forms show that the fault is not in the adj. ending, but the n before it, a mere vertical stroke: HVSP(N)YN is the noun *huspīna.

Gr. chályps, Syr. šbvrqn, Aw. sprya ahēna, also Assyr. ḫabalkīna (whether to chalyps or not) are names of provenance. So is the MP. translation of *hōspinēna, pōlāvatēn, from pōlāvat, > NP. pūlāδ [Armen. polovat, Mong. bolot], a name with an Indian sound.

The early Arab poets call their famous swords regularly saif = hinduwān, or simply hinduwānī, "the Indian (steel, sword)," and formed from this MP. word hindī, muhannad etc.[13] The Shāhnāmah says: "či gōpāl, či χanǰar i hinduwān, what a sling-stone, what a dagger of Indian (steel)." Marco Polo still speaks of this steel as "ondanique."

The country of provenance is Sind. The oldest remarks about steel in India are partly contradictory. At Doriscus, in 480 B.C., the Indians had iron arrowheads. Ctesias, *Ind.*, Photius 72, reports having received from each, Artaxerxes and Parysatis, a sword of Indian iron. Curtius, 9,8,1, says, Alexander got from the Oxydrakai a hundred talents of ferrum candidum, an unusual expression, hardly meaning tin, rather steel. But Strabo 15, c.700 and 716, quotes Nearch and another historian of Alexander saying that the metallurgy of the Indians was behind the time, that they did not even know how to harden bronze by hammering, which would preclude the making of steel.

Pliny, after dealing with Spanish iron, in 34,39-46, says: "The best is that of the Sēres, Chinese; then the Parthian," which would be the sprya from Šuburgān. The *Periplus,* at the very end of the first century A.D. speaks of the shipping of Indian steel from Ariaca (?) on the Gulf

[11] O. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 15, traces also Chin. pin t'ie to the same MP. source; the Chinese got the thing and the word from Iran, and describe it as damask steel, encrusted with gold in China. The sign "pin," created for this word, stands for *spin.

[12] Cf. husravah:hāusravaha; humanah:hāumanaha; and their antonyms dušsravah:dāušsravah; dušmanah:dāušmanahya.

[13] See Siddiqi, *Pers. Fremdwörter im Klass. Arab.*, Hamburg 1909, 89. I have met MP. hinduwānīg in Pahl. texts, but did not note the place.

of Cambay to the Somali coast.[14] Under Marc Aurel and Commodus, Indian steel was common among the import articles subject to custom duty. At the limit of modern times, damask blades, the iron of which came from mines near Hyderabad, were forged in Golconda and in Guzerat in Panjāb, on the way from Lahore to Kashmir. This is not far from the town Proklaïs, which the *Periplus* describes as the great trading center of NW India. The name is older Gr. Peukaleôtis, from Pāli Pukkhalāvatī, mod. Chārsadda, only 12½ miles NE of Peshawar. I consider MP. pōlāvaδ to be an adjective of provenance "from Pukkhalāvatī," and Tedesco informs me that this is right, the vrddhi adj. pokkhalāvata exists, > pōhalāvada > pōlāvaδ, NP. pūlād "Indian (steel)."

As famous as the saif hinduwānī in old Arabia were the gladii hispanienses or hispanici, swords for cut and thrust, in Rome. The Spanish mines are situated near the southern coasts and the metal is above ground and easily workable, all the advantages shared by the mines of the Chalybes on the Pontus. Therefore, Spain has furnished metal to the Mediterranean world since the remotest antiquity. This trade flourished before the Mycenaean epoch; after the beginning of the first millennium it was the Phoenicians that carried it. *Ezekiel* 27, 12-13, Lament on Tyre: "Tarshish has brought . . . silver, iron, tin and lead, Yavan, Tabal, Meshek have brought their slaves and tools of bronze to thy markets." For the Tarshīsh trade see under 'Navigation.' The Assyrians heard of the Phoenician trade with the 'Tin-islands' under Sargon, at the very end of the 8th century. In the 7th century, the Phoenicians went to Spain as well as to the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab. At the end of the 6th century, Scylax of Caryanda reported to Darius about his voyages from the Indus to the Pillars of Hercules. Since 450, while the metropoles Tyre and Sidon were Persian cities, the Carthaginians began their intensive colonization of Spain. The Greeks called the country Iberia, after a tribal name. The Romans who wrested it from the Carthaginians in the 3rd century did not use the Greek name, but Hispania, perhaps older Ispania. Therewith they did not invent a name, but adapted the name used by the Carthaginians. One need not accept the old story about a Punic etymology of that name, but cannot doubt that it was

[14] Idrīsī 1,65 says, vice versa, that the smiths of Sind got their iron from Sofala.

the name, presumably, like Iberia, derived from a tribal name to which Hispalis-Sevilla may belong.

Polybius, Diodor, Justin, all mention the Spanish swords, gladii hispanienses. Seneca calls them hispanae machaerae. Philo, the mathematician, discusses their extraordinary elasticity. Martial and Pliny name Bilbis and Turasso as the most famous places of fabrication; Grattius, *cyneg.*, names already Toledo, where the industry flourished to our time: I have here a fine Toledo dagger of 1859. Besides the gladii and machaerae, short-stalked hatchets and double-axes were made, and these are represented on the oldest Spanish coins and on vase paintings as symbols of that typical industry. They are also the "thousand čakušām hōspinēnānām bitēyānām" of *Yt.*10,128, on Mithra's chariot and huspīn is "Spanish (steel)." The appearance of the word in the sixth century in the Awesta is the effect of the Phoenician trade. "A sword of Spain, the ice-brook's temper."

*hōspinēna appears for the third time in *Vid.*8,81-96, in rules for the purification of fire: profaned by industrial utilization, it must be brought back to the temple, the dātiya gātu. Such rites seem to be the last echo of a paleolithic thought: to keep the flame and never to let it die out. The rules are arranged in the grade of profanation, a coloring foreign to the original thought; the form is: How high a merit does he acquire who brings back the purified fire to the cultic place? The merit is graduated from thousand to ten points, similar to the grades of the wergild tariff in *Yt.*10, see under 'Mithra.' There, a faulty 10,000 grade is appended at the end, a relation of redemption "between the dēnā māzdayasniš" which, as a single one, cannot appear in dual. The list of fires, likewise, begins with a faulty grade of 10,000 points for fire that had been used for funeral pyres. The preceding paragraphs—see under 'Vidēvdād'—give an explicit rule for such desecration, separated from the list of industries only by the unorganic interpolation: "If one puts sandal, benzoe, aloe, pomegranate and other fragrant woods on the fire, Ātar comes here at once, wherever the perfume spreads." One sees clearly the work of the redactors collecting the old fragments: the fire of a funeral pyre is repeated in st.81 merely in order to connect stylistically the disconnected rules about pyres and about industrial utilization of fire. The 10,000 post must be cancelled.

If one would get ten points credited for every time one carries the fire from one's own hearth to the dātgās, but a thousand points for doing it from a dyer's place, everybody would go once instead of a hundred times. The tariff-form is preposterous, and introduced only for mnemonics' sake, probably in the first century A.D., when the *Vidēvdād* was composed. The genuine nucleus of the alleged tariff was a simple ordinance of how to purify and maintain fire used in industries. The date of the original rule, older than the *Vidēvdād*, could be inferred only from the techniques, but just their age is the unknown quantity which we wished to infer from the date of the rule.

The list begins with (82) grade 1,000: ruzdi.pāka, (83) 500: ‚saire.-hya', (84) 400: χumba zmani.pačika, (85) χumba yāma.pačika; this ought to have 300 points, but instead it says, ungrammatically: "as much as (there are) for it of yamanām patinām sarinām, of single potsherds." (86) ōnya paro.brǰya (or aparo-, -brzaya). Instead of 200 it says: "as much as (there are) for it of single urvarānām, grains or plants, of the fields." (87) 100: pisra zaranya.sēpa, (88) 90: pisra rzata.sēpa, (89) 80: pisra aya.sēpa, (90) 70: pisra 'hōspīna.sēpa, (91) 60: tanūra, (92) 50: dišta, (93) 40: ōnya taχarya, (94) 30: panti stōra.paya, (95) 20: skarya, (96) 10: nazdišta.

All these works utilize fire, and all the names are adjectives "the fire used for such and such a purpose." They may refer, in principle, either to the product, or to the apparatus of production, but not, as will be seen, to the fuel.

Four words denote the apparatus:

(1) χumba, Pahl. transl. χumbak, OI. khumbá, lit. "pot," called thus either for a similarity of form, or because, primevally, the wandering smiths carried a pot as oven. Here it means the kiln of a potter (83) and of a glass-blower (84). pačika, adj. of -pāk, to √pak- "to bake," shows that the material was burnt.

(2) ōnya, in 86 and 93, used for two undetermined techniques. ōnya is derivative of unā in *Vid.*17,2; *Nir.*100. This word looks as if it were borrowed from Akk. anā or unūtu, Hebr. oni, oniyāh "vessel," ship or receptacle.[18] The Pahl. transl. in *Vid.*8,86 and 17,2, 'vnk, recurs in *Vid.*2,38 in the description of Yama's var: "the dyv'l 'wall' with which

[18] But cf. Gr. aulós, Lat. olla; one would expect here the Ir. correspondent of OI. ukhá "pot," Gr. ipnós "oven."

the 'vnk is shut," where the Aw. text has "dvar, door." In *Vid.*8,93 the Ms. DR (dastūr Rustamji) glosses "kīmiyāgar, of an alchemist," as if 'vnk was a "still."

(3) pisra, without clear etymological connections, serves for "sēpa" of gold, silver, bronze and steel, see §§87-90. The Pahl. transl. renders this verb by adding ptkl or ptgl to each metal, while it translates pisra by pyt'l. The only explanation I can offer would be that both transcriptions mean *patigāra > paδyāl > piyāl(ah) "dish." *Wb.* translates sēpa by "schweissen, schmelzen," to weld or melt, smelt, but one does not weld gold and silver and was unable to melt steel or found iron. No other technique is common to the four metals but "forging." sēpa must be linked to √sif- in *Vid.*2,10, Yama myth: "he hewed, stroke the earth with the wand," and in *Yt.*14,35 and 44-45, soldier's charm: "hammer, strike the body with this wing!" in order to become invulnerable. "To hew," OHG. houwan, is also in other languages the term for forging, cf. OSl. kovaci, Lit. kálwis (Finn. kalewa) "smith"; Lat. cudere, cellere. NP. sift "hard" apparently because "hammered, forged." Cf. Germ. Eisenhauer = blacksmith, Eisenhammer = iron-forge.[16]

(4) tanūra is a loanword from Sem. tannūra "baker's oven." (82) Misled by an explanation—hiχr.pāk—of the *Dēnkart,* Darmesteter translated ruzdipāka, name of the first industry, by "impure liquids; hiχr is every impure secretion of the body"; hence West: "burning of bodily refuse," and Bartholomae "Flüssigkeiten kochend, zu √rud-, fliessen; Pü. rōδ?-pāk; zum Kochen der aus dem Leichnam austretenden Flüssigkeiten benutzt[es Feuer]." With but a little regard for the context, these ghastly translations could have been avoided. ruzdipāka is an industry, and the Pahl. transl. is clearly "ātaχš ē rang.pāk, fire for color-boiling," explained by NP. "wherever one boils colors."

The etymology of ruzdi is unknown, and so is that of rang, often spelled rg in BPārs. Ctesias, *Ind.*21, speaks of a tree in India—confounding it with the χšiftahvara tree—on which small, soft worms develop, red like cinnabar (OP. sinkabruš), utilized by the Indian dyers to make a red dye of better quality than the Persian red. This implies that red dye was produced in Iran in the fifth century. Cochineal was known to the Assyrians as ḫurḫūratu and as in.za.ḫu.ru.e.ti (which

[16] What is Arab. saif? Certainly not Greek xiphos.

language?) to the Babylonians at the time of Nabunāid.[17] In modern times kirm i qirmiz was cultivated in Khurasan. On the other hand, the Phoenicians were famous for their purple, and the early predominance of red suggests an etymological connection between ruzdi and rōδita "red," perhaps also of rang "dye" and OI. rakta "red."

With indigo, nīl, Pliny deals in *NH.* 35,25-27, as indigum, and the *Periplus* says that it was exported, at that time, from Barbaricum, the harbor of the Sinthos river, i.e. Indus, hence equal to 'Sindrōd (for -ōk) of the Acts of St. Thomas, and corresponding to mod. Karachi. If it was brought to Rome, it certainly came to Persia at the time of the *Vidēvdād.* Indigo industry flourished in Khūzistān in the Sasanian period and has not yet been quite supplanted by imported aniline. From the story in Mas'ūdī's *murūdj,* that Xusrau Anōširwān received from India the book of Kalīla u Dimna, chess, and the black dye, called hindī, to dye his hair, one must not conclude, as O. Laufer did, that indigo was not imported before the 6th century A.D. Chess too came much earlier. The story means vasmah, which, when used alone, gives an ugly green-black, and hence, for hair-dying, is always used along with ḫinna.

Weavers who used gold- and silver-thread—*Yt.*16,2 zarnēna for rugs and cushions, cf. mrzyumna in *Yt.*17,18—had all normal colors at their disposal. The sculptures of Persepolis show madder (rubia tinctoria) and indigo besides saffron as colors of garments. For making the enamelled bricks, according to *Dar.chart.Sus.,* one used mineral colors like kāsaka kapōtaka, lapislazuli, sinkabruš, cinnabar, aχšēna, Akk. šadānu, haematite or perhaps ambergris.

The *Bdh.* says in the chapter on plants: "har čē yāmak patiš *ra(n)-gītan,[18] čigōn kurkum u dār.purnīgān u zart.čōpāk [K20, Pāz. začava] u vahak [K20 vaha] u rūnās [many variants] u nīl, rang [K20: rg] χvānēnd, all plants used for dying textiles, like saffron, sapan, yellow-wood, vahak?, madder and indigo, are called rang, dye-plants." The same plants with the same names—except the unknown vahak—were used till recent times.

[17] Cf. B. Meissner, *Stud. z.Assyr. Lexikogr.* IV, 1940, 14f., and San Nicolò in Arch. Orientalny V, 1933, 65 and 71; also St. Langdon, RA,28, 1931, 17.

[18] Neither in *Gr.Bdh.* 118, nor in *Ind.Bdh.* K20, 121, is the spelling clear.

(83) ‚saire.hya', Pahl. transl. ātaχš ē sl'sp. Bartholomae, *Wb.* "statt sarahya, Komp. von sarya 'Mist' und ahya NHd. 'Esse'='Mistdarre'; Vorrichtung zum Dörren von Mist, um ihn danach als Brennmaterial zu benutzen."

Wood was always scarce and precious, and dry dung, of horses and camels, besides dry desert shrubs, is the most common fuel for lime-kilns, brick-yards, potteries, baths and even baker's ovens, and was the more so as long as coal was unknown. This same fuel was certainly used for making dyes, and for most of the following industries, that is one reason why it cannot have a special number of points in this tariff: no fuel can appear at all. *Vid.*5 teaches: "If someone dies by drowning or burning, it is not the water or fire that kills him, but fate, baχt." In the same way, the fire neither does nor suffers harm in burning up any fuel. But no fuel has ever been used for kiln-drying dung. The sun does it. Materially the interpretation is impossible; linguistically it rests on the Pahl. transl. sarāsp interpreted as "horse-dung" and Aw. sarya, an absorbent, on which corpses are laid in the daχma according to *Vid.*8,8.

A compound with 'ahya, Germ. Esse, is wholly unconvincing, and the dot of separation which some Mss. put between saire and hya only shows that the redactors did not understand the word. If they thought of Aw. sarya "dung" or the current ideogr. sry'=vat, "bad," the interpretation would be linked to that of ruzdi as hiχr, and both to the transformation of the original ordinance into a tariff in degrees of contamination: corpses—hiχr—sarya. The original did not mention cremation at all, spoke first of making of colors, then of other industries.

Darmesteter used a wrong argument against an old note by Framji (cod. MUI about 1830) "fire of a bath": "To use baths was forbidden; according to Josua Stylites, Balāsh (484-88) was dethroned by the magi, because he had founded bath-houses everywhere." The reason was that these baths were an institution obligatory for Mazdakism, and building them betrayed the king's inclination towards Mazdak.[19] One may still consider "bath" as a possible meaning.

The word ‚saire.hyat' is corrupt. The var.ll. lead to SRYHYT or SRY[-]HYT. Most codd. have an e at the doubtful place. If the fault consisted in a

[19] See *Wandmalereien v. Samarra*, p.2.

missing or illegible letter, it must have been a consonant, e.g. š (almost identical with e), SRY[š]HYT: srēšahyāt, to √sriš-, OI. śliṣ-, NP. sirēš "glue." As support one may adduce, with Mr. M. Gandevia, NP. sarg "glue." In MP. one would expect ʿslyšk instead of sl'sp. It would be a glue-factory. One may also consider NP. sirinj, "minium, red oxide of lead." If the fault was in the second letter R, one may reach the meaning "bath" by the simple and more than once necessary emendation of r in n: √snā-, snaya- "to bathe."

(84) and (85), the two χumba, zmani- and yāma-pačika, Pahl. transl. zamīk- and yāmīk-pazān, are kilns for pottery and glass. To the first the *Pahl. Vid.* adds č'lvkl'n, i.e. čārūk, NP. čārū and sārū, Arab. ṣarūdj "maker of hydraulic chalk." Still today one fills the space between the pots in the kiln with limestone, which draws from the dung, a fuel rich in silicates, the necessary percentage, and afterwards is mixed with the ashes, as an excellent mortar. To "glass-blowers" the translation adds a word pv?gyn'kl'n, which may be ʿāvgīnak.karān "glassmaker."

(86), para.brǰya is, like 93 taχarya, prepared in an ōnya, but from urvarā, some species of grain, as follows from the remark "as much as there are grains."[20] Assuming b < v, in MP. pronunciation, we have ʿpara.vrǰya, which would be to ʿvrǰya "rice" as para.hōma to hōma: the simplex is the plant, the compound the drink, hence "rice-wine," distilled in an ōnya. Megasthenes mentions rice-wine in Strabo 15,1,53: *πίνειν δ' ἀπ' ὀρύζης ἀντὶ κριθίνων συντιθέντας.*

There were other alcoholic drinks besides wine, hōma. The NP. word is būzah, perhaps comparable with the name of the dēv Būǰi. Bartholomae translated χšuδra, χšāuδri—which is used along with yava "barley" or payah "milk"—by "akloholisches Getreide, etwa Bier." But the Pahl. transl. of *Vid.*16,7 comments it by "āš < OP. ʿašθʿa, grits," hence "porridge of barley," see under 'Harvatāt.' The translation "mit Alkohol versetzt" of χšāuδri would imply that distillation of alcohol—of course unknown—was known. payah χšāuδrī is NP. māst, or, mixed with water, dūgh, which develops alcohol, but cannot express this fact in its name.

[20] The Pahl. transl. renders mechanically para- by the ideogr. r'YN = pēš, brǰ/zya by arzūk, "precious etc.," the usual translation of a different series of words: √brg-, brχδa, brǰyant etc., adding as third element -kl'n, also misspelled klyt'n, klyč'n. "pēš-arzūk" does not look like any industrial product and is problematical, but it prevents a connection of para.brǰya with MP. brēǰan "to roast, bake," NP. (dial.) barēǰan "baking-oven."

(87)-(90) are clearly workshops where gold, silver, bronze and Spanish steel were forged. The imported material was manufactured at home. The charta of Susa adds to each imported material "tya idā krtam, which was worked here." All the copper bazaars of the East work today with imported copper. Till about 50 years ago, the damask steel for the Isfahan workshops came from Qazwīn (near it was Qahvaδ-Kitpat, a settlement of Kizvatnians), from Arsinǰān in Fārs, from India and Europe. Mining ceased long ago in Fārs. The steel is inlaid with gold thread, hammered into the scratched patterns, and made one mass by long polishing. The Chinese describe their work on "pin t'ie, the Spanish steel," similarly: "swords and other objects made of this steel, are polished 'by means of' gold threads, and then the patterns (of the damask steel) become visible," following Laufer's translation which cannot be accurate: the threads themselves must be polished to become visible and contrast with the wavy lines of the steel. *Yt.*14,27 mentions a "kārta zaranya.sōra, dagger inlaid with gold"; thus the technique was known in Iran at the Achaemenian period.

(91): tanūra. Today and certainly in antiquity, in these round ovens the round white dough of inferior bread, nān i taftūn, are laid on sand; the fuel is dry dung, and the bread takes something of the smoke and smell of the fuel. A yet more primitive method is one, the picture of which I never forget: a beduin woman on the march, high on her camel, holding on the fingertips of her left hand a round hot copperplate, on which were heaped, alternately, 12 flat cakes of dough and of camel dung, the top covered by another copper plate. Thus she baked her bread while traveling.

The better bread, nān i sangak, is laid on pebbles; the fire leaps down on the dough from a raised bench. The NP. commentary to the Vidēvdād says: "tannūr ki dēg darvandān pazand, wa nān-puχt." darvandān means, like darbast, "with closed door," but if that is written, the necessary complement to the rel. ki, "dar ān, in which one . . ." is missing; further, no dēg, Germ. "Tiegel, cauldron" is used in the oven, only "dough." One expects "in which the dough is baked."

(92), dišta, *Wb.* "Kessel, Topf." The Pahl. transl. has dēg, two mss. add MN MTBḤ. This ideogr., missing in the Frahangs, is Aram. ṬBḤ, mostly "to slaughter," but also "to bake, cook," *Ezek.* 46,24 ṬBḤ' "cook," Arab. maṭbakh "kitchen." *Wb.* unites this dišta n., with dištā f. of *Vid.*

8,74, where not a kettle, cauldron, but a funeral pile is meant. dišta is "piled up"; in Aw. uzdēza uzdišta it means "pyre," in OP. didā [d]ištā the walls of Susa, piled up in numberless layers of bricks. Hübschmann, *Pers.Stud.* 65: "NP. dēg < OP. *daika," means "not to √diz-." Dictionaries have a word "dēz, pot" without confirming quotations. The Pahl. transl. takes dišta as the hearth of the kitchen, but this is ruled out by the last item of the tariff: the hearthfire of the home, nazdišta. The disposition of the chapter requires another industrial fire, and I believe it to be a charcoal pile. The much used charcoal is called zuγāl, zugāl, zuwāl, žuγāl in NP., the etymology of which is unknown.

(93), ōnya taχarya: Bartholomae attempts no explanation, nor do Dastur Hoshang and M. Gandevia comment upon its Pahl. translations. The ms. DR (dastūr Rustamji, A.D. 1755) glosses the apparatus by NP. kīmiyāgar, "of an alchemist." The contrivance is the same as that used for making para.brǰya, seemingly a still.

As the text stands, tχry is adj. of tχr, *taχra > MP. taχr, in *Škand. Gum.Vič.*, Pāz. tahal, NP. talχ "bitter." "Bitters" are medicinal drinks; the main medicinal herb was dramna, absinthe, wormwood, see under 'Ardvī.' taχriya would be a bitter infusion, a tisane, Gr. πτισάνη. The common IE. root to which the Greek word belongs describes the working of primitive hand-mills, mortars with pestle, pistillum; pistor, Pāli pisaka is miller, tila.pisaka "oil-miller" appears at the side of medicine-makers. pištīkān, the Pahl. transl. of taχriya,[21] can belong to this root, cf. OI. piṣṭá, NP. pišt "flour, meal." Tisanes as well as powders, salts, may be included under the notion. But all this rests on the interpretation of "bitter" as medicine.

A slight emendation would give *sχry, saχarya "sugar." Skr. śarkarā, Prākr.Pāl. sakkharā means primarily any granular, powdery material, a name fit for medicines in crystalline powder form. It is qualified by rakta or aruṇa "reddish" or by sita "white," which seems to me to narrow down the meaning to sugar at an earlier time than generally assumed. I do not believe that sugar became known in Iran only in the late Sasanian epoch.

[21] The variants of pyštyk'n differ only in the spelling of the adj. ending. But the text glosses it by a second word p-yy'-s-p-yk-'n with three variants: two insert -'h after initial p, one of them ligating s + p to sč, the other with only p for s + p + y; the third variant put -'h- between the second p and yk. Only one of the variants is possibly right, but I am unable to divine the word behind them.

The classical references to sugar show that it had been a medicine before it became an article of general consumption, just as pontikon-coffee and χšiftahvara-manna. Sugar-cane grows in Sistān, Gurgān, Khūzistān and 'Irāq. Nearch and Onesicritus mention, in India, "a reed producing honey without bees"; Megasthenes says μέλι καλάμινον; Pliny NH.12,17: "saccharum et Arabia fert sed laudantius India, gummium modo candidum, dentibus fragile, amplissimum nucis avellanae magnitudine, ad medicinam tantum usum." Applying these descriptions of sakkharā, as usual since C. Ritter's dissertation, to Indian "bamboo-manna, tabašīr < Skr. tvakṣīra, bark-milk," involves the assumption that this stuff had originally two names of which one was later transferred to sugar-cane, or, yet more improbable, that it got a new name when its old name was transferred. Besides, Pliny's Arabia must mean the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab region; as far as I know, sugar-cane is not indigenous in South Arabia. Dioscurides, at Nero's time, describes σάκχαρον as found on a cane, looking like salt—most characteristic: who has never taken the sugar instead of the salt-cellar? The *Periplus* §14 mentions σάκχαρι as export article from Barygaza at the very end of the first century A.D. The method was still primitive, the use limited to medicine.

The perfected production of sugar is said to have been found in India itself only about A.D. 300. But at the time of Moses of Chorene, A.D. 450-500, Gundēshāpūr in Khūzistān was already the center of sugar refining; books like *Xusr.Rēt.* speak of two kinds, šakar and tabarzaδ, the names of which passed into many languages, not as of something new, but as a common requisite of the kitchen. The *Sui-Annals*[22] mention not much later two kinds of Persian sugar, and in the T'ang period those were imported wholesale. Sugar was not "an Indian valuable" because the emperor Heraclius mentions the enormous stores of it which fell into his hands with the spoil of Dastagird. Xusrau, like more than one of his successors, who are accused of it, apparently used the war for financial speculations. In 1917, at the evacuation of Baghdad by the Turks, I observed how ten railway trucks loaded with sugar—which had completely disappeared from the market for a long time—

[22] O. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 376.

were shipped to Samarra, to be resold to Baghdad after the British occupation.

The last three fires of the list are not industrial.

(94): "pantāt hača stōra.payāt, *Pahl.Vid.* ač rās . . . ē stōrpānān." stōra is big cattle, √pā- "to herd." panti does not mean exceptionally "Stelle, spot" (*Wb.*), but as always "trails" between summer- and winter-pastures, along which the cowboys make their fires.

(95): skarya, *Wb.*: "eine Art (welche?) Vorrichtung zur Feuerung." But *Pahl.Vid.* has "skly' (ku šōβān)," or "skl . . . ē 'svb'l'n (ē χiyōnān)," with the NP. gloss "hunters in the forest." Pahl. skly' is a mere transliteration; the words in brackets "shepherds," express opposition to the foregoing "cow-herder." The variant explains skar as "of the horsemen," with an impossible gloss "Chionites," as if thinking of the desecration of the fire by enemies of the religion. Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.* 30 and 80: "NP. šikār, also bišgar(d), 'hunt,' MP. škar from OP. *skāra, to √skar-; bišgard < MP. viškar." skarya is the adj. of this *skāra, hence "fire of a hunter." The gloss is right.[28]

Finally (96): "who carries the fire nazdištāt hača dātiyam gātum avi, from the nearest (place) to the cult-place." *Pahl.Vid.* ač nazdīk (šapistān). *Wb.*: "vom nächstbesten, abgesehen von dem vorher ausdrücklich genannten," which would be the fire of minor importance, whereas it is the best of all and the least profaned. šapistān, "Harem," defines it as the hearthfire of the own home, and that is what it means: agni-ignis, the fire of Vesta, ἑστία.

The sequence, therefore, is in reversed order: fire used (1) on the own hearth, (2) by hunters, (3) by cowboys, (4) for making medicines or sugar, (5) charcoal, (6) in baking ovens, (7) for forging steel, (8) brass, (9) silver, (10) gold, (11) for making rice-wine, (12) glass, (13) pottery, (14) glue, or for baths, and (15) dyes.

[28] Cf. the n.pr. skārayat.raθa, *Wb.* "den Wagen kreisen lassend to skarna 'round'." So it would be if it were a comp. adj. of common language, but it is a proper name, standing in *Yt.*13,108 beside dārayat.raθa, frārayat.raθa. As a name it may be formed merely in imitation of such forms, and mean "hunting on the chariot, chariot-hunter," which was the usual style of hunting.

XLIV. ARCHITECTURE

Ušām stīrām yazamaide!

The number of Old Iranian terms for arts and crafts, architecture and sculpture, is large, but few have been accurately determined. Etymology alone cannot reveal the peculiar meaning, and any thorough investigation ought to be linguistic and archeological at the same time. Only a few terms can here be discussed.

All arts, each peculiar skill, is hūnara, n.abstr. hūnartāt. Darius calls his sportsmanship as horseman, archer, lancer "hūnarā granted to him by AhuraMazdāh"; Zoroaster calls his poetry "hūnartāt, bestowed by Vahumano." AhuraMazdāh's creating of the world is "hūnartāt, δημιουργία." hūnaravant, "rich in hūnara" is the exclusive epithet of two women in the Awesta: (1) the maiden of the Činvat-bridge, who guides, with a rope, the souls over the abyss, on account of her special skill; and (2) Ušā-Eos in *Yt.*16,1, as goddess of handicraft, hūti. The craftsmen which are draχta.hūnara, have learned their trade, are under the protection of the hūnaravatī.

In *Altp.Inschr.* (s.v.) I had not yet found the etymology of hūnara. "Good-man," of course, is a popular etymology only. Nyberg's "gute Manneskraft"—in view of Ušā and the maiden of the Činvat-bridge, is funny. H. W. Bailey's remark in JRAS 1943, 2 "hu.nara 'skillful, skill' from hu- and the verbal base nar- 'be strong' (not from nar- 'man' directly)," is perhaps meant to improve my surmise "√nar- in MP. vinārtan etc.," but is equally wrong.

The etymology results from hvandra.kara, the epithet of the dog in *Vid.*13,6 and 48, see under 'Ardvī.' In *Vid.*13,8 and 42 his epithet is draχta.hūnara, and *Vid.*13,9 remarks "a vohunazgo, hound, is enough for a man who wants only protection, but no special hūnara." Hence it is not a (*Wb.*:) "luxury dog doing tricks," but on the contrary a working dog that has learned his job. In primitive periods all crafts were in the hands of bondsmen, slaves, vēsa, many in the hands of women, jahīkā, e.g. weaving, pottery, cooking, perhaps also gathering herbs and making medicines. That is the point of comparison between the dog and the vēsa and jahīkā in the song *Vid.*12,46-48.

hvandra.kara and draχta.hūnara are full synonyms. hvandra—with euphonic d[1]—corresponds to OI. sundara < *sundra < *sunra, and hūnara to OI. sūnara. It is no compound at all, but a derivative of √hū-. This does not mean "antreiben (*Wb.*)" based on arma.šūta and manyu.šūta, both in fact to √šyū-,[2] but "to produce with skill, handi-work." Gath. hūnati in Y.31,15 and hvanmahi in Y.35,5 mean "to manufacture, contrive (by intrigue) the rulership of somebody." And yōna.hūt, epithet of the fox in *Vid.*13,16, is "the one who builds his den with skill." In apa.hvanvati, *Yt.*14,46, the primary signification, producing by magic, is still discernible.

hvandra has a shortform hvani- used in compounds:[3]

(1) hvani.saχta, *Yt.*10,109, see under 'Mithra'; sāχtan, sāz- is the word for many crafts, replacing OIr. -kara, -gar, especially for forging of weapons, making harness etc.; the NP. vocabulary is rich. Hence, the saχta are weapons and engines, artillery, √hū- "to engineer" and "artes."

(2) hvani.strta, -strtu "skillfully upholstered," cf. Athenaeus on the Persian invention of mattresses under 'Hospitium.'

(3) hvani.raθa, name of the middle kršvar: the Veda praises everywhere the high art of the cartwright, of making the wheels of the chariot. Bartholomae[4] interpreted the passage in RV. 6,61,13: "rátha iva vibhváne - - - sárasvatī - - kr̥táḥ" by "the Sarasvatī looks like the chariot wrought for Vibhvan," who as son of Sudhanvan belongs to the Rbhavaḥ, sandhanvanāsaḥ, the famous cartwrights "who made the chariot of the Aśvinau." hvaniraθa belongs to this sphere of thought and means "with chariots skillfully made."

hvanat.čaχra in *Yt.*17,1, standing between yuχta.aspa "harnessed horses" and vrta.raθa, "turning chariots," looks like a full synonym; raθa=čaχra, as in čaχravant "with many chariots." čanat.čaχra in *Yt.* 5, disfigured from hvanat.čaχra (Sas. č=hv) refers to mills in the kitchen and means "singing wheels." But if the wheel of a chariot

[1] Cf. *madra, *manra under 'Hōma'; Aw. api.dvanra "cloudy" and "dendrobosa," name of an island at the Gedrosian coast, Nearch in Arrian, *Indikē*. Case: *ἀνῆρ:ἀνδρός*.

[2] Like arza.lūta, frašūta. Vice versa: višāvayat in *Vid.*2,31, arranged in *Wb.* under √šyu-, belongs to √hū-.

[3] Cf. Duchesne and *Wb.*1864: "χvaini: OI. sundara, like vēši:viyra." The spelling without epenthetic i in χvaniraθa is no counterargument.

[4] *Etymol. und Wortbildg.*, Sb.Heid.Ak.d.W., Phil.-Hist.Kl. 1919,10, p.14ff.

would "sing," it would soon burn, and the epithet would lay bare the lack of skill.

hūnartāt is the word comprising all δημιουργία at the creation of the world. Where gods create single beings, various words are used, the primary meaning of which is mostly hidden. So it is in other languages: the prehistoric Sumerian town BÁD URUD.NAGAR^{ki} = Bad.Tibira was, as the name says, a settlement of coppersmiths, who were miners from the Pontus, Tibareni. But in Narām.Sīn's inscription Ur. n° 276, the "NAGAR who chisels off the inscription, changes the name" is a mason. Which craft the lú NAGAR.izzi of the Hittite Code means, remains unknown. In later times the naggāru, Arab. nadjdjār, is a carpenter. The problem is not to find a meaning for the root which covers all these applications: it is the effect of historical developments that the names were transferred from one craft to another.

*Yt.*19,52: ApāmNapāt "creates men, carves, tataša men." √taš- is etymologically connected with tect(onics), (archi)tect as well as with text(iles). Weaving and basketry may be the primary meaning. In *Y.*57,10 it is building: "Srōšo ham.tašti (cf. con-tegere), puts a (modest) house together for the poor." A synonym is √θwars-, which Hertel, *Siegesf.* 59, explains as "k'-enlargement of the unenlarged root θwar-, whence *tvár.ta > θwarta (spelled θwāša), atmosphere, lit. section, space between sky and earth." θwars- appears beside √taš- in *Y.*9,1. θwārštar, θwarχštar is a word for "creator." There is strong reason to believe that the original craft was "turning," not yet on a lathe, but with bow and string. But pati.θwaršta in *Y.*57,27 means "enchased (with gold)."

In *Vid.*22,1, AhuraMazdāh "ā.krnati, shapes by cutting" a house. In *Yt.*10,28 Mithra "krnavati, cuts" the "anθyå, antae" of the house, which under normal conditions were of wood, only exceptionally of stone. √krt- later becomes the word for stone-cutting. *Dar.Chart.Sus,* 48: "martiyā krnvakā tyē aθangam ākunavanta, the masons who cut (shaped) the stone." For the other techniques described there the verb is "akunavaša, they made." The NP. word is tarāšīdan, sang.tarāš "mason," lit. stone-cutter; Aw. krnvyāt "he may cut." Hence, akunavanta is Old Persian for Median krnva-, while the term for the profes-

sion, significant for cultural relations, is Median, krnvaka. MP. r'z grwg (with rāz = architect) is "master-mason." The Pahl. transl. is kirr.-ēnītan, with kirr < krn-; the MP. noun kirrōkīh < krnv- means not masonry, but all "crafts and arts."

Words derived from fra.māy- "to measure out," framānā "(foot)-rule" belong to a younger and advanced period. framāna.kara is one who works with the rule, an engineer, as the muhandis, -diz, engineer and architect[8] in much later times. All this is hūti.

No excavations to any extent have been made in Media, and yet a few architectural monuments of the period of the Aryan immigration are known in western Iran. These have little in common with methods and forms that had been used in the Euphrates and Tigris regions for three thousand years by that time. They show rather an indigenous development to which the Iranians may have added some features familiar to them in their original home.

It would mean nothing if the Assyrian annals "mentioned no temples and no statues of gods in the region of Media," as Nyberg writes; for the annals stop in the moment when the Medes founded their empire in 678 B.C., and they can only give a picture of what existed as long as the Iranians were not yet in exclusive possession of the country. But, besides, the assertion is wrong.

Sargon, for instance, says:[9] "From Ulḫu I set forth against the fortresses in the province of Sangibuti (Sahand, Tawrīz). . . . This was the home of his *temple* which the kings of the past that were before him had of old richly endowed." Salmanassar III, a° 16 [Luckenbill 1,637]: "Adira, royal city of the ḫanzu (king) of Allabria, the beautiful golden doors of his ē- - -[temple?], the treasures of his palace etc., I carried away." Allabria is Ardilān. TiglathPilesar III, a° 2 [Luckenb. 766]: "Mitakki . . . in Uršanika, him, his wife, sons, daughters, *gods*, I carried away." The place lies between Kitpattia = Qahvaδ, W of Qazwīn, bīt Abdadāhi = Bīdjār, and Kišišu, Hamadan itself. Personal

[8] Mas'ūdī uses Arab. muqaddir, from qaddara "measure," for "architect." The form muhandiz, with z, significant for etymology, occurs in dialects, in ibn al-Faqih, BGA v,p.67, and in an inscription of 507 H., van Berchem-Strzygowski, *Amida* n° 2, l.14: "al-muhandiz," not al-muqtadir[!]. Cf. *Altp.Inschr.* 144f.

[9] Eighth Campaign, Thureau-Dangin, completed by *KAH* 2, n° 141; see Luckenbill 11,162.

and local names are Iranian. These people were Medes, and the "gods" were statues in temples.

The most important of these temples, rich in statues and ex-votos, the Muṣaṣir temple, is more accurately described than any other building in Assyrian literature and was sculptured in Khursabad.[†] It is the model of the oldest Iranian architecture, known to us by the rock-tombs. In Pasargadae I have excavated a temple of the time of Cyrus, in Persepolis two of the time of Darius and Xerxes, and one of the first diadochs. They are of two types, both so highly developed that they are certainly not the first specimens. MP. literature places the origin of many temples in legendary antiquity, following the tradition of the temples themselves; this tradition contains a grain of truth. The late Husravah legend imagines uzdēsčār, temples with idols, at the time of the kavi kings in Media, and kavi Husravah, Cyrus, burning these "nišēm ē uzdēsčārīh, nests of idol-worship" with the help of the Gušnasp fire. They were actually the fire temples of the pre-Zoroastrian dēva, uzdēs, which Xerxes calls dēvadāna. The Arabs commit a similar error in calling pre-Christian temples of Syria "fire-temples." In fact, the āδar Gušnasp, "Fire of the Stallion," in Čēčist-Šēz, was the greatest of these alleged idol-temples. The āδar Kavātakān, "Fire of the Colt," memorial fire of the Median dynasty, after which the legend calls the founder Kavāt "colt," stood in Agbatana, and counted 128 years, when Cyrus-Husravah deposed the dynasty. These two temples, dedicated not to AhuraMazdāh, but to two shapes of appearance of Vrthragna, are the origin of the later term "Varhrān fire" for dynastic fires. A memory lingers in that name of the pre-Zoroastrian past. The legend ascribes several foundations to Vištāspa, some of which may belong to Darius; but Vištāspa was the founder of the fire, the memorial list of which is preserved in *Yt.*13; this document is as conclusive as a preserved portion of the most important part of the temple.

In *Beh.* §14 Darius uses the term āyadana, "place of worship, sacrifice," Akk. bītātē ša ilāni "houses of the gods" for the fire temples of the Persian dynasty destroyed by Gōmāta: those were memorial fires of Cyrus and Cambyses. The Tansar letter calls the illimited building of temples during the Arsacid period a "novelty against the rule, fra-

[†] Cf. *Arch.Hist.Iran* 14-16; IAE 198-200.

mān, the ancient kings had established," which allowed only one patnām fire, with the name of the ruling king. Markwart[8] recognized OP. āyadana in Strabo's "iasónia," reflecting Median *(ā)yazana. The Greeks, when connecting their Medea of the Argonaut cycle with Media, saw in these temples buildings of Jason, and proof for the reality of their legend. One cannot maintain Herodotus' assertion, the Persians had no temples, not even when restricting it to the narrowest Greek notion: the building as seat of the deity, embodied in its statue, and as most conspicuous symbol of the "polis." With the statues we shall deal under 'Sculpture.'

Two things make a settlement a city in the old Oriental conception: the temple and the walls. The Iranian legend speaks of such fortified towns. Kanhā—see under 'Nōtarya'—appears in *Yt.*5,54 as home of the Tūryan Vēsaki "upa dvaram čaθrusūkam, apanatamam kanhayā, at the gate, the forum, the faraway one, of Kanhā," verses that were borrowed from the epic in the fifth century B.C. The later legend, which descends straight from the epic, not from the Awesta, makes Kanhā-Kang diz the prototype of the "town with seven walls." Iranian towns with up to three walls are represented in Assyrian sculptures; seven walls are legendary exaggeration. The *Ayātk.Zām.* (Messina) describes the seven walls of Kang diz as consisting of iron, copper, steel, bronze (brinjēn), lapis (kāsakēn), silver and gold. The *Gr.Bdh.* 210 says: "Kang has seven walls of gold, silver, steel (almāst), brass, iron, crystal and lapislazuli; it has 700 frasaχ (2,400 miles) of streets, 15 gates, from gate to gate is a travel of a fortnight by carriage." This was a favorite motif: the legends of kavi Usan (Kavi cycle) and of Siyāvuχš copied it, and still in *1001 Nights* (ed. Cairo 1,278) the daughter of the king of the Djazā'ir, has seven palaces of crystal, Chinese steel, agate, silver, gold and jewels. Herodotus 1,89 transferred the same legend to his Agbatana built for Deiokes, with seven concentric walls, the battlements, overtowering each other, painted in white, black, purple, lapis blue, orange, the last two covered with silver and gold. Polybius' description of the real town disproves the story completely: Agbatana had no walls at all, only a citadel, just as Pasargadae. Herodotus, taking the

[8] Excurse in "Südarmenien" 531-45.

legend as history, tones the material of the walls down to colors of the battlements. But the material is the genuine notion, derived from the Babylonian doctrine of the seven planets and their metals. Herodotus' description and the appearance of the name Kanhā in *Yt.*5 are almost of the same time, and have the same source: verses of the epic which existed in 450 B.C. The legend itself is much older, at least as old as the time of immigration.

Under 'Yama χšēta' we have discussed his "var," described as a square castrum, one tačartā = ¾ of a mile length of the sides, the plan of which resembles the castrum "qaṣr Balkuwārā" in Samarra. It was a square, čaθrusūka, a word which assumes the connotation of "forum, market place," like Lat. quadrangulum, NP. čārsū, see under 'Nōtarya.' To build this var, Yama must first learn how to build, for before the "winters" came, men did not need houses in the paradisiac country. He learns making sundried bricks, called (h)ištiš, Akk. libnātē, NP. χišt, Arab. libn. In *Vid.*8,10 zmoištve vā zarštve: the first renders zam + išti "clay-brick," the second is the burnt brick, also fayence, pottery—see under 'Industries.' The OP. word for burnt brick was a loanword from Babylonian; *chart.Sus.*: "ummānāte ša agurru ēpušu, the craftsmen that made the (enamelled) bricks."[9] The notion that sundried brick was the primeval building material is true.

var is a term of fortification, to √var- "to enclose," like Aw. vāra (in compounds), TPārs. b'rg, NP. bārah "wall and battlements." There are several derivatives, like parivāra, formed like paridēzā:dizā, and fravāra, both in *Vid.*2,26 (Yama's var), which survive in Iranian, Armenian and Syriac. An Arabic term bāšūra, which appears in descriptions of medieval fortifications of Syria, is explained by ibn Shiḫna as "the area outside a wall of a city, against which is built a wall, extending between it and the ditch, and which one must pass when going out of town." Against earlier etymologies, van Berchem remarked in *Notes d'épigraphie* 43: "un mot persan, comme dargāh" [which is "doorway" and occurs in the same description of the Bāb alNaṣr in Aleppo]. The meaning is exactly *προτείχισμα*. Hence bāšūra is MP. *pēšvārag < *paš-yavāra, perhaps < *pāšyavāri, "avant-mur."[9a]

In *Yt.*10,28, a stanza of the song "Theft of the Cattle," which begins

[9] OP. text destroyed, but *Beh.* §70 a[g]ūra[vā] = El. halat.
[9a] Cf. Ofr. *mada.hvara- > maiχvar > Arab. mākhūr, pl. mawākhīr "wine-shop."

with the invocation of Miθrā-Ahurā and seems to be the oldest piece preserved in the Awesta, time of the immigration, before 678, a house is described:

(Thou, Mithra, lord of the village, art the keeper of the innocent)

yo stūnå viδārayati	who keeps straight the pillars
brzimitahya nmānahya	of the high-built house,
stawrå ānθyå krnavati	who timbers the strong antae.

The pillars, columns are called stūna, the antae ā(n)θya, OI. āta. The Indo-European domus in antis therefore was the form of the early Iranian house.[10] The OP. inscriptions use ārdastāna for the colossal monolith antae and for the frames of doors and windows, a word I compared previously with Gr. orthostátes, but its Akk. translation, kuburru to kibru "border," designates all framework of a house.

The single palaces are called OP. māna, Aw. nmāna, Gath. dmāna (domus); a larger unit of them viθ, Aw. vis, etym.=oikos, vīcus. Special types are apadāna, a reception hall, tačaram and hadiš, private houses, and dvar is "gate." From the last one, later dahlīz and dargāh are derived. In the Awesta the distinction, clearly visible in the plan of Persepolis, between andarūn and bīrūn, harem and serail, is expressed by antara.arδam and χšaθram, see under 'Hospitium.' In two inscriptions the word for staircase appears; *Art.*II *Susa c*: "[usta]č[i]nam tya aθanganām," and *Art.*III, *Pers.* "ustašanam aθanganām," with an Aram. š for OP. č, wrongly transposed into cuneif. š. In Awestic hu.awi.tačinā corresponds, epithet of Čistā-Ušå in *Yt.*16,1 "who makes ascents easy" (before: hupāθmaniyā, good paths) and in *Yt.*16,3 "hvātačinā, wooded mountains with well-made step-paths," see under 'Post and Travels.' ustačina:tačara like uzdēza:dizā; Aram. "astican degree, step."

The palaces of Ardvī at all sea-shores which *Yt.*5 describes are fitting descriptions of Persepolis: "with a hundred windows, sata.rōčanam, a thousand columns, hazahra.stūnam, ten thousand beams, bēvar.fraskambam, ten thousand bēvar.mištam(?), ten thousand viδayanam, battlements with loop-holes." Not even the numbers are exaggerated: the MP. name of Persepolis was sat.stūn, the hundred columns, NP. sad sutūn or čihil minār, the forty pillars—forty is infinite—but it had originally about a thousand columns, and certainly ten thousand beams,

[10] Cf. *Tor v. Asien* fig. 7; IAE figs. 310-312, 319-320.

battlements and more. rōčanam is window in its original meaning, an opening for smoke and light in the roof, Fr. lucarne, Germ. Dachluke, very clearly so in the description of Yama's var. I regret having misrepresented this point in IAE: the Achaemenian palaces, which have only a few windows in the vertical walls, were yet not dark, but lightened by such rōčana in the ceilings.

mišta is quite unknown. fraskamba is always the horizontal beam, "covered by (deck)-beams," not (*Wb.*) "auf Tragbalken ruhend"; the description proceeds from bottom to top, and has no pile-buildings in mind, but timber-framework. To fraskamba, frasčimbana belongs *patiškamba > MP. padiškamb, Arm. ptškam(b) "cella porticibus addita, porticus etc." in Neo-Arm. "balcony," i.e. NP. bālāχānah "upper story."

*Pahl.Vid.*2,26 (and elsewhere) renders Aw. (fra)skamba by 'škvp, or 'škvpk in 6,5, NP. aškūb; in an inscription at Isfahan[11] I found 'sk'b. The relation to the synonymous Ass. askuppatu, Syr. 'skvpt', Arab. uskuffah, is the more striking, as it is an analogy to Ass. quppatu, Arab. qubbah, Pers. gunbaδ.

Synonym of fraskamba is Aw. fraspāt > MP. frasp. *Art.Vir.Nām.* 2,11: "čigōn χānak-dar kē haft frasp u stūn-ē andar nihāt ēstāt kē ān stūn bē stānēnd avēšān fraspān ōftēnēnd, like the gate of a house, where seven beams are laid upon one column only, who takes away that column causes the beams to fall—thus is to us seven sisters this only brother." One can make a sketch of the door, it is the same as one sees everywhere in Kurdistan. A second signification of fraspāt "covering (of textiles)" we have discussed, together with spayaθra, under 'Astronomy.' *parispāt > parisp "wall, peribolos" is formed with pari- "around" instead of fra- "forth" from the same stem.

All these terms belong to an architectural style that uses timber framework and walls of sundried brick, as the Assyrian annals describe it in northwest Iran. They speak many times of the pillars and roofs of

[11] Isfahan, Madr. Mādar i Shāh, Shāh Ḥusain, 1122 H:

لا زالت جبابرة الجبابرة معفرة اسقاب بابه
والقياسرة مرتلين مشرفة على جنابه

and Masdjid i Shāh, Shāh 'Abbās I, 1025 H:

لا زالت اعاظم الخواقين خاضعة بابه على جنابه
وافاخم السلاطين معفرة ترب ـ ـ ـ ثوابه

fragrant wood, as something entirely foreign to their own style. When I discovered the teak beams in the palace of Balkuwārā at Samarra, our carpenter described to me the various woods, always adding the special smell as a characteristic besides grain, hardness and color.

With this type of architecture the famous tents of the Persian kings are connected, which were all but transportable apadāna. The OP. word is not preserved, but MP. maškaparzēn, Arm. maškapercan.[12] Sebeos speaks of the maškapercan ark'uni, the royal tent of the Persian kings in the bunak, camp, and of the χoran < MP. χvaran, the "banquet-tent."[13] B. Geiger explained aparzēn < *upari.čayana, to √cī- "pile up." This root is represented in IPārs. čytk = čētak, IPahl. šyty = čēti, OI. chaitya, in *Hajjiābād* a pile of stones used as target. A derived meaning, with a different preverb, "to cover" is attested by Mir. Man. 'b.zyn, 'b.čyn, material for garments, 'bzyngr "tailor." Kurd. barzīn is today understood as "on the saddle," but is not a caparison, but the common covering of the horse's back under the saddle, hence *upari.čayana. It exists also as loanword in Talm.Aram., once glossed by "originally called (animal's) skin, but now 'cover.' " Thus, upari.čayana is the roof of a tent, pavilion.

The Greeks saw them first when Darius and Xerxes used them on their campaigns, a custom adopted by Alexander and the diadochs. Athenaeus (539c) uses the term *διφθέραι* for the enormous tents of Perdiccas and Craterus. This, and Talm. "skin," seem to support the interpretation of the first element of maškaparzēn as Akk. mašku, OP. maškā(uvā) in *Beh.* §18, El. transliteration maš.ka.[uw.wa]. But mašku is only the bag of skin, not a hide, and even hides would be a material utterly unfit for roofs of even the smallest tents. Greek *σκηνή* "tent," later "scene," is an unexplained loanword. It does not appear in literature before the description of the Persian royal tents, and a connection between them and the later "scenae frontes" has been considered. In Akkadian, maškanu, from šakānu "to dwell," occurs with the connotation "tent,"[14] and in spite of Athenaeus' *διφθέραι* and Talm. "skin,"

[12] In *Aγatk.Zar.*, Pagliaro, *Il testo pehlevico dell' Aγatkār i Zarērān*, 44, and in *Xusr.Rēt.*: m[š]k'przyn.

[13] Cf. Hübschmann, *Armen.Gramm.* s.v. and B. Geiger in Arch.Orientalny x, 1938, 210ss.

[14] Cf. Klauber in AJSL 30, 259. Settlements of Arabs cause the frequent topic name "maskana," one on the Euphrates, another on the Tigris, mentioned already by TukultiNinurta II as

the first element of maškaparzēn may contain maškanu instead of mašku. σκηνὴ then would come from šakānu, and the occasion for borrowing the word may have been the showing of the royal tents in Greece.

In *Vid.*2,26 and 18,74, frasčimbana, with the verb frasčimbaya, means the beam or girder of a bridge, see under 'ApāmNapāt.' Akk. gušūru, Arab. djisr, have the same double meaning, referring to a roof or a bridge. The names are the same, because the construction is. Bridge building was developed; the great highways for vehicles require numberless small bridges.

*Vid.*14,16, in a senseless context, says: "biš hafta prtavo fra.rvisyoit tarasča āpo nāviyå, twice seven bridge-beams shall he roll over ditches." prtu, OP. *prθu, is, like gušūru and djisr, the single beam which reaches over a canal—of course not over a "navigable water." The verb for the movement "fra.rvisya tara, forth-turning over," means to roll in such a way that it spans the ditch. In *Yt.*16,3, song of the caravan, huprθwyå āfš nāviyå means, the ditches may have such "bridges," not "fords."

Solid bridges in brickwork, even over rivers as large as the Euphrates, were known since the Neo-Babylonian epoch, and the more so pontoon-bridges. The word for these is pisa in *Beh.* §74: "[aš]iyavam abi Sakām [- - - - tya]i[y χodā?]m tigrām baranti - - - abi draya avā[rasam - - - -]ā ha[dā kār?]ā pisā viyatārayam, I marched against the Sakā - - - that wear the tiara pointed, - - - I reached the sea - - - with the [army?] I crossed it by means of a pisa." This is the famous pontoon-bridge over the Bosporus, built by Mandrocles of Samos, Herodotus IV,87s, cf. Polybius IV,43. The OP. version of the stela which Darius set up there, with a list of ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε[18] was later preserved in the Dionyos temple of Byzantium. Justi compared pisa with "πίνακες, ship-beams" in *Il.* 12,67 Ar. *pinš-. Translations "raft" or "ferry" are unwarranted, probably advanced in the wrong belief that these Sakā were the tigra-χōda beyond the Jaxartes.

maškanāte, Syr. malkenā, Arab. Maskin, S of Samarra on the old Tigris, Shuṭaiṭa. Gr. Skēnaí, either for this Maskin or for Ḥīra, cf. Arabes Scenitae, names for which there were oriental models.

[18] This and the words in Her. 5.36 and 49, where Hecataeus warns Aristagoras, "all the many nations over which Darius ruled," are almost literary translations of OP. imā dahyāva tyā adam adarši, or "čiyākaram āha avā dahyāva tyā dārayavauš χšāyaθya adāraya." The inscr. *Shāhp. KiZ* renders MP. šry < χšaθram for OP. dahyu, likewise by ἔθνος.

In *Yt.*13,26 the fravarti are called

a.frakavastamå apa.srayamnānām anu.varštivastamå frasčimbanānām

Bartholomae: "die unerschütterlichsten unter den sich anstemmenden, die geeignetsten unter den Stützbalken." Lommel: "die am meisten unerschütterlichen? unter denen [something missing] die am meisten wirken? unter den Stüzen." The metaphor must not be interpreted in an anthropomorphic way.

The second part means "the most efficient beams," i.e. of the greatest bearing-power; the first is a variation of the same thought. Instead of "most unshakable" it ought to be "least shakable," but this meaning is unsatisfactorily derived from adv. fraka- "forwards," while all other compounds with a priv. and prev. fra- are formed from verbal stems, here probably √kav-, cf. fra.kava, apa.kava and Lat. cavus; a.fra.kavant "not sagging, warping," superl. "never or not at all sagging." apa.-srayamna, to √sri-, cf. *Yt.*17,21 srayahva "squat down on my chariot!" and *Vid.*3,29 srayano, the beggar squatting at the street-door, describes the bending, crossing of legs, not "sich anlehnen" (*Wb.*), and can be extended to legs of chairs and beds, Gr. *κλίνω, κλίνη*. Cf. OP. niyaθ^{r}ārayam in *Beh.* §14, where the clients are again "put under" their masters; similarly nisrāraya in *Vid.*18,51. apa.srayamna are transversal braces, vertically arranged in girder-systems; in bridges their place is under the horizontal beams, in roofs over the flat ceiling, which would involve a gable roof. We, too, speak of "pillars of society" or "of the church," but this is different: only people who admired the skill of their engineers, framānakara, could compare their "manes" with details of construction, and the verses cannot be older than the high Achaemenian period.

The terms discussed so far belong to wooden structure of western Iran. Others prove, not less clearly, the existence of vaulting. In Pasargadae and Persepolis, where there was plenty of wood, arches appear over doors in adobe walls, but no vaults over rooms. In the scantily wooded East it may have been different, and the striking contrast between wooden structure in western Persia of today, vaulting in eastern Persia, while the plans of the buildings are the same, may go back to high antiquity.

A term of vaulting is MP.NP. gumbaδ "cupola." Its etymology is no longer doubtful, after Ass. gubbatu, archet. of Syr. qvbt', Arab. qubbah, has recently been found in tablets from Nuzi (Kirkūk, land Arrapḫa, bordering on Iran), 15th century B.C. Unrecognized, the word stood in the letter of franchise granted by Nebuchadnezzar I (1146-23) to Ritti-Marduk, the mār Karziapku:[16] "May Šumalia, the lady of the snowy mountains, āšibat rēšēti, who dwells upon the summits, kābisat quppāti, who enters the houses . . . [not: who treads? beside the springs?] punish all who offend against the stipulations." The goddess sets her foot into the houses like the Iranian Rtiš. The Behistun rock was a sanctuary of Šumalia, see under 'Dēva.' The region bīt Karziapku belonged to Nawar which extended in width from the Paiṭāq pass to near Kirmānshāh, in length from Shahrazur towards Elam. In bīt Karziapku palms grew, hence it was a southern part. In these regions the qubbah was the usual form of a house in the 12th century B.C.[17]

The Arab. term for barrel-vault, āzādj, pl. azwādj, to which the *Lisān al-'Arab* ascribes a Persian origin, comes from Aram. 'zg', as recognized by Fraenkel. But this is not Iranian, but Akk. asakku = Sum. azag, "Ē.AZAG = bīt asakki, room of darkness," i.e. cellar, vault, cf. Meissner, *Suppl.*12, OLZ 1916, 141. In the accurate description of the citadel of Aleppo, ibn Shaddād (in ibn Shiḥna, *durr*, ed. Beirut 50), speaks of "five dargāwāt (< Ir. dargāh) with vaults, āzādj, in masonry, and arches ascending in steps," and p.48, describing the ṣāṭūra, a deep well around which turns a stair of 125 steps, he says: "underground, drilled into the rock, with barrel-vaults, azwādj, that penetrate each other."

Another term of vaulting is Aw. kamarā, f., "belt, girdle"; TPārs. qmr "vault." In Iranian we have kamarā, kamrδa and θrikamrδa, in Greek κάμαρα, καμάρδα, and τρικάμαρον, moreover κάμμαρος "homarus vulgaris, lobster"; Nord. humarr, Germ. hummer belong to OI. kamáṭha < 'kamartha, see under 'Ardvī.' In Skr. this last is the name of the turtle, as an animal covered by a brain-pan, cranium, as is Lat. testudo from testa (> Fr. tête, head). The calote-shaped shallow drinking cup, a form everywhere attested since the Stone Age, cf. calote du crâne, des cieux, de la sphère. Nord. humarr = κάμμαρος expresses

[16] L. W. King, *Boundary Stones*, kudurru VI, col.II,46f.

[17] The only older occurrence, guppatum as topic name, seemingly of a ford, between Lagaš and the Pers. Gulf, in the 'Sargon Itinerary,' may be Arab. quffa, the basket-like vessel for crossing rivers.

the same thought as its Homeric epithet *ὀστρακόδερμος*, Lat. crustacea. Since the IE. root is represented in Greek, one need not assume that these words are borrowed from Iranian; on the other hand, the Iranian words are old and genuine. That means that vaulting—not in square stones and, as long as there was no mortar, only in sundried bricks—was known in Iran since highest antiquity.

zbarah in *Vid.*19,4 and 11—see passages quoted under 'Spitāma'—seems to be another term of vaulting. b stands for *β* or w, and it is IE. ghwel- "to be crooked," Ved. hvar-, and survives in TPahl. (M.Med.) zbar: "z'vrv'g'n zbr m' wyš, do not open the liar's zbar,"[18] and in Yaghn. zwīr-, zwār- "to turn." Ved. hvar- describes the movement of snakes and rivers; so Aw. zbar- in *Yt.*19,42 (and *Yt.*15,50, decadent); hence "serpentine." Jackson translated "to meander," i.e. Bartholomae's "Krümmung" in the horizontal, but it may be vertical. The word is apparently lost in NP., but may survive in the name of the town Uzwāra, z°/ₒwāra, 2 fars. from Ardistān, where pre-Islamic ruins are especially mentioned, perhaps the reason of the name.

It seems to have passed into Arabic as al-zaurā'; according to Yāqūt (1) name of the Tigris at Baghdad; (2) of the town of abū Dja'far, i.e. the "Round Town" of al-Manṣūr, with the "Green Cupola," allegedly called so because the inner and outer gates were not axially opposed; Yāqūt says so against al-Azharī who takes zaurā'; (3) as a name of East Baghdad, alluding to the izwirār, declination of its qibla. al-Ṣādiq, in Bakri 442, denies such a name of Baghdad at all; and asserts (4) zaurā' was Ray, significant, because this is the town in which the Aw. zwarah was; (5) Ya'qūbī calls Samarra "zaurā" banī l-'Abbās," and plays upon the words izwirār, muzwarr, relating to the "crooked" qibla, which in fact is very accurate; (6) Yāqūt: a "dār, palace" of Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir in Ḥīra; (7) after al-Asma'ī, name of Ruṣāfat Hishām, at the time of Nu'mān b. Djabala, with a cross above its gate; (8) a place at the sūq, bazaar of Madīna, near the mosque, "high like a minaret," or the sūq itself. In all these cases the serpentine of a river, the labyrinth

[18] Henning, BSOS IX, 90, translates "door?", but in the *Vid.* passages a room is required. Tedesco, in *Kretschmer-Festschr.* analyzed *θy-* and *δy-* > OP. *θv-* and dv-, where v becomes quiescent, and *θ* and *δ* follow the normal development, while in Median dialects in *θy-* (Aw. *θw-*) and *δy-* (Aw. db-) the labial prevails and the dental is lost. He did not explore zy-, since there were no examples, but assumed zv- > z in analogy of sv- > s.

of the bazaars, the broken passage of the dargāh gates, or equally well the high cupolas of the buildings may be the cause of the name.

The grammarians determine zaurā' as fem. of azwar, stem zwr "to go lame, slant, limp, be crooked, curved." The analogy between Ir. zwar- and Arab. zawara is complete. Whatever the relation may be, Aw. zwarah, MMed. zbar, may signify, like Arab. zaurā', the broken entrance or the vaulted hall of the "palace of the father of Zoroaster" in Ray.[19]

[19] This zbarah has the doubtful adj. drjya. The broken entrances are called "dargāh," in Arab. also durqā'a. ibn Shiḥna, *dwr* 51, comments: "entrance room behind a gate, one makes a turn in it, 'rtfq, in order to enter the house or any other building." dargāh is a compound of dvara + gātu; the syn. dahlīz is OP. *dvarθīča, from dvarθi-, deriv. of dvara, gate. I have dwelled on the queer subject, as I suspect a very old cultural connection: if IE. *g'hwel- > Ir. zwar- might be linked, in spite of simple g'h > χ, to Greek θόλος, cf. Germ. "queer" and "zwerch" = aθwart.

XLV. SCULPTURE

The oldest monuments of descriptive art preserved in Iran are the Median rock-tombs and some gold objects of the Oxus-treasure. With contemporary Assyrian and Babylonian works these share neither the subjects nor the developed technique. On the Median tombs some symbols of gods and Median worshippers are represented, on the small gold plates of the Oxus treasure also some worshippers, which however are neither Medes nor Persians, but East Iranians. When I called them, thirty years ago, Zoroastrians, this was not meant to answer a problem not yet risen at that time, whether those Iranians were Zoroastrians or not; the question was merely to distinguish the Median monuments not yet recognized as such from other non-Iranian monuments many centuries older. Today we must distinguish between the Iranian groups.

On the Median tombs, including the ostotheca of Sakawand, and on the drawings of the Oxus treasure, the attitude[1] of the worshippers is: barsman in the lowered left hand, the right hand lifted with libation jug. Possibly some pictures are drawn with sides reversed. The same types recur in larger number among monuments of Seleucid and Arsacid date. They are Iranian, but not Zoroastrian.

His own rite, Zoroaster describes in *Y.*50,8: pari.gam-, circumambulation, ustāna.zasta, with hands outstretched, and namah, prosternation—see under 'Poetry.' Duchesne calls it "office rituel" and "en quelque sorte une doctrine à lui seul." How genuinely Zoroastrian it is, is shown by the frequent, improper insertion of the very word ustāna.zasta in *Yt.*10—see under 'Mithra,' by which the pre-Zoroastrian passages receive a Zoroastrian coloring.

Ātar, on the contrary, is worshipped in *Y.*62,1 "ēsma.zasta barsma.-zasta gō.zasta hāvana.zasta, with fire-wood, barsman, milk, mortar in hand," and likewise Mithra in *Vid.*3,1. In *Yt.*5,12, the statue of Anāhitā herself holds 'bātiyakā libation cup and barsman, according to her peculiar rite, see under 'Ardvī.' But Darius and his successors, on their tombs, are not represented like those worshippers, but like Zoroaster: ustāna.zasta, Δὶ χεῖρας ἀναστχών.

The most probable interpretation of the symbols on the walls of some Median tombs is: Mithra in Sahna, AhuraMazdāh, Māh and Anāhitā

[1] Cf. 1ax figs. 313-316.

in Qyzqapan. The shape of the symbols is derived from Assyrian ones, cf. IAE 201ff. The Achaemenian symbol of AhuraMazdāh appears first on the Behistūn sculpture, in about 520 B.C. At that time, an artist in Iran interpreted the old conventional form of a bird hovering above the king as the divine protection. The symbolic bird unfolds its wings, to overshadow the king who does everything "vašnā Ōramazdāha, Akk. ina ṣilli, in the shadow of the god." In *1001 Nights*, ed. Cairo III,216, one reads: "Solomon, son of David, peace upon both, ordered his hosts of men and jinn and others to form a lane along the way [of Pharao's ambassador], and the monsters of the sea, the elephants, tigers, leopards, all stood in double line along the road [from Egypt to Jerusalem], and the birds of the sky unfolded their wings above to overshadow it." A similar thought made the umbrella a royal insigne, which appears first with Sargon of Akkad, then with the late Assyrians, the Achaemenids, the Sasanians, Abbasids and still today in India.

Against a criticism of the symbol like Nyberg's "ganz ausserhalb alles dessen was der alte Zoroastrismus erträumen konnte, muss elamisch sein" (362), it must be said that iconographic types are neither dreamt nor invented. Changed interpretation is the normal procedure; it is enough to recall Christ and Buddha types derived from Greek philosophers. The symbol of AhuraMazdāh descends from the Assur-symbol by the intermediary form attested in Qyzqapan, not from Elam. Many other things came the same way from Assur (as distinct from Babylon) by Media to Persis.

Another symbol is mentioned in *Yt.*10,136: "The one wheel, ēvo čaχro, is of gold, and the stones are all-light, asānasča vispābāma."

čaχra, IE. *k"ek"lo, Sem. galgal, is every disk, kýklos. The year-date 13 of Ammiditana, first dynasty of Babylon[2] says: "ašme gal.gal.la ^{na}du.-sa.a-ké šu.nir.ra ì.maḫ.e.ša é.babbar.ra.še in.ne.en.tu.ra, great sundisks of agate, magnificent as an emblem, he brought into Ebabbar." And a late Haggada says, the mark of Cain was a galgal ḥammāh, sun wheel. In the vision *Daniel* 7,10, the "Old of the Days," sitting on his throne, has galgillōhi, wheels of flames. Likewise the Cherubīm in *Ezek.* 1,15-21 have each a wheel behind them, of the color of a beryll,[3] shaped like

[2] Cf. Ungnad, *Datenlisten*, in Reall.Assyr. II,187f.

[3] Akk. burallu, Pali veluriya, Of. vāidhūrya, Arab. ballūr, "rock-crystal."

"wheel in wheel," the utter circle, the "ring" set with "eyes," Akk. ^{abnu}ēnu "eye-stones." They are "immaterial," reach to the sky, overlap each other and move always with the Cherubīm who are quick as lightning, "for the spirit of the Cherubīm is in them," as parts of their body they are subject to their will. All these descriptions mean a halo, a nimbus, as the oldest symbols of Assur, time of Assurnāṣirpal, show it behind the whole figure of the god.

The stones mentioned beside the one wheel on Mithra's chariot were formerly understood as sling-stones. But vispā.bāma "(containing) all-light," especially when in parallel with gold, defines the material asā, n.pl. asānas.ča. asā, in OP. asā sārva, designates the "mineral" lead, in Aw. with *siγrvya > siγurya.čiθra "of garlic essence," perhaps the opaline or sapphire, ruby,[4] hence asā alone is "precious stone." In *Yt.* 15,15 the same word appears as adj. vispā.bāmya:

hukaryāt hača brzahāt vispā.bāmiyāt zarnēnāt

"from the high Hukarya, (which is) of vispā.bāma and of gold," cf. under 'Sea.' The high Hukarya consists of this material and of gold, as the sky consists of almāst = Akk. elmēšu, or the Us.hindu of hvēna ayah. The wheel, the nimbus behind Mithra, likewise, consists of vispā.-bāma. There is a folk's tale of the čarχ i almās, diamond-wheel, in the underground passages under the terrace of Persepolis.[5] The names of the great jewels, Kōh i Nūr, Daryā i Nūr, "mountain, sea of light" are of the same type. Therefore, the stone is either the diamond or the ruby, even higher valued than diamond in antiquity. Emeralds were also known, Akk. barraktu, on a Babylonian tablet dated year 35 of Artaxerxes I, 430 B.C.,[6] Hebr. barkat, Gr. σμάραγδος. These stones were believed to be self-radiating, as proved by their shining at night.

The symbol retains the circle also in its Achaemenian form where the bird predominates in size, see IAE, pl. LXIII-LXIV. On the Kūshān coins, the gods Pharro (hvarnah) and Āδar (Fire) have a flaming nimbus behind the shoulders and heads. The Iranian interpretation of the halo is evidently the hvarnah, circle of light and flames. Nöldeke, *Tab.* 93, quotes Morier's story of a Persian prince, who, when first seeing the

[4] Cf. *Alte Inschr.* 99.—In NP. sā ilkana "chalky spar?", in abū l-Qāsim 'Abdallāh al-Qāshānī, ed. Ritter.

[5] Capt. C. M. Gibbon, Journ.Proc. As.Soc.Bengal, v.8, 1909, 284f.

[6] Fossey, *Études Assyriennes*, J.As. 1917, 1.473.

Shah on his golden throne, cries "I burn!" adding: "It is the royal majesty that by its glory blinds the novice." In two very old myths, preserved in *Yt.*14,19 and 35-38, Vrthragna assumes the shape of the vāragan bird, the quickest bird of prey. In *Yt.*14,35, an old military charm, it has the epithet prta.prna, "with wings unfolded." The hvarnah itself assumes, like Vrthragna, the shape of the vāragan, and in this shape it escapes three times, from Yama, who owned it; Mithra, Θrētōna and Krsāspa, each catch one of the birds. The poets who expressed themselves in this way had pictures like those of Persepolis in their mind.

Just where an aversion against anthropomorphic representation of gods prevails, art is forced to use symbols. Not even the Semites who—where living alone—reject anthropomorphic representation more than the Iranians did, forbade symbols; on the contrary, they permitted them because their magic force may produce good effects. And the Iranians loved painting so much that even as Muslims they never kept the prohibition of human representations.

Herodotus speaks as a Greek when he says the Persians did not have statues of gods, and does not contradict thereby the existence of symbols. He wrote in 440 B.C. Already in about 400 B.C. Artaxerxes II, as Berossus records, ordered statues of Ānāhitā put up in the temples of all the capitals of the provinces. Without hesitation we may add "and of Mithra," since Artaxerxes in his inscriptions invokes the two together. Berossus did not mean to exclude other gods, since, in that chapter (Agathias II,24, Bonn p.117), he spoke of the Iranian gods in general, also of Zeus (AhuraMazdāh) and Heracles (Vrthragna); the Mylasa inscription of Artaxerxes' time adds to these gods, the τύχη βασιλέως, the "kavian hvarnah."

We have dealt with the description of the statue of Ānāhitā in *Yt.*5 under 'Ardvī': it not only fits her colossal statue in the Ṭāq i bustān, but some words in the poem are explained by it. The statue is not made after the poem, but is the last preserved example of a tradition starting at the time of the poem.

The case of Mithra on his chariot is similar. The description—see under 'Mithra'—agrees with and becomes clear by comparison with sculptures of Assyrian chariots with their garrison: warrior, charioteer

and one or two shield-bearers, or, when hunting, one or two lance-bearers, and an entire arsenal of weapons. Sargon of Assyria, Eighth Campaign, 714 B.C., seized among the treasures of Muṣaṣir "a statue of Ursa with his two racers and his charioteer, on their seat (chariot), the whole in cast bronze, (statue), on which one saw his pride expressed thus: With my two horses and my only charioteer my hands have seized the kingdom of Urarṭu, ina 2 sīsē-ia u ište.en amēl narkabti.ia šarrūt Urarṭi ikšudu qāti." The statue is a reality, even if the rendering of the Urartaean text might be inaccurate. As a legend this text appears in Herodotus III,88 transferred to Darius: "His first action as king was to have a *τύπος λίθινος* made," that means the Behistūn monument, though it is described as "the figure of a horseman," and the inscription "Darius, son of Hystaspes, by the excellence of his horse —calling its name—and of his groom Oibares, founded the kingship over the Persians" *σύν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην.*

In India it is the sungod Suryas who appears on the chariot with several companions. In the oldest sculptures preserved,[7] of the time of Asoka, about 250 B.C., the sungod is accompanied by two women who shoot arrows. Mithra is described standing between two women who embrace him from his back, or standing hands high, uzbāzauš, as token of peace, and both attitudes correspond to Indian sculptures. In the Asoka monuments the charioteer stands in front of the god on the shaft before the chariot, and behind the god is the great sunwheel. In Turfan paintings there are chariots of sun and moon; the color of the sun is yellow or gold, of the moon white or silver, and the moon has cows instead of horses, just as in Sasanian representations.[8] The relation between the poem in the yasht, the Indian and the Sasanian pictures is evident, and the gods were imagined as driving in their chariot already in Aryan antiquity. The description of Mithra on the chariot, like that of the statue of Ānāhitā, is not a mere fancy, but had pictures in mind. Such pictures were not Zoroastrian but Iranian.

The word for statues and reliefs is OP. patikara, MP. patkar, NP.

[7] Cf. *Thron des Khosrō*, Jahrb.Preuss.Kunstslg. 41, 1921, Abb. 12, 13 and 20.
[8] See IAK, pl.CXXXI.

paikar, i.e. "counterfeit, contrefait," without its bad connotation.[9]

In the *charta of Susa*, l.42f., the Akk. word uṣirtum appears, often translated by "relief." The text is:

OP. aržana[m] tyanā didā [d]ištā ava hača yōnā [a]barya
Akk. si.im.ma.nu.ú ša u.ṣir.tum[- - - - ul]tu ia[wana naša.a][10]

Akk. uṣirtum—quite apart from the question of restituting [d]ištā or [p]ištā—renders OP. didā, wall of the fortress. I consider [d]ištā as obvious and [p]ištā as impossible. In the short gap between uṣirtum and ultu was nothing but a word corresponding to OP. ava, and the Akk. text renders "wherewith the fortification wall was [made]" by "of the uṣirtum," which must—at all events—be identical with uṣurtum. Hehn, in MAOG IV,79ff., defined this as "enclosure."[11] Apart from this exact rendering OP. didā, Akk. uṣirtum cannot mean "relief." This is a modern term for certain sculptures. It is used, with ellipsis, for sculptures on background as opposed to free sculptures. Its origin is Ital. rilievo. Properly speaking it does not even contrast sculptures on background to free sculptures, but it distinguishes between low and high projection from the background: an artist does not make "a relief" but a sculpture in high or low relief. The modern use of the term is negligent and doubly elliptical: no antique language can have had a corresponding term. OP. distinguishes no more than NP. between sculpture on background and free sculpture. I remember when we invented[12] NP. bar.= gašta "projecting" as modern expression for the notion "en relief."

The existence of a number of names of human, animal or hybrid adversaries of the epical heroes in the Awesta and of the many hybrid animals in Achaemenian art poses the problem whether some of them can be identified. Archeology can trace the iconographic types through Assyria back to a Mesopotamian and Sumerian origin. But of this the artists that made them and the onlookers that admired them were equally unaware, and they certainly did not see in the sculptures an old Assyrian heritage, but figures of their own legend.

[9] Perhaps in Kurd. "paikuli," on account of the four colossal busts of Shāhpuhr I on the walls of the tower.

[10] Cf. *Altp.Inschr.* 121ff., and AMI.III,75.

[11] Cf. AMI.V,3 "Summa imis confundere": yṣr on the stela of Sudjīn; also Assyr. eṣertu "enclosed," wife in a harem.

[12] For a publication of the Anjuman Athār i Millī.

The hero who fights in Persepolis three of four such monsters descends from the old Akkadian Gilgamesh, and the Iranians probably saw in him Krsāspa who, in the epical fragments preserved, fights the greatest number of adversaries. Their names are given, but almost no description. The two descriptive adjectives of Snāviδka, *srvi.zangra *sanga.gava "with shanks of lead, hands of stone" do not indicate the shape. Only the name humayaka with epithet aštakāna, indicating an ithyphallic monster dwelling in a cave,[13] means apparently a dragon, "Lindwurm," and his second epithet prta.činga "with out-spread claws" is typical for the Persepolis monsters.

At the main gate of Persepolis and at the front of the Hall of a Hundred Columns stand the colossal human-headed bulls; "lamassē" is the Akk. name of these tutelary genii. On a golden signet ring of the Oxus treasure, n° 105, certainly not younger than the time of Alexander, such a lamassū is represented, with the legend vaχšu, Oxus, apparently as the tutelary genius of the river. On late Sasanian copper coins from Old Shīrāz and Bīshāpūr, they appear with the legend (Rv.) (āzāt)-bušnasp, i.e. Persian for Median gušnasp, name of the famous "Fire of the Stallion" and shape in which Vrthragna appears. Even if this word on the coin would be the patronym of Dārā (a governor of Fārs?) on the Obv., the picture of the lamassū would still symbolize the name.

A song in *Mēn.χr.* 62 describes the mythical Gōpatšāh as such a lamassū:

gōpatšāh[-]pat ērānvēž	Gōpatšāh [is] in Ērānvēž,
andar kišvar ē χvaniras	in the kišvar Xvaniras,
ut ač pāy[-]du tā nēm-tan gāv	from the feet to his middle he is a bull,
ut ač nēm-tan ač.par martom,	from his middle upwards he is human,
hamvār pa drayē-bār nišast	and always sitting at the sea-shore
izišn ē yazdān mē kunēt	he is worshipping the gods.

This description distinguishes Gōpatšāh from the Persepolitan lamassē by its upper part being the full body, not only the head of a

[13] Cf. *Yt.*19,80: vēnamnam mayā fravoit. The verb fra.bav- is not, *Wb.*1141 "vor sich gehen, stattfinden," but "vorwärts werden, erigi." Hertel translates "sichtbar kam (ihre Lust) zum Vorschein." Maya is phallos, as in OP. uz.mayā.pati, Pahl. uzmāh(var) "ithypallic," *Mir.Man.* 1,10, cf. AMI.11,81 and *Altp.Inschr.* s.v. mayûχa. The signification of uzmayāpati explains itself by Assyrian sculptures and by the last story in the *kit. al-Aghānī* 21,280: "In Sigistān was a man called Burzēn, an ascetic, whose father had been impaled, yuliba fī khirābihi. Abū l-Hindī, the men with the quickest repartee of the world, to whom he reproached his wine drinking, said: abadkum yarā l-qadhāt fī 'ain akhīhi, wa-lā yarā l-khashabah fī ast abīhi."

human, and from the Greek centaurs by its lower part being a bull, not a horse. The Persepolitan type preserves the archaic form, which can be followed, by way of Assyria, to Subaraean Mesopotamia. But precursors of the Greek type appear in Mesopotamia from the middle of the second millennium.[14] All the varieties may be classed as centaurs. Gōpatšāh is a centaur, as are the lamassē of Persepolis. The *Gr.Bdh.* 197 identifies him with Aγrērаθa:

aγrērat pašangān	Aghrērat son of Pashang,
pat andar.kangistān	is in Andar.Kangistān
u.š gōpatšāh χvānēnd	and they call him Gōpatšāh

I leave the question open whether gōpat.šah < gava.pati + šāh, is a political title—cf. the equally dark kangopat < *kanha.pati in the Sar-Mashhad inscription—or the designation of an office, a special activity. The genealogical chapter of the *Gr.Bdh.* 231 makes father and son of the two names: "Aγrērat begat Gōpatšāh. When Frasyāp had captured the Iranian army under Manuščihr, the gods granted Aγrērat's prayer, to free the army. Therefore Frasyāp killed Aγrērat, but for a reward he became the father of Gōpatšāh." The reward motif is the same as in the tale of the first three Hōma-pressers. Dissecting name and surname into two persons is so frequent in Iranian legend that the identity of both was certainly the original condition: gōpatšāh is a title of Aγrērаθa.

*Yt.*9,18 contains no more than an allusion to the epic tale: Husravah was the avenger of the murder of kavi Syāvaršā and of Aγrērаθa; he, perhaps also Syāvaršā, is called "naravahya, son of Narava," or—if the inflection is thematic—of Naru, not of Pašang. Narava indicates an original connection with Gr. Nēreus. The unexplained name Pašangān might throw some light upon the myth. In the Greek versions of the Cyrus legend, Aγrērаθa appears under the name Agradates or Atradates, both equal to *agrairathas, in more than one way connected with Cyrus-Husravah. In Dino's version he is Cyrus' helper. Ctesias calls him Cyrus' father. Strabo 15,3,6: "the river Cyrus (mod. Kurr), flowing through the so-called Coele-Persis at Pasargadae, from which the king took over the name, being called Cyrus instead of Agradates." This

[14] Cf. AMI.IX,12, seal n° 70: man + horse + tail of a scorpion; seal n° 71: man and body of a lion; seal n° 51, from Nippur, Kassite period, Mitanni style, about 1400 B.C.; and the kudurru-pictures figs. 68-71.

version contains something of the lamassū as genius of a river, as on the early gold-coin.

Meillet disproved common descent of Gr. kéntauros and Ir. gandharvah from Indo-European;[15] seen from the archeological side such common descent is equally improbable. But Meillet's reasons in no way rule out the identity of the notion and the names. The type appears in Mesopotamian monuments in the middle of the second millennium, when the Mitanni ruled there. Thus a Subaracan word and notion can have been transmitted to Iran and India, and, later, to Greece.[16] The Greeks assimilated the Sub. Hitt. original to "tauros, bull," itself a loanword; the Aryan form, too, is assimilated to their language. In Asia Minor there is the Lycian name kñtlapa (nom., kñtlapah gen.).[17]

Bartholomae accentuated the different role of the gandharváh in India and Iran. This again does not contradict the borrowing of the hybrid type with its name from a common source. In fact, the role of the Indian gandharváh is very indistinct. The Greek kéntauroi are originally wild creatures of the mountains, especially in Thessaly, *Il.* 1,267: *φῆρες ὀρεσκῷοι*, Thess. for *θῆρες*. In the Homeric hymn, Hermes steals, as a new-born suckling, the ten cows of Apollo and "drives them away backwards, their heads turned toward him," wearing himself oak-branches as sandals; Apollo, like an Indian, traces him, and says (19): "these are actually the tracks of . . . oxen, but they are turned backward to the flowering meadow; but these others are not tracks of men or women or . . . wolves or bears or lions, neither do I recognize them as tracks of centaurs . . . , whoever it be who made with swift feet such monstrous tracks, incomprehensible—ainá—are the tracks on this side, and more so those on the other side of the way." This does not sound as if the centaurs, in that old concept, had horses' hooves.

The Awesta tells little about the Gandarwa, only the fact that Krsāspa defeated him, neither why nor how; that was described in the epic. The passage of *Yt.*15,28, a prayer to Vāyuš, in which Krsāspa swears

[15] *Introd.*[8], 369: "1. la place du ton diffère; 2. IE. g ne correspond pas à Gr. k; 3. le premier a de gandharvah peut représenter a ou o, mais non e, car autrement on aurait à l'initiale J, et non g; 4. Skr. dh ne répond pas à Gr. t; 5. Skr. -arvah ne répond pas a Gr. -auros." Cf. *Wb.* 493: "Ai. gandharvah nur lautlich Aw. gandarwa entsprechend." The var. ll. in *Yt.*5,38, 19,41, 14,123, lead to gndrp, which is also the MP. spelling, and which must be read gandarwa according to the Ol. form.

[16] Cf. the problem of ka*θ*wa:*κανθων*, vāra*γ*nahya and Hēraklēs.

[17] Cf. Sundwall, *Die einheim. Namen der Lykier*, 1913, Klio-Beiheft 1, 13 and 32.

to avenge his brother Rvāχšaya, murdered by Hitāspa, is followed by the words: "Likewise asti.gafyo ahuriš, likewise ēva.gafyo patiš," (both entirely unknown and perhaps corrupt),[18] "likewise gandarwo upa.-āpo, the Gandarwa at the water," cf. upa yōzanta karāna "at the surfing shore" in *Yt.*5,38 and pa drayē-bār in *Mēn.Xr.* The three "likewise" might mean "the same verses with these other names."

*Yt.*19,41:

krsāspo yo ǰanat gandarwam — Krsāspa who slew the Gandarwa
yim zari.pāšnam yo apatat vizafāno — with the golden fetlocks (pastern), with split hooves
mrχšāno gēθå astvatīš rtahya — who destroys the farms. . . .

then:

yo ǰanat hūnavo yat paθanāyå

Like *Yt.*15,28, this is a very short epitome of the contents of the epic. Hertel, *Siegesf.* 126,9: "Die Metrik beweist dass die grammatische Unform vizafāno Verderbnis ist." The meter cannot prove anything here as in other quotations from the epics. There, the sentences were a narrative; into the yasht they were fitted as prayers, here by "yo ǰanat, who killed." Neither are the words "yo apatat" and "rtahya" original parts of the epic verses. Only "gandarwam yim zari.pašnam vizafāno" must belong to the original. The case may have been altered; mrχšāno gēθå is dubious; hence "The Gandarwa with the golden fetlocks, the vizafāno."

Wb. takes vizafāno as a part.Med. "den Rachen aufreissend." θrizafan "with three mouth" is a genuine word; anu.zafano takahe in *Yt.*10,38 I regard as a faulty compound: anu belongs to takahe, cf. drzi.taka. vizafāno is indeed corrupt. For "opening the mouth wide" one would expect *prta.zafan-; the meaning of the simple vi- is given by compounds like vi.čarna "bifurcation," vi.bāzu "fathom" (length from hand to hand), vi.tasti "span" (from point of thumb to little finger). Vizafāno resembles fra.safa (for para.safa, with Hertel) and apara.safa, "fore- and hind-hoof" in *Yt.*10,125; prθu.safa "broad-hoofed" in 10,47. *vi.safa would be "with split hoof." To classify animals according to the shape of their feet is natural and general. Hübschmann, *Pers.Stud.* 76 and 256, pointed out the difficulty of reconciling MP.NP. sunb, sum < OP.

[18] ahuriš and patiš seem to be titles, gafyo patiš recalls gava.patiš.

*su(n)ba, *sunpa, with Aw. safa. There seems to have been a second form with nasal, which caused the corruption vizafāna, with z for s and nasal transposed.

The verses *Yt.*5,38 give little more:

gandarwam yim zari.pāšnam	the Gandarwa (acc.) with the golden fetlocks,
upa yōzanta karāna	at the surfing shore,
zrayā vurukrtaya	at the sea Vurukrtam,
atačāni sūram nmānam	that I assault the strong house
druvato yat paθanāyå	[of the earth] of the broad,
skarnāyå dūrē.parāyå	round one with the far-away ends.

The verses are introduced into the yasht by adding "yat bavāni. . . ." The epithet "with golden fetlocks" is the same. "At the shore" confirms upa.āpo "at the water" in *Yt.*15,28; zrayā vurukrtaya is metrically faulty, because quoted in the original locative. Bartholomae-Wolff's translations of the following verses "dass ich das gewaltige Haus des Druggenossen im Lauf erreiche," and Lommel's "dass ich hinlaufen möge zum Heldenhaus des Lügners" are senseless and prove the text to be corrupt. Hertel, l.c. 6, n.2: "Das Metrum beweist gegen *Wb.*843, dass nichts ausgefallen ist"; *Wb.*: "vor yat ist mindestens anhå zmo ausgefallen." The inappropriate druvato has replaced anhå zmo, but the following words, "of this broad round earth" are disconnected with the foregoing sūram nmānam. In the original they were somehow connected with zrayā vurukrtaya. ā.tak is "attack, assault," and of the whole myth we have nothing but "I want to assault the stronghold . . ." which is imagined at the seashore, and belongs to the Gandarwa. He had golden fetlocks, split hooves, like the lamassē of Persepolis, hence the lower body of a bull, like Gōpatšāh, and dwelled in a stronghold on the shore, similar to the helpful centaur Cheiron, who sits on the water. That is all the Awesta quotes of his myth.

Therefore it is entirely possible that the gandarwa is Aγrēraθa, or, if gandarwa is a generic name, that Aγrēraθa was a Gandarwa, and that these were imagined as centaurs, as in the description of Gōpatšāh in the *Mēnōk.Xrat.*

XLVI. THE BOOK OF DANIEL

A RELATION existing between the sculptures of Persepolis and the visions of Daniel has occasionally been mentioned, but never thoroughly studied.

As we have it, the book of Daniel results from a redaction, made under Antiochus Epiphanes in 175-164, and which adorned the biography of an historical figure with popular tales of miracles and visions. Such visions, Akk. šuttu, "dream," belong to a literary type, of which the "Unterweltsvision eines assyrischen Kronprinzen"[1] is an older, closely related example. The hero of the book, whom the Arabs call "Daniel the Younger," must be separated from the older Daniel of *Ezekiel* 14 and 28, who is related to DN.EL of Ugarit. Daniel may not be the real personal name of the hero of the book, but his surname is historical. In 4,8 Nebuchadnezzar says: "Daniel who is called blṭš'ṣr according to the name of my god." Marduk was the main god of Babylon, Nabū the personal god of the king Nabū.kudurri.uṣur "Nabū protect my empire!", who bestowed the honorific "Nabū.balāṭsu.uṣur, Nebo protect his life!" In the book the indispensable name of the god is suppressed as heathen; the suppression proves the historicity beyond doubt.[2]

In 2, story of the king's forgotten dream, Daniel becomes šolṭān over Babylon, and, on his request, his three companions become rab-signīn of the m°dīnāh: this is one and the same office, that of the šaknu of Babylon. They too receive honorific titles: °bēd-n°gō, šadrak[h] and mešak[h], which however are not true to Babylonian type. H. Winckler[3] had recognized that the last two are in reality one, and that there are only three honorifics for four persons. In Daniel's name nabū is suppressed, in Azariah's name it is intentionally disfigured into n°gō, and the third name is an equally intended disfiguring of °Mardukmēšaḫ, cf. Akk. kakkab Marduk me.iš.ḫu im.šu.uḫ.

[1] W. v. Soden, in Z.Ass. NF.IX, 1936. The name of the prince in this story is Kummā, and there are reasons to believe that he is Assurbanipal as heir apparent.

[2] Sidney Smith, *Isaiah Ch.XL-LV*, in Schweich Lectures 1940, London 1944, 132: "In *Dan.*IV, 19 'Daniel whose name was Belteshazzar' is introduced without further use by the author, possibly because the name appeared as the original in a form of the story he was adapting." The inference is equally valid if Nabunaid or Nabupolassar were the kings who actually bestowed the title.

[3] *Altor.Forschg.* II.237f. and Nachtr. 578.

In 3, story of the golden image and the fiery furnace, Daniel does not appear and hence is not thrown into the furnace, although he is beyond suspicion of having worshipped the image. Chaucer's tale of Nebuchadnezzar is remarkably at variance with the Vulgata: Daniel with "his two" companions refuses to obey, an inevitable attempt at emending the story.[4] In 6, on the contrary, Daniel alone is in the lion's den. Obviously, the furnace and the den are doublets belonging to two different popular versions, the one telling of Daniel without companions, the other of three companions, one of them being Daniel.

The title šaknu belongs to him alone and is just as historical as his honorific. When the two stories were amalgamated into one of Daniel and three companions, the name of the fourth figure: Mishael, no true Hebrew name, had to be invented, and the third honorific was split in two. The story of the investiture as šolṭān or in the plur. rab-signīn, was made into one, but the doublets of the fiery furnace and the lion's den differed too much to unite them and were too good to omit one. Strangely enough, in the sanctuary called Nabī Daniel at Kirkūk[5] only three tombs exist, attributed to Daniel, 'Uzair-Azariah and Ḥunain-Hananiah: there is no Mishael.

*Dan.*1, written in Hebrew, is the "vita" of the historical Nabū.-balāṭsu.uṣur, šaknu of Babylon. After the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in the third year of king Jehoiakim of Judah, he was chosen with others to enter the corps of pages, called "somatophylakes" in *III Ezra* 3,4. Thus his career began under Nebuchadnezzar and advanced after the short and troubled years of the first successors during the 17 years of Nabunaid, for whom the story substitutes his son Bēlšar-uṣur, Belshazar, regent during the king's long absence in Taima.[6] But the real date of the conquest of Jerusalem, 597 B.C., is not the third year of Jehoiakim who came to the throne in 607, nor is it that of Nebuchadnezzar whose accession year was 604, and one can scarcely assume that the original of the vita had made a mistake in so important a date. The vita ends: "Daniel lived to see the first year of Cyrus," i.e. 539 B.C., year in which Cambyses, just grown up, was šar Bābili, king of Babylon. This good date contradicts the other one at the end of ch.5, the writing

[4] See Pauline Aidkins, in Speculum, Jan. 1942.
[5] See *Arch.Reise* II,330.
[6] Cf. S. Smith, l.c. chapt. II "History of the years 556-539."

on the wall and Belshazar's murder: "Darius the Mede took the kingdom [of Babylon], k"bar š"nīn šittīn w"tartēn, when he was 62 years of age." The age does not fit Cyrus, the real conqueror, for, though Dinon asserts that he was 40 at his accession, Cambyses, the eldest son was certainly not born before, probably just after the accession in 559, and Cyrus was much younger than 40 at that time, in spite of the difficulty arising from the early date, 640, of his grandfather Cyrus I. Darius—who was no Mede—came to the throne when scarcely 25 years old. The only safe date is 539 B.C. Sixty-two years means a high age, an age to die. A man who lived 62 years to see the conquest of Babylon would have been born in 602/1, the third year of Nebuchadnezzar. Through the distortion of the text one still can see the perfectly true dates of the original vita: Daniel was born in the third year of Nebuchadnezzar, who had conquered Jerusalem in the tenth year of Jehoiakim; he lived to see the first year of Cyrus, and died at the age of 62.

Besides being šaknu over the m"dīnāh Babylon, he was šaliṭ taltā of the kingdom under Nabunaid (Belshazar). This was not as 6,2 says, a new institution of Darius, but an old Babylonian one.[7] The origin of the term is the garrison on a chariot: the first officer of the king is the one "to his right," the second the one "to his left"; the third one, šalšu rakbu, is an adjutant. As such, Daniel was one of the three financial inspectors of the 127 satrapies,[8] as described in 6,2. Under the caliphs the same office is called zimām, much dreaded by ministers and provincial governors.

All these features are historical and belong to the Neo-Babylonian kingdom. But that, a few more titles, and the names of the kings, is all the book has preserved of the period in which its hero actually lived. On the contrary, all the stories of the book are rich in important detail descriptive of conditions in Babylon under Achaemenian rule. The locality of most of them is Babylon, but ch.8 is imagined in the "castle of Susa on the river Ulai," where today nothing remains but an enor-

[7] Of older, different interpretations I quote only Markwart's "Herrscher des dritten Teils im Reiche," in *Fund.-Süd.u. Israel. Geschichte* 66.

[8] LXX has 127, as in *Esther* 1,1: the text has 120. Markwart, l.c., erroneously "the 127 provinces presuppose the division of Asia in 72 provinces by Seleucus I." 127 is the number of peoples inhabiting the 21 provinces.

mous mound of ruins and the tomb of Daniel.[9] The locality of ch.10-12, which date from the time of Antiochus IV, is "on the Tigris," i.e. Seleucia, for there was no earlier residence on the Tigris.

In 1,5 and 8, the pages or the bodyguard live, as was the Persian custom, "ptbg" at the court of the king, i.e. Ir. *pitubaga "on meat-ration," instead of salary, Dinon's potibazis < *pāitubāǰiš (see under 'Harvatāt'), and to avoid eating non-kosher meat, the four comrades become vegetarian. This was regarded as amazing, and when Nebuchadnezzar, in *Dan.*4,30, started "eating grass like oxen," it was considered as symptom of insanity. The motif connected with this story —that the king, when questioning them, found them to be more intelligent and wiser than all his astrologers and sages—lives on in the Pahl. book of Xusrau and his page Xušarzūk.

The first word of the Aramaic text, 2,4, "malkā l"-'āl"mīn h"yī, o king, live for ever!" is the address to the Iranian kings, MP. yavēdān, or: anōšak zīvā!; thus in the inscription *Pers.B.*, time of Shāhpuhr II, and still in Firdausi: nōšah bizī![10] The words in Daniel can be used as ideographic writing for the Persian words. Almost all occurring titles are Iranian: 'ḫšdrpn < Med. *χšaθrapāvan; 'drgzr < Med. *andarzakara, with Med. psilosis as in Akk. agamtanu and Aḫmethā in *Ezra* 6,2, and assimilation of n to d as in Hoddū < Hindu in *Esth.* 1,1. hdbr > IPahl. hdybr, IPārs. hy'r > NP. ayār, "helper, socius"; t(y)pty < OP. θahyapati "chief herald." kārōzā "herald" is not attested in Iranian but probably Iranian. Aram. šilṭōnē m"dīnātā renders OIr. vrzana.hartar (Y.46,1) "consul civitatis" etc. srbl, ptš, krblt, though not perfectly clear in their specific meaning,—the last is Akk. karballātē (pl.) kyrbasia, for OP. χōδa "helmet, tiara"—are all Iranian words for garments. dt in 6,9 is dāta, the "inviolable law of the Medes and Persians." The exact knowledge of these and some other details cannot have survived the Achaemenian epoch, and the original book of which we have only the redaction of 170 B.C. must have been composed in Babylon under the Achaemenids.[11]

This date holds also for the visions in ch.7. Their Iranian character has been recognized, but they are usually treated as one, because they

[9] See under 'Tiāṯriya.'

[10] e.g. 1,257,232.

[11] Not as late as under Alexander, see e.g. F. M. Th. Böhl in Reall.Assyr. II,117-119 (1934).

stand in the same chapter. In fact they are two separate dreams and the details are not only Iranian but Achaemenian, and that affects their interpretation.

The first dream begins in 7,2, "I saw in my vision by night." 3-8: Four great beasts come up from the sea: (1) one beast like a lion, aryēh, with (two) wings of an eagle, standing on its feet as a man, ke ʷnāš; (2) one like a bear, dob, which raised itself on one side (?) and had three ribs (?) in its mouth between the teeth; (3) one like a leopard, nʷmar, with four wings of a fowl on his back, and with four heads; (4) one dreadful, terrible, exceedingly strong, with great iron teeth and ten horns.[12] The lack of name and the style of its description sets the fourth animal apart from the first three, and is an argument for its being added to an original group of three, as has been pointed out more than once. The interpretation, in 17, "these four great beasts are four kings which shall come on earth" is a poor attempt of the redactor, not of the author of the dream. *Dan.*8 seems indeed to be composed to replace 7,3-12. Three animals appear among the Persepolis sculptures in the tačara of Darius, four in the Hall of a Hundred Columns of Artaxerxes I, and there, too, the fourth may result merely from the symmetry of the room with four doors that required four pictures. In all cases a hero—not a king—fights the monsters which are represented "standing like a man on their hindlegs," and with fore-claws spread out, Ir. prta.činga, see IAE pl. lv-lvi. The first is a simple lion, the second a bull, the third a griffin[13] with the body of a lion, hind-legs of an eagle, neck of a horse, but feathered, two (or two pairs of) wings of an eagle, head of a bird of prey, but with bull's ears. The fourth is distinguished from the third only by the horns of a bull and a scorpion's tail.

The dream of the Assyrian prince enumerates 15 such demons. The tenth, ᵈšulak, can be compared with the lions of Persepolis and the winged lion in Daniel; it is a normal lion, nēšu kaimāni[14] "he stood on his two hind-legs." The eighth, etimmu (?), with the head of a bull, but four hands and feet of man, has some similarity with the Persepolis bulls. And with the two griffins of Persepolis the sixth and ninth are comparable: mukīl rēš lemutti "helper to evil," with bird's

[12] The human-headed centaurs of Persepolis have 6 pairs of horns on their Mesopotamian headdress.

[13] Griffin in its original sense "gryps," Hebr. kᵉrūb.

[14] The genitive may mean "of Saturn," Arab. kaiwān.

head, unfolded wings, Ir. prta.prna, hands and feet of man, and the "bad Utukku" with lion's head, hand and feet of the bird Zū. The authors of the original book of Daniel hardly knew Persepolis, but did know Babylon and Susa, where similar figures in enameled tiles must have adorned the walls, since Achaemenian art is wholly stereotyped. Their descriptions combine what they saw with what they read.

The more important fact has scarcely ever been noted that the following passages are also illustrated by sculptures at Persepolis, see IAE pl.lvii-lviii. *Dan.*7,9: "I looked on till thrones[18] were set, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow and the hair of his head like pure wool; his throne was like fiery flame and his wheels as burning fire." 10: "A thousand thousand ministered unto him and a myriad myriads stood before him. The judgment was set, and the books were opened." There follows in 11-12 the very short and incomprehensibly mild trial of the four beasts. The first three live on for a determined span of time, only the fourth is killed, its body burnt.

Nothing like a "throne on wheels" is known, and the poss.pron. "his wheels" refers to the Ancient of days, not to the thrones (plur.). Like Mithra's čaχra in *Yt.*10,136, the wheels are the nimbus. The ten thousands and myriads are not the Babylonian, but the Iranian way of counting, *Yt.*13,65: "purviš puru.hazahra, purviš puru.bēvāno." On the pair of doors in the front and the back wall of the Hall of Hundred Columns—on the four side-doors of which are the four beasts—the picture of a royal audience unfolds itself with numberless guards and "ministrants"—more than 160 are represented—and with the king, Artaxerxes I, on the throne. A sitting of the court of appeal in presence of the great king as described in Daniel, would look similar in sculpture. In Zoroaster's conception the end of the world is a last judgment, imagined like a worldly court, with written procedure: "the books were opened." But it was a mistake to assume that Daniel's vision in 7,9-12 alluded to a last judgment. This is ruled out by the fact that three beasts are allowed to live an appointed time. The vision simply describes the sitting of a court in the Persian way, and is in no way connected with the new act which begins in 7,13:

[18] Aram. 'd dy, like Arab. ḥattā, "while I was looking." korsāvān, fem.pl. abs., cf. *Qur.* 2,256: wasi'a kursiyyuhu.

"I saw in the night visions, and behold, with the clouds of heaven came one like a son of man, bar ʾnāš, and arrived at the Ancient of days,[16] and they brought him near before him, and there was given him dominion, šolṭān, and glory, yᵉqār, and kingship, malkū, and all people, tribes and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting one. . . ."

In 2,37 and 5,18 a similar idiom is used: "Thou, o king, art king of all kings, for the god of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power and glory." Some of the words are elements of the Achaemenian protocol, e.g. χšāyaθya dahyūnām vispa.zanānām ("all tribes," Darius; Xerxes: paru.zanānām "many"), which the Akk. versions, like Daniel, render by "mātātē ša napḫar lišāni, the lands of all tongues." The giving of sovereignty to the Son of man means his investiture as heir to the throne. The way, how the Son of man is led to the presence—handēmān—of the king on the throne, is the same as represented in the entrance doors of the Hall of a Hundred Columns. The investiture itself is not described in Daniel, but did not consist in words, but in symbolic acts, like donning the royal attire, and perhaps ascending the throne. The book of Enoch, composed about a hundred years after the last redaction of Daniel, and of all apocalyptic books the one closest to Daniel says, in 69,27: "And he sat down on the throne of his majesty," and "that Son of man is proclaimed[17] in the presence of the Lord of spirits and his name by the Ancient head." Enoch, thus, understands the act exactly as what it is: the enthronement and the proclamation of the accession of the new king, the heir to the throne.

This act again is represented in the sculptures of Persepolis, in the Tripylon, through which, coming from the Hall of a Hundred Columns, one enters the antara.arδam, the private area of the palaces. There, the aged Darius is pictured sitting on the golden throne, in full royal attire, and to his right—in the sculpture shifted back, so as not to overlap the figure of the king—stands Xerxes in the same attire with all the royal insignia, putting his hand on the back of the throne. To sit on the throne was a crime punishable with death. The gesture is one of familiarity, and indicates his right to the throne as designated

[16] Cf. mlk ʾb šnm in the Aliyan epic of Ugarit.

[17] Cf. *Cyrus Cyl.* l.12: "Marduk . . . Kūraš šar Anšan ittabi nibitsu, proclaimed the name of Cyrus." See the proclamation of the name al-Mutawakkil under 'Throne-names.'

heir. In Christ's words, *Mark* 14,62, spoken before the highpriest, the Son of man is "sitting to the right hand of power"; in *Acts* 7,55, martyrdom of Stephan, Jesus is "standing." The act sculptured and the act described in Daniel are the same. It is neither the last nor any judgment; the trial of the beasts is over. The Son of man does not come for a judgment, but to inherit the throne.

The term "Son of Man" in the NT. is derived from *Daniel* 7,13, for where Gr. *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* is used with the most intense meaning, in *Mark* 13,26, the eschatological prophecy, 14,26 before the highpriest, and again in *Acts* 7,55 stoning of Stephen, the phrasing "coming in the clouds of heaven" and "standing on the right of power" are quotations from Daniel. The term comes from Aramaic, for the Greek translation, common to Mark and Q, the source of the other Gospels, never appears in Paul, Revelation and the Epistles, that is, in any evangelical writing addressed to the Greek world.

The philological explanation of bar ʾnāš, or with article bar ʾnāšā, is: the Sem. article determines regens and rectum at the same time; ʾnāš "man" is coll.sg. and bar "son" signifies the individual of a genus; hence "a son" or "the son of man" an "individual of mankind." But etymology and grammar alone are incapable of revealing the special connotation a technical term may assume at a certain time. That is a historical, not a philological problem. How could such a universal term become the designation for the Messiah?

Since part of the eschatological announcement and the words before the high priest have been incorporated into the Christian symbol "Ascended to heaven, sitting to the right of power, whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead," and since this influenced the interpretation of the Daniel vision as last judgment, it has been assumed that "Son of Man" peculiarly indicated the aspect of the Messiah as judge of the worlds. But that is not the context of *Dan.*7,13, the passage from which every attempt at explaining the term must start; there, "Son of man" appears in a context where it must signify "heir to the throne." The act described does not belong to Palestine nor to the time of the redaction, 170 B.C., but to Babylon under Achaemenian rule. That is the region and the period where alone the solution of the problem can be found. The question, how can "individual of the genus homo" become "Messiah" was wrongly posed, and therefore unanswerable. The

question is: Did "Son of Man" have the meaning "heir" in the languages spoken in Babylon during the fifth century B.C.?—and the answer is yes, in all of them.

The Babylonians spoke Akkadian, the Iranians Median, both spoke Aramaic as a common language. The Jews of the captivity spoke Aramaic, as the Daniel book shows, while Hebrew—today revived after 2,500 years—already receded into the position of a learned language. It is the history of social institutions of that region that caused the term "Son of Man" to assume its peculiar connotation.

The notion "man" has many sides, like man opp. animal, man opp. woman; man in social relations or groups. In a language with more than one word for a notion, the synonyms may be substituted for each other, as far as their general signification overlaps. But synonymity does not go to the whole extent, there will always be ranges of the notion in which the use of the words differs. Where there is only one word, this same word must cover all the various, sometimes widely different meanings. Contemporary translations are the greatest help for determining them.

The Semitic languages usually have two words for "man": 'dm, as genus, opp. to animal, Germ. Mensch; and 'nš, for men in social relations, Germ. Mann. This is clearest in Arabic: in the dialect of Baghdad or Mossul for instance, a short "banī ādam!" means "it is human," mainly human weakness, or "they are human beings," not animals. But hūwa min al-nās, or min aulād al-nās, "he is of good family." "Behave mithl al-nās!" means like decent, educated people. Likewise, in classical Arabic, banū ādam and banū l-nās, though both mean "sons of man" are something totally different.

With abnā al-nās, e.g. Mas'ūdī, *mur.*VIII,60, designates the most noble of all Arab families, the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusain, of 'Abbās, the Hāshimites and Quraish. To the same rank belonged the descendants of the orthodox caliphs and of the Umayyads until their rank at the court was abolished in 250 H. (Tabari III,1533). Down to the Mamlūk period some of them bear predicates in inscriptions almost equal to those of a ruling prince.[18] The aulād al-nās, descendants of the tribes

[18] Zain al-dīn 'Umar ibn al-Ṣaffāḥ, a "sibṭ," descendant of a daughter of abū l-'Abbās al-Ṣaffāḥ, founder of the 'Abbasid caliphate, bears the exceptional predicate al-maqarr al-sharīf

that had partaken in the conquest, existed as a privileged class down to the same period. In manuscripts of *1001 Nights* the terms aulād al-nās and aḥrār interchange occasionally, "sons of man" and "freemen," and Nöldeke remarks to Tabari 1,817, where Ardashīr shows the insulting letter of his liege-lord Ardavān to his 'nās': "In Persian stories nās means exclusively the high aristocracy." This corresponds to the use of "nar, man" for "hvētu, nobleman" in Iranian.

This notion is rooted in the ancient Arab social structure, where only the agnates of the tribe had a claim to full rights, and, as banū l-nās, were ḥurr "free," aṣīl "noble," while the others, clients and slaves, were nobodies, sons of nobody and did not count. The same in Akkadian, where usurpers of the throne are called "son of nobody." A "son of man" is the opposite to "proletarian." The term banū l-laqīṭa significantly means "foundling" and "proletarian." Though the Arabs were the latest of the Semitic peoples to enter history, their language and customs are very archaic.

The synonymous use of Hebr. ben ādām and ben ʾnōš is illustrated, e.g. by *Ps.*8,5 with ʾnōš and ben ādām, against *Ps.*144,3 with ādām and ben ʾnōš. *Hebr.*3,6-9 translates *Ps.*8,5 by *τί ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος* and *ἢ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*. In Ezekiel, where ben ādām appears several times, it is always the word with which the Lord addresses the prophet, and expresses merely that God is talking to one He has created man. This is entirely different from bar ʾnāš in Daniel.

In Genesis ʾnōš is the grandson of ādām. After the story of Cain and Abel follows the genealogical tree of the Cainites (to 4, 4), then, in 4,25-26, the birth of Sēth and of his son Enos, and in 5,6-32, the genealogy from Enos to Noah. The Cainite genealogy is that of all wayfaring people; the progeny of Enos, on the contrary, are the settled tribes. Many of the proper names in these genealogies are personifications of tribes or classes of population. Sēth, št, is the same tribal name as in Balaam's words in *Num.*24,17, where it stands in parallel to Moab. Enos, son of Seth, or bʾnē ʾnōš hence correspond to Arab. banū l-nās, noblemen. This I consider as a clear instance of the same distinction between ʾnōš and ādām in Hebrew as in Arabic: 'nš, not 'dm is used

al-'Āli, corresponding to "His Royal Highness" in his inscription—a decree dated Sept. 6, 1442, on the wall of the Mūristān Arghūn at Aleppo.

where social relations are in question. And Aram. bar ʾnāš does not correspond to ben ādām, but at least to ben ʾnōš.

Aramaic, Biblical and inscriptional, seems to have—apart from ʾiš—only ʾnāš, no plural, emph. coll. ʾnāšā "men"; ʾdm seems to be unknown. In *Daniel* 2,10 "lā ʾitai ʾnāš ʿal yabbeštā, there is not a man upon earth,"[19] it is the negation that entails the most general meaning. But in passages like 2,23 "wherever men, bᵉnē ʾnāšā dwell," or 7,8 "ʿainē ʾnāšā, with human eyes," Arabic, and I believe Hebrew, would use ʾdm. On the other hand, in Syriac, an Aramaic dialect where ʾdm is likewise missing, ʾnāšā has, beside the meaning "homo" and "homines," the connotation agnati, cognati, and translates e.g. in *Luke* 2,44 "*ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν*, among their kinsfolk." Similarly, the n.abstr. ʾnāšūtā, humanity, mankind, stands for incolae and cognati, e.g. in Kalīlag w Dimnag, an instance for the special application of the word to social relations of men.

It does not require an explicit proof, one can simply state that bar ʾnāš in *Dan.*7,13 does not mean an anthropomorphic being as opposed to the four beasts. Neither does it mean that a superhuman being appears in human shape, like e.g. in *Dan.*10,6; 10,18; 8,15, where angels assume human form. There, moreover, the notion is the same as in Iranian, where Vrthragna appears as a "noble youth of 15," i.e. son of man, or Anāhitā as a "young girl of the noblest extraction."

Not only in Semitic languages, but generally, the word "son" evokes the association of "heir." R. M. Rilke: "Du bist der Erbe. Söhne sind die Erben, denn Väter sterben." And the word alone can and does assume this connotation in all Oriental languages. In the parable *Mark* 12, the lord of the vineyard sends as the last his only son, and the disloyal husbandmen say: "This is the heir, *κληρονόμος*, let us kill him, and the inheritance, *κληρονομία* shall be ours!"

In this case, the juridical term in Akkadian is aplu,[20] while son in general is māru, like Hebr. ben, Aram. bar; aplu:māru similar to Arab. walad:ibn. But the term for the designated heir to the throne—not necessarily the eldest son, mār rēštu—is "mār šarri, king's son," not apal,

[19] 'yš l' 'yty is the ideogr. rendering MP. kas nēst, "there is nobody."

[20] Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *R.A.* x,93ff. and Arch.Orientalny 1,271: "Sum. DUMU.A 'heir,'" compound of A, I "oil" and BU, "to burn," refers to ancestor-worship. "Only freemen have ancestors."

and "mār šarri rabū, the great son-of-the-king" when compared with others.

In OP. too, puθra = māru alone is the title of Xerxes as heir to the throne, beside maθišta = rabū, scil. puθrānām. In *Yt.*14,59 the ahura-puθra and puθrâho, royal princes or cadets of the high nobility, are enumerated before the bēvarpati, highest commanders of the army. Thucydides renders the title by παῖδες alone, Xenophon, *Cyrup.*, speaks of the "sons of the ὁμότιμοι" as a class of high nobility. The *mafātīḥ*, about 370 H., p.119, explain: "al-abnā', adj. banawī, are the sons of the dahāqīn, noblemen."[21] Analogies are Amharic lij < walad = prince royal, and walad as title of the heir presumptive in Umayyad Spain; "infante" became the title of the heir apparent under Juan I. When used in intense meaning, Aram. bar is "heir, successor."

Both elements of bar *nāš have beside their general a more intense meaning which together gives "heir of a privileged class," or "of the royal house," not "individual of genus homo." It was so already at the Old Babylonian period.

The Code Hammurapi, written in the 18th century B.C., but codifying much older institutions, distinguishes three social classes: (1) awēlum, (2) muškēnum, (3) wardum, the free (or noble), the half-free, and the slaves. awēlum means "man"; it may even mean "prisoner of war"; with negation "nobody." The abstr.noun awēlūtu is coll. "humanity, mankind"; this has a syn. tēnišētu corresponding to Aram. 'nāšūtā from 'nš, with the special meaning "inhabitants." But juridically and socially awēlum, or as individual mār awēlim "son of man," is the free man of the highest class. The term for the second class, muškēnum, Arab. maskīn, Fr. mesquin, is once explained by "those who have nothing," opposed to the man of property whose son inherits. During the Kassite period, as Landsberger recognized, 1935 in AOF x,142, n.1, the word "banū, good, best," intens. babbanū, replaced this awēlum as social term; it was also used in addressing men of rank.

In the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenian periods the same three classes were called (1) mār.banūtu, full-freedom, (2) arad.šarrūtu, king's bondage, i.e. half-freedom, (3) qallūtu, slavery. Thus mār-banū = Gr. áristos, took the place of mār-awēlim "son of man," as Akk. equivalent of the contemporary Aram. bar *nāš. For explaining this

[21] Cf. dēbīkān under 'Social Structure.'

term, in Babylonia under Achaemenian rule, it is not Hebr. ben ādām, but Akk. mār-awēlim, later replaced by mār-banū which we must compare.

The corresponding Iranian terms are Aw. viso.puθra, and Med. āzāta, OP. āδāta. No Iranian could misunderstand these words: the first is "son, heir of a vis," the other zāta "born," āzāta "born into (a clan)," agnate, hence "noble." Engl. "highborn," Germ. hochgeboren, are predicates; Ir. āzāta is itself the name of the class, cf. Aw. kuda.zāta, lit. "where-born," of whatever rank.

In distinction from Semitic custom, the Iranian nobility, āzāta, was differentiated already in the sixth century, perhaps as result of the monarchic constitution, into several degrees. The vāisapuθra—see under 'Kavi'—were the highest. In the parchments from Elephantine, Ršāma, an Achaemenid, is called bar bētā (sg.), in the contemporary papyrus, Sachau 1,3, the plural b'nē bētā "sons of the house," means potential successors of the king. BR BYT' is the ideogram for MP. vāspuhr. The simple bar 'nāš would not do for so specific an Iranian term; hence "bētā, house" enters for Ir. "vis, house, clan," as in the Arab. term ahl al-buyūtāt, whereas singularic ahl al-bait in Arabic means the descendants of Muhammad. The address to the Sasanian heir to the throne is "pus vāspuhr šāhān farraχvtum, son, vāspuhr, most blessed of kings!"

The Babylonian scribes use mār-banū for two things in their translations of the OP. inscriptions: (1) in *Beh.* §§ 13, 43 etc. "mārē banūti ša ittišu, the mār-banū with him" for "fratamā martiyā anušyā, the noblest men, his adherents"—anušya is derivative of the prep. anu "with"; (2) in the introduction of the Behistūn inscription, which deals with the events that led to Darius' accession, the king says in §§ 3f.: hača prvyatā ādātā ahmahi, word by word Lat. "ex priori agnati sumus, from the beginning were we agnates" (entitled to succession) "eight of my family were kings, I am the ninth, in two lines we were kings." The Akk. version renders the quoted words by "[ultu] abū[tu mārē] banūti anini, since (the time of) our ancestors were we mārē banūti." The usual translation is ". . . we were noble." This noncommittal translation tries to avoid being entirely wrong, but the wider the range of the word used for translating, the more wrong conceptions it includes.

The whole passage is not said in order to convey to a remote democratic posterity the commonplace that the royal clan belonged to a privileged class of that old society. It seeks to substantiate the king's claim that after the extinction of the older line, in spite of the irregularity of his succession—while his father and grandfather were still alive—he was the legitimate *heir*.

mār-banū, that is the equivalent of old mār awēlim and of contemporary Aram. bar ʾnāš, "son of man," stands here for OP. āδāta, Lat. agnatus.

This translation was made in 520 B.C., a time when the Babylonian scribes, many of them Aramaeans, had a perfect knowledge of the languages in question. The translation could be so entirely right only because the social institutions were essentially the same. But such terms lose their meaning when translated into the language of a society with different structure. Τὶὸς ἀνθρώπου is a linguistically correct translation, but conveys nothing of the social and historical contents of the term bar ʾnāš.

As designation for the young man whom the Ancient of days invests in *Dan.*7,13 with the majesty, bar ʾnāš means the same as mār-banū = ādāta in *Beh.* §3, where Darius uses it to justify his claim to the succession. It does not mean "individual of mankind," son of nobody, but "youth of noble extraction," "successor, heir to the throne." It is a synonym of the two other terms for the Messiah, "Son of God" and "Son of David."

XLVII. ZOROASTER'S DEATH

The Awesta contains no allusion to Zoroaster's death.

Occidental legends which go back to the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, second century A.D., describe him as astrologer, some identify him with the Assyrian Nimrod, and make him be slain by lightning. These stories scarcely pretend to be history.

Another late line of tradition makes him a king of Bactria whom Ninus, personification of Assyria, kills in battle. This line claims to come from Hellanicus, Ctesias and Dinon, none of whom can be the source: the name Zoroaster has been inserted into a legend of different kind. Ctesias wrote Oxyartes, i.e. OP. uχšya.rta, Aw. uχšyat.rta, which allows one to think of Zoroastrian eschatology as wrongly interpreted.

The source of Firdausi's broad presentation of Zoroaster's death is the Sasanian *χvatāynāmaḳ*. There, Zoroaster was implicated in the legend of the war of the Tūra Arǰāsp against Guštāsp—see under 'Nōtarya'—and was killed, together with Guštāsp's father Luhrāsp in the temple of Balkh, when Tūra warriors conquered it. "I know not who slew this priest" says Firdausi. The locality is Bactria, as in the occidental group; but that is far from being a historical confirmation. An old myth of Druvāspa-Arvataspa took possession of the historical figure of Vištāspa—rejuvenating itself thereby—and Vištāspa, the protector, drew Zoroaster, the protégé, with him. The locality of the myth was not changed but remained that of the god Druvāspa: Bactria.

A fourth version to which also the *Gr.Bdh.* and the eschatological *Bahman Yasht* allude, is found in *Dēnḳ.*5 and *Dātistān ē Dēnīḳ* 72. *Dēnḳ.*5 is based on a work of Āδarfarrabag i Farruχzāδān, from Āδarbāijān, primate, pēšopāy, of the Zoroastrian community in Iran under the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. The third book of the *Dēnḳart* ascribes to him an entire redaction of the Awesta of Tansar. The material must have received that form when Āδarfarrabag held his famous disputation in presence of the caliph in A.D. 825. The Dātistān is a work of Manučihr, grand-mōbaδ of Fārs and Kirmān in the second half of the ninth century A.D. Āδarfarrabag wrote while the interest of the Islamic mu'tazila in such things lasted, and before the strict orthodoxy, inaugurated by Mutawakkil, turned away from them. The political situation caused the tendency to construe a connection between the Iranian

past and the Old Testament. The epitome preserved in *Dēnk*.5 speaks of "the suzerainty of the (Iranian) ancestors over the spāhpat Bōχtnarseh; the diplomatic mission which the dahyupat, sovereign KaiLuhrāsp of Balkh in Ērānšahr sent with Bōχtnarseh (co-sender or himself envoy?) to Hrōm (Byzantium) and to bētā maqdis." The last name is not Aramaic but Arabic bait al-maqdis, Jerusalem.

The same fabricated history is not much later reproduced with much detail by Tabari, 1,645ff.: Luhrāsp resided in Balkh; Buχtnaṣar, whose Persian name was bχtršh, was his ispahbaδ over Ahwāz as far as Rūm, all the country west of the Tigris. When he adds "Buχtnaṣar was the son of Nabuzarādān" (nabu.zēr.iddin) or "Awilmarūdakh (Awēl-Marduk) was his son," this knowledge comes from a Syriac translation of Berossus' king lists. Bahman—the personification of the second half of the name Dāraya-Vahumanah, the first being Dārā—deposed Buχtnaṣar's son blt'ṣr,[1] i.e. Belshazar, because "khalaṭa fī amrihi"—just as Nabunaid says of his predecessor Labaši.Marduk, son of Nergal.šar.-uṣur—"he did not know how to rule," and invested Dārayavuš al-Mādhawī, who killed Belshazar, but was equally dispossessed by Bahman three years later. Bahman, then, instituted Kīruš, under whom Daniel appeared.

The book of Daniel is the source of this construction. blt'ṣr is Bēl.šar.-uṣur, son of Nabunaid; but in *Dan*.5,11 the queen says to Belshazar "your father Nebuchadnezzar." Dārayavuš the Mede, whose identity with the Iranian Dārā Tabari fails to see, comes from *Dan*.5,30: "Belshazar was murdered, Darius the Mede took the kingdom." Kīruš = Kōrāš is *Dan*.6,29: "Daniel became powerful in the kingdom of Darius the Mede, and also of Cyrus the Persian," the last remark an afterthought of the redactor with regard to *Dan*.1,21: "he lived to see the first year of Cyrus."

The name Bōχtnarseh of the *Dēnkart* is Nebuchadnezzar; however, not Akk. nabū.kudur.uṣur, but the Aram. form of the Daniel book, n'bōk'adneṣṣar has been assimilated, in the first half to Ir. bōχt "redeemed," in the second to the frequent name Narseh. It was also assimilated to Xusrau, thus in *Māh Frav*. §14 bvχt.χvslvb'; *Šahr.Ēr*. §50 bχt.χvslv'. *Vid*.20,1 quotes proverbial sayings: "invulnerable like Span-

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Antiqu*. x,231: Βαλτάσαρος = Nabunaid. The name blt'ṣr must not be emended, perhaps with Aram. t for Akk. š.

dyāt [an Achill], wise like Kāyūs [a Solomon]; autocratic like Jamšēδ [a Tsar of all Russias], rich like pχtsrvb' [a Croesus], courageous like Krsāsp [a Siegfried], and pēšdāt like Hōšang" [perhaps a Solon]. The *Dēnkart* says similarly: "Hōšyang for pēsdādīh, Dahāk for vičōyištārīh (magic), pχtslvb' for bahrawandīh (wealth)." Tabarī's bχtršh presupposes the same ambiguous ending as in the similar name bl'tvlyš, soon to be discussed. Starting from Aram. n'bōk'adneṣṣar, all these forms must have passed through 'bōχtnasar, preserved in Arab. buχtnaṣar.

In this version of Āδarfarrabag, in the *Dēnk.*, Zoroaster—called "the best of men" in allusion to 'Alī khairu l-nās—is murdered by a Tūra, non-Aryan, non-Zoroastrian priest and sorcerer, whose name is transmitted in a dozen ambiguous spellings.[2] Our evaluation of the tradition depends wholly on the explanation and provenance of that name. It begins always with bl't-, and the endings lie between -vlvlyš and -lyš, where v may be n, l=r, and y+š also s+h or other ligatures.

In another context the name appears only once more, and at an older time, *Šahr.Ēr.* §57, a work composed at the very end of the fifth century A.D.:

"šahristān ē Nūn Nūn ē yvl'š'n kirt u pa žanīh ō kaikavāt mat u drupuštīh ē arvandasp tūr ē bl'tvlvš ē karp pa yātūkīh kirt pāhrakīh ē jān ē χvēš rāy, the town Nūn was built by Nūn son of Yu . . . , it came by marriage to Kaikavāt; into a stronghold of Arvandasp it was made by the Tūra bl'tvlvš, the sacrificial priest, by magic, for the protection of his life."

§24, composed in analogy, says: "The town Bāwēr (Babel) was built under the reign of Yam (Jamšēd)," then some astrological measures. The counterpart to Babylon is Nineveh; Nūn is Nineveh, its founder is Nūn. A slight emendation would give Nūn ē Yōshū'ān, Nūn son of Yoshua instead of Yoshua son of Nūn. Tabarī 1,506 calls Yūsha'b. Nūn the successor of Moses; however, he is nowhere connected with Nineveh, and his maqām is venerated at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān in Syria. On the other hand, an equally easy emendation gives yūnāhān, and the sanctuary of the prophet Jonah stands on the temple mound of Niniveh. Jonah is the dhū l-nūn—vulgar Arab. abū l-nūn—properly "man with the fish," interpreted as "father of Nūn," hence Nūn ē Yūnāhān,

[2] Cf. A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster* 128f., and J. Markwart, *Cat. of Prov. Capitals* 107.

founder of Nineveh-Nūn. Whatever it is, figures of the Old Testament are received into the Iranian legend, as in the *Dēnkart* stories.

Such a figure is also the astrologer-magician bl'tvlvš. Jackson and Markwart tried an Iranian interpretation, with bl't-=brāt "brother"; but it is Akk. balāṭu "life"; the name is bltš'ṣr, honorific of Daniel. In analogy to the king's name n'bōk'adneṣṣar, the ending is assimilated to Ir. Narseh; the variant which Markwart preferred, reading the whole *brātōrēš*, can also be read *balāt.narseh*. He is called Tūra as an (a)θūra, Babylonian.

Arvandasp, in *Šahr.Ēr.* §57, is the name of the father of Bēvarasp Aždahā. AžiDahāka, whose places are Babylon and Kurinta, is the enemy of Yama and Θrētōna, and personifies in the Iranian legend the Neo-Babylonian empire, or the historical figures of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonaid. His father Arvandasp represents the late Assyrian empire, as does Sardanapal in Greek stories. KaiKavāt is the legendary founder of the Median dynasty, called after the fire of this dynasty, the āδar kavātakān in Agbatana. The Medes conquered Nineveh-Nūn in 612 B.C. The change of the dynasty is perpetuated as a marriage, like the conquest of Babylon as a marriage of Θrētōna's three sons and three daughters of Nebuchadnezzar. Thus Daniel shifts from Babylon to Nineveh. As "chief of the sorcerers" (*Dan.*2,46) he builds "by magic" the fortress which had been so difficult to conquer.

Āδarfarrabag knew the prose version of the χvatāynāmak, which ibn al-Muqaffa' had at that time already translated into Arabic, and he knew the *Šahr.Ērān* and perhaps other books lost to us. Mas'ūdī, *murūdj* v,128 e.g. relates that Daniel the younger was believed to have been the maternal uncle of Cyrus. Such amazing concepts are not anti-semitism, but on the contrary attempts to make the stories more acceptable to the mu'tazilite Muhammedans. In the *χvatāynāmak*, Tūra kill the prophet, but no name was called: "I know not who killed this priest." The name therefore is a combination of Āδarfarrabag. The persecution by kavi and karpan, developed from *Y.*32, is the leitmotiv of the legendary vita of Zoroaster, and the *Šahr.Ēr.* call Balātnarseh a karpan.[3] There is no grain of historical truth in these tales.

[3] Markwart interpreted his reading brātōrēš < *brātrvya.vraiia as "who wounds his brother's son." No language has formed a special word for the murder of a person in that degree of relationship. On the same basis one could construe "fratricida." If Āδarfarrabag had construed a

Finally there is one more version of Zoroaster's death in *Dēnk.*7,5,1 and 6,1 (from the Nikēž ē Vēhdēn) and in the Čītakihā, the "Selected Pieces" of Zātsparm, a brother of Manučihr, who wrote about A.D. 880: "The passing away, viχēz, of Zoroaster took place in the year 47 of the religion [i.e. the era], at an age of 77 years and 40 days." The number, which has a mystic air as all multiples of 11, expresses a very high age. An inquiry into its mystical or historical character leads back to our first chapter 'Chronology,' since it contains the secondary distinction between birth and appearance, in the prophet's 31st year. If counted from 569 as date of the birth, the date of his death would be 492 B.C.

*Denk.*7,6,1 adds to viχēz "passing away into paradise." The verb is used in the Parinirvana hymn to Mani, *Mir.Man.*III,20 d 110: "It is time that you [Mani, 110 years after his death] 'draw up' the faithful, kv 'rd'vyft vχynj'h." The verb means rather an ascension to heaven, certainly no murder. The murder of Zoroaster is entirely unhistorical. It is mentioned for the first time 1,400 years after the prophet's death, and in a legendary form. If Zoroaster had been murdered, the fact would, from the beginning, resound loudly and persistently in history. I believe that his tomb still exists today, untouched and untouchable.

meaning of that kind, it might have been a help for his combination only when assuming, moreover, that the legendary vita of Zoroaster contained a similar word.

ADDENDUM

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The following additions to the text should be made:

Page 103, 2nd line from bottom, add after "Kavāt":

This poorly preserved passage must be compared with the Kavāt legend in *Gr.Bdh.* 231:

apurnāy andar kēpūt būt	There was a baby in a basket
u.š - - ān pa rōt bē hišt	abandoned by his [parents] on a river,
pa vātakān bē apaspart	drifting at the mercy of the wind
Uzav bē dīt stat bē parvārt	Uzaw saw it, took it, raised it,
frazand χvānt kavāt nām nihāt	adopted it, called it Kavāt.

kēpūt is κιβωτος, quppatu; 1.3 recalls the name of the famous "wind-borne treasure, vāt-āwurt" of Xusrau I, but one feels tempted to read "pa [ka]vātakān apaspart," with *kavātaka "foundling."

Page 290, Note 2a to read:

In *Vēs u Rāmīn*—see Minorsky, BSOAS 1946, XI,4 p. 22—oaths are taken to the "pure souls of the good and the ancestors" and "before the temple fire." Tabari III,1791 f: the caliph al-Muhtadī declares: "I do not take an oath unless it be in the presence of the banī Hāshim [his clan]" etc.

Page 302, add note to "is the judgment," 12th line from bottom:

In Heraclitus frgm.63, Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, the idea of the end of the world in fire appears combined with resurrection and last judgment, notions which have no foundation in Greek thought and must come from Iran.

Page 392, add to Note 13:

In Judaism, the first traces of the idea of resurrection appear in the vision of *Ezek.*37 and in the dark eschatology of *Is.*26, 12-17: They differ from the later belief, foreign to Judaism, by being a judgment over nations, not every single man according to his faults and merits. This thought does not appear before the last chapter of Daniel, prophecy referring to Antiochus Epiphanes, 164 B.C., hence is clearly of Zoroastrian origin.

Page 447, add after "preserved," line 1:

In *Yt.*19,74 Husravah is called "owner of the well-ordered, unshakable, uninfringeable command, sanhū," clearly expressing the power of the sovereign whose "dāta" are "not to be violated," noit awidrōχδa in *Yt.*10,17 or dī-lā tā'dē' in *Esther*.

Page 447, add to Note 11:

To Hertel, the original myth is that of a rainbringer who opens with his shot the windows of heaven. Another interpretation makes the shot mark the utmost limits of conquest, an equally old motif which occurs in Germanic myth as Thor's hammer, and which would fit a Median version of the time of their immigration which led the Medes as far west as the Hvanvant pass. That cannot be called "unexpected"—see Minorsky BSOAS 1946, x,4 p. 20. The Arsacid period, during which the old epic received its chivalresque character, may have produced other interpretations and localizations.

Page 513, add line 13:

uštā ahmāi	yahmāi uštā kahmāičit
vaso.χšayans	mazdå dāyāt ahuro

Page 609, replace lines 15-21 by:

This conclusion is not safe. Sadvēs does not mean "scorpion," hence myn cannot mean "sting." Henning discovered MP. drafša, corresponding to that name of part of the constellation Scorpius, Gr. kentron, Arab. shaula, NP. nīš i gazdum, see under 'Hōma.' The myn Sadvēs is that single star, but there is no reason to assume that the whole constellation was ever called Satavēsa, which even the old Greeks did not designate under a single name. myn can be any qualification to Sadvēs etc.

Page 632, add note to "tin and lead," line 19:

I have been told that Landsberger restricts the signification of anaku in the Old Ass. tablets from Kaneš, 19th cent. B.C., to "tin."

Page 736, substitute after "of Israel" for lines 13-19:

They are not known to us before the late Sasanian period, but they received their name at the Achaemenid period and apparently formed already a group with their neighbours Yutiya and Akōfačiya. They may have brought their Median dialect

with them when immigrating, but more probably the dialect was imposed by much later Kurdish immigrants upon the aborigines.

Page 780, add after "1500 B.C.," line 8:

In Asia Minor iron was used since the period of Sargon of Akkad, more than a thousand years earlier, as proved by the iron dagger with gold handle and iron and gold necklaces discovered in the tombs of Alaja Öyük.

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